IBN KHALLIKAN'S

BIOGRAPHICAL DICTIONARY.

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* كتاب وفيات الاعيان *

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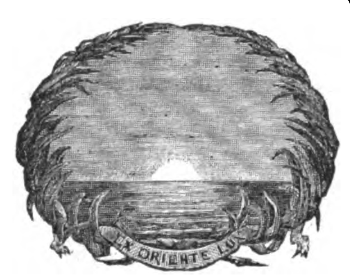
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ABU ABD ALLAH AL-HUMAIDI.

The celebrated *hâfiz* Abû Abd Allah Muhammad Ibn Abi Nasr Fatûh Ibn Abd Allah Ibn Humaid Ibn Yasil al-Humaidi was a member of the tribe of Azd and a native of the island of Majorca; but his family originally belonged to ar-Rusâfa, a suburb of Cordova. He delivered traditional information on the authority of Ali Ibn Hazm az-Zâhiri (*vol. II. p.* 267), to whom he had been particularly attached, and from whose lips he had learned so much that he became generally known by the appellation of *Ibn Hazm's disciple*. One of the other masters whose autority he cited was Abû Omar Yûsuf Ibn Abd al-Barr, the author of the *Kitâb al-Istîyâb* (1). In the year 448 (A. D. 1056-7), he set out for the East and made the pilgrimage to Mekka. Having heard Traditions taught in that city and in Ifrîkiya, Spain, Egypt, Syria, and Irâk, he finally took up his residence in Baghdad. He bore a high reputation for nobleness of character, learning, solid information, piety, and devotion; the progress which he made in studying the written texts of the Traditions was evidently a mark of divine grace. The emir Ibn Mâkûla (*vol. II. p.* 248), the author of the *Ikmâl*, speaks of him in these terms : "We have been informed by our friend Abû Abd "Allah al-Humaidi, a man of great learning, talent, and intelligence;"— he then adds : "And I never saw his like for virtue, austerity of life, piety, and application "to study." Al-Humaidi is the author of a celebrated work, entitled : *Al-Jamo*

bain as-Sahîhain (*the united contents of the Sahîhs*) of al-Bukhâri and Muslim; this production he taught publicly. Another of his works is a history of the learned men of Spain, to which he gave the title of *Judwa tal-Muktabis* (*a brand for him who wishes to light his fire*), and which forms one volume. In the preface, he mentions that he wrote it, from memory, at the request of some persons in Baghdad. He used to say: "There are three points connected with the study of the Traditions to which, "first of all, attention should be directed; namely, the (*Ilal* or) defects prejudicial "to their authenticity, and the best treatise thereon is that of ad-Dârakutni (*vol. II.* "*p.* 239); the *Mûtalif wa Mukhtalif* (*synonymy of proper names*), and the best work "on the subject is that of the emir Abû Nasr Ibn Mâkûla; the third point is, to know "the precise date of each traditionist's death, but on this we possess no work. I un-"dertook to compile one on the subject, and the emir told me to draw it up in chro-"nological order and, under each year, to arrange the names alphabetically."— "But," says Abû Bakr Ibn Tarkhân (2), "his attention was so much engaged by the "two *Sahîhs*, that he died without being able to execute that task." The same person relates as follows: "Abû Abd Allah al-Humaidi recited to us the following "verses composed by himself:

"Visiting (*learned*) men produces nothing useful; all we gain by it is (*that we may after-*"*wards repeat their words under*) the stupid form of an *it is said*, or *such a one said*. Visit "them therefore but seldom; unless it be to acquire knowledge or amend thy conduct."

Al-Humaidi met the Khatîb Abû Bakr (*vol. I. p.* 75) at Damascus, and has given some information on his authority; and his own authority is occasionally cited by the Khatîb. He was born some time before the year 420 (A. D. 1029), and he died at Baghdad on the eve of Tuesday, the 17th of Zû 'l-Hijja, A. H. 488 (18th Dec., A. D. 1095). As-Samâni says, in his *Ansâb*, under the word *al-Mayûraki* (*belonging to Majorca*), that al-Humaidi's death took place in the month of Safar, A. H. 491; so, at least, I found it written in the abridgment which Ali Ibn al-Athîr al-Jazari (*vol. II. p.* 288) made of that work. Suspecting this to be a fault of my own copy, I examined the passage in a number of other manuscripts, and found them all to agree; as-Samâni's original work, of which we possess Ibn al-Athîr's abridgment, I had no means of consulting, as it was not to be found in this country (*Egypt*). The great discordance of these two dates remained upon my mind, and having, at length, consulted as-Samâni's *Supplement*, I met with the following passage: "Al-Humaidi

" died on the eve of Tuesday, the 17th of Zû 'l-Hijja, A. H. 488, and was interred
" the next morning in the cemetery at the Abrez gate, near the tomb of Abû Ishak
" as-Shîrâzi. The funeral prayer was said over the corpse in the great mosque of
" the citadel (*Jâmî 'l-Kasr*), by the jurisconsult Abû Bakr Muhammad Ibn Ahmad
" as-Shâshi (*vol. II. p.* 625); but, in the month of Safar, A. H. 491, it was removed
" to the cemetery at the Harb gate and buried near the tomb of Bishr Ibn al-Hârith
" al-Hâfi (*vol. I. p.* 257)." By this I perceived that the fault originated with Ibn al-Athîr whilst he was making his abridgment; the copy of the work which he was then condensing may have here offered a fault of the transcriber, and Ibn al-Athîr copied it without searching for the date in other quarters; or perhaps the copyist may have omitted a line, a circumstance which sometimes happens.—*Al-Humaidi* was so called after his ancestor *Humaid*: I have been informed by an historical writer, that he found this surname mentioned, in a work on history, as being derived from the name of *Humaid*, the son of Abd ar-Rahmân, the son of Aûf (3); but this derivation is false, for Abû Abd Allah al-Humaidi belonged to the tribe of Azd, and Abd ar-Rahmân to the Zuhra family, a branch of the tribe of Koraish: how then could any relationship have subsisted between them?—*Mayûraka* (*Majorca*) is the name of an island in the Western Sea, near the land of Spain.

(1) The life of this *hâfiz* is given by our author.

(2) Abû Bakr Ibn Tarkhân was one of the masters under whom Ibn al-Arabi studied at Baghdad.—(*Silat.*)

(3) Abd ar-Rahmân Ibn Aûf az-Zuhri, an eminent member of the tribe of Koraish, and one of the eight first converts to Islamism, was also one of the ten persons to whom Muhammad promised paradise. Before his conversion he bore the name of Abd al-Kaaba. During the persecution, he took refuge in Abyssinia. He fought at the combat of Badr and at all the other engagements in which Muhammad commanded; at the battle of Ohud, he received a severe wound in the leg, and halted ever after. In the lifetime of Muhammad, he acted as *mufti*. On the death of Omar, he was one of the six delegates (*ashâb as-Shûra*) appointed to make choice of another khalif. His birth took place ten years after the year of the Elephant; he died at Medina A. H. 32 (A. D. 652-3), at the age of seventy-five, and was interred in the *Baki* cemetery. He had acquired great wealth in mercantile pursuits. On one occasion, he contributed half his property to the service of Islamism; another time, he sold lands to the value of forty thousand dinars, and bestowed the amount on the poor. He equipped also five hundred horse and fifteen hundred foot for the cause of religion. On his death, the eighth part of his estate, the share allotted by law to the widows of the deceased, amounted to three hundred and twenty thousand (*pieces of silver*). — (*Siar as-Salaf.* — *Al-Bahr az-Zâkhir.*)

AL-MAZARI AL-MALIKI.

Abû Abd Allah Muhammad Ibn Ali Ibn Omar Ibn Muhammad at-Tamîmi (*member of the tribe of Tamîm*) al-Mâzari was a doctor of the sect of Mâlik and one of the most noted persons of the age for his knowledge of the Traditions and the manner in which he lectured on that subject. He composed a good commentary on Muslim's *Sahîh,* and entitled it *Kitâb al-Molim bi fawâid kitâb Muslim* (*the indicator of the instructive passages contained in the book of Muslim*); this work served the *kâdi* Iyâd (*vol. II. p.* 417) as the basis of his *Ikmâl,* which is, in fact, the complement of al-Mâzari's treatise. He composed also a number of philological works and a book called *Idâh al-Mahsûl fi Burhân il-Osûl* (1). This doctor, so highly distinguished for his talents and varied information, died at al-Mahdiya (*in the province of Tunis*) on the 18th of the first Rabî, A. H. 536 (22nd Oct., A. D. 1141), aged eighty-three years, and was buried at al-Monastîr. Some place his death on Monday, the second day of that month.—*Mâzari* means *belonging to Mâzar* (*Mazzara*), a village in the island of Sicily.

(1) This work is not noticed by Hajji Khalifa; its title seems to indicate that it was a commentary on a work of divinity or jurisprudence, entitled : *Burhân al-Osûl (demonstration of principles)*.

ABU MUSA AL-ISPAHANI.

Abû Mûsa Muhammad Ibn Abi Bakr Omar Ibn Abi Isa Ahmad Ibn Omar Ibn Muhammad Ibn Abi Isa al-Ispahâni al-Madîni, the first *hâfiz* of the age for his vast memory and learning, composed a number of useful works on the Traditions and their subsidiary sciences. His *Kitâb al-Mughîth* (*the assister*), in one volume, forms

the complement of al-Harawi's *Kitâb al-Gharîbain* (*vol. I. p.* 78); in it he corrects the faults of that author, and it is really a useful book. He left also a small volume, entitled *Kitâb az-Ziâdât* (*book of additions*), designed by him as a supplement to the *Ansâb*, a work composed by his master Abû 'l-Fadl Muhammad Ibn Tâhir al-Makdisi (1) : in this treatise he indicates the errors and omissions of the *Ansâb*. After travelling abroad in search of Traditions, he returned to Ispahân and continued to reside in that city. He was born in the month of Zû'l-Kaada, A. H. 501 (June-July, A. D. 1108), and he died on the eve of Wednesday, the 9th of the first Jumâda, A. H. 581 (August, A. D. 1185). His birth and death took place at Ispahân. — *Madîni* means *belonging to the city* (madîna) *of Ispahân;* the *hâfiz* Abû 's-Saad as-Samâni states, in his *Ansâb*, that this adjective may mean : 1. *belonging to Medîna;* 2. *belonging to Marw;* 3. *belonging to Naisâpûr;* 4. *belonging to Ispahân;* 5 *belonging to the city* (madîna) *of al-Mubârak, near Kazwîn;* 6. *belonging to Bukhâra;* 7. *belonging to Samarkand;* 8. *belonging to Nasaf.* He adds that, to express *belonging to Medîna*, the relative adjective *Madani* is generally used.

(1) See the next article.

ABU 'L-FADL IBN AL-KAISARANI AL-MAKDISI.

The *hâfiz* Abû 'l-Fadl Muhammad Ibn Tâhir Ibn Ali Ibn Ahmad al-Makdisi, generally called Ibn al-Kaisarâni, was one of those doctors who had undertaken long ourneys in search of Traditions. He heard (*traditional information delivered*) in Hijâz, Syria, Egypt, Mesopotamia and its northern borders, Arabian and Persian Irâk, Fars, Khûzestân, and Khorâsân. He then took up his abode in Hamadân and obtained a high reputation for his knowledge of the Traditions and his learning in the sciences connected with them. A great number of works and compilations were drawn up by him on that subject, and they all serve to prove the extent of his learning and the correctness of his information. He composed an *Atrâf* (or *index*) to the *Six Books*, that is to say, to the *Sahîhs* of al-Bukhâri, Muslim, Abû Dâwûd, at-Tirmidi, an-Nasâi, and Ibn Mâja; he drew up also an *Atrâf* to ad-Dârakutni's *Gharâib*

(*obscure terms occurring in the Traditions*), and to the *Kitâb al-Ansâb* (*book of patronymics*). This last work forms a small volume, and is the same for which the *hâfiz* Abû Mûsa al-Ispahâni (see the preceding article) composed a supplement. He was well versed in the science of *Sûfism* and its different branches; there even exists a work by him on the subject. He left also some good poetry. The *hâfiz* Abû Mûsa and some others wrote Traditions under his dictation. Abû 'l-Fadl al-Makdisi was born at *Bait al-Makdis* (*the house of the holy place, Jerusalem*) on the 6th of Shawwâl, A. H. 448 (18th Dec., A. D. 1056); he commenced learning Traditions in 460; he went to Baghdad in 467 (A. D. 1074-5); and afterwards returned to Jerusalem, where he assumed the pilgrim-dress and proceeded to Mekka. He died at Baghdad on Friday, the 28th of the first Rabî, A. H. 507 (14th Sept., A. D. 1113), on his return from the pilgrimage, which duty he had fulfilled more than once. His body was interred in the Old Cemetery (*al-Makbara tal-Atîka*), situated on the west bank of the Tigris. Some place his death on Thursday, the 20th of the month just named.— His son Abû Zarâ Tâhir Ibn Muhammad al-Makdisi was renowned for the extent and high authority of his information it the Traditions; but he was unacquainted with the science (*of jurisprudence*), his father having merely sent him, when a boy, to hear the lessons of some (*traditionists*), such as Abû Muhammad Abd ar-Rahmân Ibn Ahmad ad-Dûbi (?), who was then teaching at Rai, Abû'l-Fath Abdûs Ibn Abd-Allah, at Hamadân, Abû Abd Allah Muhammad Ibn Othmân al-Kâmikhi, and Abû 'l-Hasan Makki Ibn Mansûr as-Sallâr. He then took him to Baghdad, where he heard the lessons of Abû 'l-Kâsim Ali Ibn Ahmad Ibn Raiyân and other masters. On the death of his father, he settled at Hamadân, whence he proceeded to Baghdad (*every year*) to join the pilgrim caravan and teach there the greater part of the Traditions which he had learned. Amongst those who received Traditions from him were the vizir Abû 'l-Muzaffar Yahya Ibn Hubaira (1) and others. He was born at Rai, A. H. 481 (A. D. 1088-9), and he died at Hamadân on Wednesday, the 7th of the latter Rabî, A. H. 566 (19th Dec., A. D. 1170).—*Kaisarâni* means *belonging to Kaisariya* (*Cæsarea*), a maritime village of Syria, which is now in the hands of the Franks (2), whom God confound!

(1) Ibn Khallikân gives a notice on this vizir.

(2) Cæsarea was retaken by the sultan Bibars in the year 663 (A. D. 1265).

ABU ABD ALLAH IBN MANDA.

Abû Abd Allah Muhammad Ibn Yahya Ibn Manda al-Abdi, a celebrated transmitter of traditional information and the author of a history of Ispahân, was a *hâfiz* of the highest authority. He belonged to a family of eminence which produced a number of learned men; he did not draw his origin from the tribe of Abd (*as the surname* Abdi *would imply*), but Barra, his mother, was connected with the tribe of Abd Yâlîl (1) through her father Muhammad, and Ibn Manda bore this surname after his maternal ancestors. The *hâfiz* Abû Mûsa al-Ispahâni mentions him in the *Ziâdât* (*see p.* 5 *of this vol.*) and traces up his genealogy, but this list I shall not insert on account of its length. Al-Hâzimi (*see p.* 11 *of this vol.*) speaks of him also in the *Kitâb al-Ojâla*, but omits the genealogy. The *hâfiz* Ibn Manda died A. H. 301 (A. D. 913-4).—In a subsequent part of this work, we shall give the life of his descendant, Yahya Ibn Abd al-Wahhâb.

(1) Abd Yâlîl, the son of Jurham, left his name to a Yemenite tribe established in Hijâz.

AL-FARABRI.

Abû Abd Allah Muhammad Ibn Yûsuf Ibn Matar Ibn Sâlih Ibn Bishr al-Farabri is well known as the teacher, from memory, of al-Bukhâri's *Sahîh*, which work he had learned under the author. People came from all quarters to hear him repeat this book. He was born A. H. 231 (A. D. 845-6), and he died on the 3rd of Shawwâl, A. H. 320 (October, A. D. 932).—*Farabri* means *belonging to Farabr*, a town situa-

ted on the bank of the Jihûn (*Oxus*), and in the neighbourhood of Bukhâra.—Al-Farâbri was one of al-Bukhâri's pupils, and the last survivor of those who taught, from memory, their master's *Sahîh*.

AL-FURAWI.

Abû Abd Allah Muhammad Ibn al-Fadl Ibn Ahmad Ibn Muhammad Ibn Ahmad Ibn Abî 'l-Abbâs as-Sâîdi al-Furâwi an-Naisâpûri (*native of Naisâpûr*), surnamed Kamâl ad-Dîn (*perfect in religion*) (1), was a distinguished jurisconsult and traditionist. He attended the sittings of the Imâm al-Haramain, author of the *Nihâya tal-Matlab* (*vol. II. p.* 121), and took notes of his lessons on the fundamentals (*of jurisprudence*). Al-Furâwi passed his youth among the *Sûfis*, and became a doctor of the law, a traditionist, a *mufti*, a controvertist, and a preacher. Though advanced in age, he used to carry food to the travellers who came to see him, and even served them at table. Having set out on the pilgrimage to Mekka, he preached before crowded assemblies at Baghdad and the other towns through which he passed. In the two Holy Cities (*of Mekka and Medîna*), he gave public lessons. On his return to Naisâpûr, he took his seat as professor in the *Nâsihiya* college, and discharged also the duties of *imâm* in the Mosque of al-Mutarriz. He learned Muslim's *Sahîh* from Abd al-Ghâfir al-Fârisi (*vol. II. p.* 170), and al-Bukhâri's from Saîd Ibn Abi Saîd. His other masters were Abû Ishak as-Shîrâzi (*vol. I. p.* 9), Abû Bakr Ahmad al-Baihaki (*vol. I. p.* 57), Abû 'l-Kâsim Abd al-Karîm Ibn Hawâzin al-Kushairi (*vol. II. p.* 152), and the Imâm al-Haramain. He was the sole person authorised to repeat and explain some of the *hâfiz* al-Baihaki's works, such as the *Dalâil an-Nubûwa* (*proofs of Muhammad's prophetic mission*), *al-Asmâ wa 's-Sifât* (*the names and attributes of the Divinity*), *al-Baath wa 'n-Nushûr* (*the resurrection and revivification of mankind*), and the two collections of prayers, the greater and the less. It was (*punningly*) said of him : *al-Furâwi alfu râwi* (*al-Furâwi is worth one thousand transmitters of traditional information*). He was born at Naisâpûr, A. H. 441 (A.D.

1049-50), some say, 442; at the age of six years he commenced learning Traditions, and he died on Thursday morning, the 21st—some say, the 22nd—of Shawwâl, A. H. 530 (24th July, A. D. 1136).—*Furâwi* means *belonging to Furâwa*, a village on the frontiers of Khowârezm; it is called also *Ribât Furâwa*, and was built in the khalifate of al-Mâmûn, by Abd Allah Ibn Tâhir, the governor of Khorâsân.

(1) According to al-Yâfi, in his *Mirât*, and al-Othmâni, in his *Tabakât al-Fukahâ*, al-Furâwi bore also the surname of Fakîh al-Haram (*the jurisconsult of the sacred territory of Mekka*).

AL-AJURRI.

Abû Bakr Muhammad Ibn al-Husain Ibn Abd Allah al-Ajurri, a jurisconsult of the sect of as-Shâfi and a traditionist, is the author of that collection of forty Traditions which is called after him *Arbaîn al-Ajurri*. This doctor, who was noted for his piety and virtue, delivered Traditions on the authority of Abû Muslim al-Kajji, Abû Shoaib al-Harrâni, Ahmad Ibn Yahya al-Hulwâni, al-Mufaddal Ibn Muhammad al-Jundi, and a great number of other masters contemporary with them. Muhammad Ibn Ishak an-Nadîm mentions him in the work entitled *al-Fihrest* (1). Al-Ajurri composed many treatises on the law and the Traditions. In the History of Baghdad, the Khatîb Abû Bakr al-Baghdâdi (*vol. I. p.* 75) speaks of him as conscientious, veracious, pious, and the author of numerous works. He taught Traditions at Baghdad previously to the year 330 (A. D. 941). He then proceeded to Mekka, and continued to reside there till his death. A number of the *hâfizes* gave Traditions on his authority, and Abû Noaim al-Ispahâni (*vol. I. p.* 74), the author of the *Hilya tal-Awliâ*, was one of them. A certain learned man informed me that when al-Ajurri entered Mekka, he exclaimed, in admiration: "I implore of thee, "O God! the favour to remain here one year;" and that he heard a voice reply: "Nay, thirty years." He survived thirty years, and died at Mekka in the month of Muharram, A. H. 360 (November, A. D. 970). The Khatîb says that he found this date on his tombstone.—*Ajurri* is derived from *Ajurr* (*brick*), but I know not why

he received this surname.—I since found the following marginal note in a copy of (*Ibn Bashkuwâl's*) *Silat:* "The imâm Abû Bakr, surnamed al-Ajurri because he "belonged to a village near Baghdad called al-Ajurr, resided at Mekka, and died "there on the 1st of Muharram, A. H. 360."

(1) See vol. I. p. 630.

AS-SALAMI *THE HAFIZ*.

Abû 'l-Fadl Muhammad Ibn Nâsir Ibn Muhammad Ibn Ali Ibn Amr, a native of Baghdad, and generally known by the surname of as-Salâmi, was an accomplished scholar and the most eminent *hâfiz* in Baghdad at that epoch. He possessed great literary acquirements, having studied philology under Abû Zakariyâ at-Tibrîzi (1). The copies which he made of books were very correct. He was indefatigable in the search of instructive observations, and these he carefully noted down. A great quantity of information has been given on his authority by the very first masters. The learned men of that age were his pupils, and the *hâfiz* Abû 'l-Faraj Ibn al-Jauzi (*vol. II. p.* 96), who was one of the number, cites his authority very frequently. The *hâfiz* Abû Saad as-Samâni (*vol. II. p.* 156) mentions him in his different works. As-Salâmi's birth occurred on the eve of Saturday, the 15th of Shaabân, A H. 467 (April, A. D. 1075), and he died at Baghdad on the eve of Tuesday, the 18th of Shaabân, A. H. 550 (16th Oct., A. D. 1155). The next morning, his body was carried forth, and funeral prayers were said over it thrice, near the mosque of the Sultan (*Jâmî 's-Sultân*); it was then taken across the river to the mosque (*Jâmî*) of al-Mansûr, where the funeral service was again performed, after which they bore it to the Harbiya cemetery, at the Harb gate, and interred it under the *sidra* (2), at the side of Abû Mansûr Ibn al-Anbâri the preacher's tomb. — "*Salâmi* means *native* "*of Madîna tas-Salâm* (*the city of welfare*), that is, Baghdad. Such," says as-Samâni, "was the note written by himself on his own surname."

(1) His life is given by Ibn Khallikân.

(2) The word *sidra* means *lotus-tree*. It may perhaps designate here some religious edifice.

AL-HAZIMI *THE HAFIZ*.

Abû Bakr Muhammad Ibn Abî Othmân Mûsa Ibn Othmân Ibn Mûsa Ibn Othmân Ibn Hâzim al-Hâzimi al-Hamadâni (*native of Hamadân*), surnamed Zain ad-Dîn (*ornament of religion*), was distinguished by the exactitude of his information as a *hâfiz* and the eminent sanctity of his life. Having learned by heart the sacred Korân, he attended the lessons of Abû 'l-Wakt Abd al-Auwal as-Sijazi (*vol. II. p.* 171) at Hamadân, and learned Traditions in the same city from Abû Mansûr Sheherdâr Ibn Shîrûyah the Dailemite, Abû Zarâ Tâhir Ibn Muhammad al-Makdisi (*see p.* 6 *of this vol.*), the *hâfiz* Abû 'l-Alâ al-Hasan Ibn Ahmad (1), and a great number of other masters. He studied the law at Baghdad under the *shaikh* Jamâl ad-Dîn Wâthik Ibn Fadlân (2) and others; there also he heard Traditions delivered by Abû 'l-Husain Abd al-Hakk and Abû Nasr Abd ar-Rahîm, the sons of Abd al-Khâlik Ibn Ahmad Ibn Yûsuf, Abû 'l-Fath Obaid Allah Ibn Abd Allah Ibn Shâtîl, and others. He then undertook to collect Traditions himself, and with that view he visited a number of the cities of Irâk, whence he proceeded to Syria, Mosul, Fars, Ispahân, Hamadân, and most of the towns in the province of Adarbaijân. He wrote down Traditions under the dictation of nearly all the *shaikhs* at these places, and devoted his attention so specially to this branch of study, that he attained in it a great eminence and a high reputation. He composed on this and on other subjects a number of instructive works, such as the *Nâsih wa 'l-Mansûh* on (*the annulling and the annulled*) Traditions; the *Kitâb al-Faisal* (*discriminator*), treating of those patronymics the meaning of which might be mistaken (*mushtabih an-nisba*); the *Kitâb al-Ojâla* (*the ready assister*) on patronymics; a work on geographical synonyms and the names of places which, when written, are liable to be mispronounced; the *Silsila tad-Dahab* (*golden chain*), treating of the Traditions delivered by Ibn Hanbal (*vol. I. p.* 44) on the authority of as-Shâfi (*vol. II. p.* 569); the *Shurat al-Aiyimma* (*qualities required in an imâm*), etc. He resided at Baghdad, on the east side of the river, constantly engaged in study and the practice of virtue, till fate cut through the branch of his life whilst yet green. This event happened at Baghdad on the eve of Monday, the 28th of the first Jumâda, A. H. 584 (25th July, A. D. 1188). He was interred in the *Shûnîzi*

cemetery (*vol. I. p.* 556), close to (*the grave of*) Samnûn Ibn Hamza (3), and opposite to the tomb of al-Junaid (*vol. I. p.* 338). Crowds of people attended the funeral service which was said over him in the court of the mosque of the Castle (*Jâmi 'l-Kasr*); the body was then taken to the west side of the river, and the prayer was there repeated. His books were distributed among the traditionists. Al-Hâzimi was born A. H. 548 (A. D. 1153-4), or 549, on the road leading to Hamadân. He was carried to that city, and in it he passed his youth. — He bore the surname of *Hâzimi* because one of his ancestors was called *Hâzim*.

(1) Abû 'l-Alâ al-Hasan Ibn Ahmad, a *hâfiz* and teacher of the Korân-*readings*, died A. H. 569 (A. D. 1173-4), aged eighty-one years. He was a native of Hamadân.—*Nujûm. Huffâz.*)

(2) The learned *imâm* Jamâl ad-Dîn Abû 'l-Kâsim Wâthik Ibn Ali Ibn al-Fadl Ibn Hibat Allah Ibn Fadlân, a doctor of the Shafite sect, was born at Baghdad, A. H. 515 (A. D. 1121-2). He made his studies at Baghdad and Naisâpûr, and became professor in the *Nizâmiya* college of the former city. His death occurred in Shaabân, A. H. 595 (June, A. D. 1199). The author of the *Tabakât al-Fukahâ* observes that some persons call this doctor *Yahya* not *Wâthik*, and Ibn Kâdi Shohba gives him the name of *Yahya* in his *Tabakât as-Shâfiyîn*. The latter author says that Ibn Fadlân held a high rank as a jurisconsult, a theologian, a controvertist, and a dialectician. The author of the *Tabakât al-Fukahâ* informs us that Abû Abd Allah Muhammad, the son of this Ibn Fadlân, was professor at the *Mustansiriya* college in Baghdad, that he acted as *Kâdi 'l-Kudât* (*chief judge*) for the khalif an-Nâsir li-Dîn Illah, and died A. H. 631 (A. D. 1233-4).

(3) Abû 'l-Hasan Samnûn Ibn Hamza 'l-Khauwâs was a disciple of Sari as-Sakati (*vol. I. p.* 555) and other *sûfis*. He used to discourse with great eloquence on the love of God, and replied, when asked what was *sûfism*: "to possess nothing and to let nothing possess you." This eminent *shaikh* died some time after al-Junaid.—*Lawâkih al-Anwâr fi Tabakât il-Akhyâr*, by Abd al-Wahhâb as-Shârâni; MS. of the *Bibliothèque impériale*, Supplement.)

ABU-BAKR IBN AL-ARABI.

Abû Bakr Muhammad Ibn Abd Allah Ibn Muhammad Ibn Abd Allah Ibn Ahmad, generally known by the surname of Ibn al-Arabi, was a celebrated *hâfiz*, a member of the tribe of Maâfir and a native of Seville in Spain. Ibn Bashkuwâl speaks of him in these terms, in his *Silat*: "That *hâfiz* filled with learning to overflowing; the last

" of the erudite, the last *imâm* and the last *hâfiz* of Spain. I met him in the city of " Seville on Monday morning, the 2nd of the latter Jumâda, A. H. 516 (August, A. D. " 1122). He informed me that it was on Sunday, the 1st of the first Rabî, A. H. 485 " (April, A. D. 1092), that he set out with his father on their journey to the East (1), " and that he went to Syria, where he met Abû Bakr Muhammad Ibn al-Walîd at-" Tortûshi (*vol. II. p.* 665), under whom he studied jurisprudence. Having gone to " Baghdad, he heard Traditions from" — some of the most eminent masters — " and " then proceeded to Hijâz. He performed the pilgrimage in the year 489, and, on " his return to Baghdad, he became the pupil of Abû Bakr as-Shâshi (*vol. II. p.* 625), " Abû Hâmid al-Ghazzâli (*vol. II. p.* 621), and other doctors and philologers. He " then left Baghdad. In Misr and Alexandria, he met a great number of tradi-" tionists, and wrote down Traditions under their dictation, communicating to them " the fruits of his own researches whilst he received theirs. In the year 493, he " returned to Spain, and entered Seville with a greater stock of information than any " person who had travelled to the East ever brought back before. He was deeply " versed in a variety of sciences, and had attained a high proficiency in all the bran-" ches of learning; on such subjects he discoursed with great ability, and, being " enabled by his penetrating genius to comprehend them all, he displayed the utmost " ardour in diffusing information, whilst he employed the acuteness of his mind in " distinguishing what was exact therein from what was not. We may add that he " was equally distinguished by the amenity of his character, the charm of his man-" ners, his affability, humility, nobleness of mind, obliging disposition, and con-" stancy in friendship. Having been appointed *kâdi* in his native town, he rendered " the highest service to the inhabitants by the firmness with which he discharged his " duties and the severity which made him an object of terror for the wicked. On his " removal from office, he turned his mind to the task of diffusing learning. I asked " him the date of his birth, and he informed me that he was born on the eve of " Thursday, the 21st of Shaabân, A. H. 468 (April, A. D. 1076). He died in North " Africa and was interred in the city of Fez, in the month of the latter Rabî, A. H. " 543 (August-September, A. D. 1148)." To these words of Ibn Bashkuwâl I may add that the *hâfiz* Ibn al-Arabi left a number of works, and amongst others that entitled *al-Aârida tal-Ahwadi fi Sharh it-Tirmidi* (*the fluency of the expert, being a commentary on the Traditions collected by at-Tirmidi*). He was born at Seville; some say, in the year 469 (A. D. 1076-7). His death is stated to have taken place in the

month of the first Jumâda, whilst he was returning from Morocco to Fez, and at a day's journey from the latter city. His corpse was transported to Fez and interred in the cemetery of al-Jaiyâni (2) — His father was born A. H. 435 (A. D. 1043-4), and he died in the month of Muharram, A. H. 493 (November-December, A. D. 1099), in Egypt, on his return from the journey which he and his son had made to the East; he was an accomplished scholar and an able *kâtib*. — The title of Ibn al-Arabi's work, *al Aârida tal-Ahwadi*, requires explanation; *aârida* means *command of language*; they say: *Such a one has an extreme aârida*, to indicate that he has a great command of language; *ahwadi* means *one who gets through business lightly, owing to his skill;* or, according to al-Asmâi, *one expert in business, completely master of it, and who lets no part of it escape his attention.*

(1) Ibn al-Arabi wrote an account of this journey; Ibn Khaldûn mentions it, in his History of the Berbers, under the title of *Rihla (journey)*, and informs us that the author speaks in it of his shipwreck on the coast of Barka, where he and his father were hospitably treated by the nomadic Arabs of that region.

(2) This doctor must not be confounded with the mâlikite *Ibn Arabi,* the author of a large volume of mysticism in five hundred et sixty chapters, and entitled *al-Futûhât tal-Makkiya* (*Mekkan revelations*). The latter's names were Muhi ad-Dîn Muhammad Ibn Ali; he died A. H. 638 (A. D. 1240).

AN-NAKKASH AL-BAGHDADI.

Abû Bakr Muhammad Ibn al-Hasan Ibn Muhammad Ibn Ziâd al-Mukri (*teacher of the readings of the Korân, and*) surnamed an-Nakkâsh, belonged to a family of Mosul, but was born and brought up at Baghdad. He possessed great learning in the Korân and its interpretation, on which last subject he composed a work entitled: *Shafa as-Sudûr* (*medicine of the heart*). Amongst his other productions we may notice the *Ishâra* (*indication*), on the obscure terms of the Korân; the *Maudih* (*elucidator*), on the Korân and its style; the *Didd el-Akl* (*contrary to reason*); the *Manâsik* (*rites of devotion*); the *Fahm al-Manâsik* (*comprehension of the rites*); the *Akhbâr al-Kussâs* (?)

(*history of the story-tellers*); the *Dhamm al-Hasad* (*dispraise of envy*); the *Dalâil an-Nubûwat* (*proofs of Muhammad's prophetic mission*); the *Abwâb* (*doors*, or *chapters*), on the Korân; the *Iram Dhât al-Imâd* (*the Iram of many columns*) (1); the greater, the less, and the medium dictionary of Korân-*readers* and their *readings*; the greater *Book of the Seven* (readings), with the reasons (*or defects*?) of the readings; the lesser Book of the Seven (*readings*); the medium Book of the Seven. He travelled very much in the East and in the West. He heard Traditions delivered at Kûfa, Basra, and Mekka, in Egypt, Syria, and Mesopotamia, at Mosul, in Persian Irak, Khorâsân, and Transoxiana, but some of those which he taught are merely rejected Traditions headed with approved *isnâds* (2). His name happening to be mentioned in the presence of Talha Ibn Muhammad Ibn Jaafar, this person said: "He was false in his "Traditions, and addicted to story-telling." He delivered orally pieces of literature on the authority of the most eminent among the learned, and his own authority was cited by them for some which they delivered. Al-Barkâni (3) said: "All the Tradi-"tions taught by an-Nakkâsh are faulty, and, in his interpretation of the Korân, "there is not a single genuine Tradition." An Nakkâsh was born A. H. 266 (A. D. 879-80); some say, 265; and he died on Tuesday the 2nd of Shawwâl, A. H. 351 (4th Nov., A. D. 962). The next day, he was interred. By other accounts his death is placed a year sooner, or a year later. — *Nakkâsh* means *a painter of walls and ceilings, etc.*; which profession this doctor had followed in the early part of his life.

(1) See Lane's *Thousand and one Nights*, vol. II. p. 342, for the description of this fabulous place.

(2) See Introduction to vol. I. p. xxii.

(3) The *hâfiz* Abû Bakr Ahmad Ibn Muhammad Ibn Ahmad Ibn Ghâlib al-Barkâni, born (*at Barkân, a village*) in Khowârezm, A. H. 339 (A. D. 950-1), died in the month of Rajab, A. H. 425 (May-June, A. D. 1034). He had some acquaintance with Arabic philology (*arabiya*), and composed a *Musnad*, or body of authentic Traditions, in which he inserted the contents of al-Bukhâri's *Sahîh* and those of Muslim's. The Khatîb, who, as well as al-Baihaki and Abû Ishak as-Shîrâzi, gave some Traditions on his authority, says: "Amongst all "our masters, we did not find one possessing more solid information than he. His piety was conspicuous, "and he possessed deep learning in the law."—(*Nujûm*. Al-Yâfi. *Tab. al-Huffâz*.)

IBN SHANABUD.

Abû 'l-Hasan Muhammad Ibn Ahmad Ibn Aiyûb Ibn as-Salt Ibn Shanabûd, an eminent master of the Korân-*readings* and a native of Baghdad, was a pious and well-intentioned, but weak-minded man. It is said that he uttered much nonsense and little real learning. Having become the sole depository of some rare and singular readings of the Korân, he introduced them into his recitations from that book whilst presiding at the public prayer (1). By this he incurred general reprehension, and the vizir Abû Ali Muhammad Ibn Mukla, the celebrated penman, having been informed that he had changed some passages of the Korân by substituting certain words for others which belonged to the primitive revealed text, had the delinquent brought before him, in the beginning of the month of the latter Rabî, A. H. 323 (March, A. D. 935), and kept him prisoner in his house for some days. On Sunday, the 7th of the same month, he convoked an assembly composed of the *kâdi* Abû 'l-Husain Omar Ibn Muhammad, Abû Bakr Ahmad Ibn Mûsa Ibn al-Abbâs Ibn Mujâhid, teacher of the Korân-*readings*, and other persons of the same profession. Ibn Shanabûd was then brought in and examined in the presence of the vizir, but he replied with great insolence to him, the *kâdi*, and Ibn Mujâhid, calling them persons of little information, and reproaching them with not having travelled in the pursuit of learning as he had done; the *kâdi* was even treated by him as a mere dotard. On this, the vizir ordered him to be flogged, and the prisoner, whilst undergoing this punishment, which consisted in seven distinct beatings, invoked God's vengeance on Ibn Mukla, praying that his hand might be cut off and his prosperity ruined; and such was really the case, as will be seen in our account of that vizir's life. They then examined him relatively to the readings which he was accused of having employed, and he answered by denying those which gave scandal, and declaring that some readers did make use of the others. Being called on to recant, he consented and said: "I renounce my manner of reading, and in future I shall follow no other than that "of the manuscript drawn up by (*the khalif*) Othmân Ibn Affân, and that which is "publicly received." The vizir ordered this declaration to be taken down, and made him subscribe his name to it. This subscription contained evidently the expression



of Ibn Shanabûd's sincere repentance. The words of the document were : " Mu-
" hammad Ibn Ahmad, generally known by the name of Ibn Shanabûd, being ques-
" tioned as to the report of his having thus read (*the verse of the Korân*) : *When*
" *you are called to prayer on the day of the assembly*, go (2) *to the commemoration of*
" *God*, he acknowledged it And being questioned as to the reading : *and* (do) *ye*
" *make this your gratitude that ye declare* (the Korân) *to be false* (3)? he acknow-
" ledged it ; and, as to the reading : *may the hands of Abû Lahab perish, and he* has
" already perished (4), he acknowledged it; and, as to the reading : *because there*
" *was a king* before *them who took every ship by force* (5), he acknowledged it; and,
" as to the reading : *like* wool *carded* (6), he acknowledged it; and, as to : *this day we*
" *will save thee* on account of thy invocation (7), he acknowledged it; and, as to : *and,*
" *when he fell down*, the men *plainly perceived* that the Genii, *had they known that*
" *which is secret, had not continued* a year *in ignominious punishment* (8), he acknow-
" ledged it; and, as to : *by the night when it spreads its shades ! by the day when it*
" *shineth forth !* by the male and the female (9) ! he acknowledged it ; and, as to : the
" infidels *have already charged* (Muhammad) *with imposture, but* (the punishment,
" *shall be eternal* (10), he acknowledged it; and, as to: *and that there may be* a band
" *of you inviting to the best* (religion), *and commanding that which is just, and for-*
" *bidding that which is evil*, and asking God's assistance against (the misfortunes)
" which befall them ; *these shall be happy ones* (11) ! he acknowlegded it ; and, as to :
" *if you do it not, there will be trouble in the earth and* wide spread *corruption* (12),
" he acknowledged it. And the witnesses here present have written their testimonies
" to this instrument, declaring it to accord with his own declaration, and Ibn Shana-
" bûd has written with his own hand what follows : — I, Muhammad, the son of
" Ahmad, the son of Aiyûb, generally known by the name of Ibn Shanabûd, acknow-
" ledge the contents of this paper to be true, and to be my words and belief; and
" I take to witness Almighty God and the persons here present. And if I act against
" this declaration, or if any thing in my conduct denote other sentiments than those
" here expressed, I declare that the Commander of the faithful may lawfully shed
" my blood. Written on Sunday, the 7th of the first Rabî, of the year 323, at the
" sitting held by the vizir Abû Ali Muhammad Ibn Ali Ibn Mukla; may he long
" enjoy the favour of God !" Abû Aiyûb as-Simsâr then interceded with the vizir
in order to procure Ibn Shanabûd's liberation, but observed to him that if he allowed
his prisoner to return home, the unfortunate man would be murdered by the popu-

lace. He, therefore, requested that he should be sent by night to al-Madâin, whence, after a few days' delay, he might privately return to his house in Baghdad, and not appear in public for some time. The vizir granted this request and sent Ibn Shanabûd to al-Madâin. This *reader* died at Baghdad on Monday, the 3rd of Safar, A. H. 328 (20th Nov., A. D. 939); some say that he died a prisoner in the sultan's palace. —Abû Bakr Ibn Mujâhid died on Wednesday, the 18th of Shaabân, A. H. 324 (13th July, A. D. 936), and was interred in a mausoleum erected for him in the Sûk al-Itr (*the perfume market*). His birth took place in the year 245 (A. D. 859-60).

(1) Literally : He read (*the Korân*) with them, in the *Mihrâb*.

(2) *Go;* in Arabic, *famdû*. The received text has *fasaû* (*hasten*). See Korân, sûrat 62, verse 9.

(3) For *gratitude* (*shukr*), the Korân has *rizk* (*sustenance*). Sale renders the passage thus : " And do ye " make (*this return for*) your food (*which ye receive from God*), that ye deny (*yourselves to be obliged to him* " *for the same*." Sûrat 56, verse 81.

(4) *Kad tabba*, for the received reading *tabba* (*and may he perish*). Sûrat 111, verse 1.

(5) *Before* (*âmâm*), in place of *behind* (*ward*). Sûrat 18, verse 78.

(6) *Wool* (*sûf*), in place of *wool of various colours* (*ihn*). Sûrat 101, verse 4.

(7) *On account of thy invocation* (*by nidâikâ*), in place of *with thy body* (*bi-badanika*). Sûrat 10, verse 92.

(8) The Korân has : " And when he fell down, the *Genii* plainly perceived that, if they had known that " which is secret, they had not continued in ignominious punishment." Sûrat 34, verse 13.

(9) Korân, sûrat 92, verses 1 and 2. The last words are not to be found there.

(10) The Korân has : " Ye have already charged," etc. Sûrat 25, verse 77.

(11) Korân, sûrat 3, verse 100. Ibn Shanabûd read *fiyet* (*band*) for *ommet* (people), and inserted the words : *and asking God's assistance*, etc.

(12) Korân, sûrat 8, verse 74. Ibn Shanabûd substituted *arîd* (*wide*) for *kabîr* (*great*). To judge from these specimens, his readings were generally plausible.

IBN AS-SAMMAK.

Abû 'l-Abbâs Muhammad Ibn Sabîh, surnamed Al-Mazkûr (1), and generally known by the appellation of Ibn as-Sammâk, was a *mawla* to the tribe of Ijl, a native of Kûfa, and a professional narrator of anecdotes. His devotion and self-mortifica-

tion, the elegance of his language, his pious exhortations and sayings, which were collected and learned by heart, acquired him great celebrity. He met some of the Moslims belonging to the class called *as-Sadr al-Auwal* (2), such as Hishâm Ibn Orwa (3) an dal-Aamash (*vol. I. p.* 587), and received information from them; Traditions were given on his authority by Ahmad Ibn Hanbal and that *imâm's* contemporaries. It was in the time of Hârûn ar-Rashîd that he left Kûfa, his native place, and proceeded to Baghdad; after remaining in that city for some time, he returned to Kûfa and died there. One of his sayings was : "Fear God as if you had never "obeyed him, and hope in him as if you had never disobeyed him." Hârûn ar-Rashîd, having one day declared, with an oath, that he himself was one of those who were to enter Paradise, consulted doctors of the law on the subject (4). None of them opined that he was one of those persons, and as Ibn as-Sammâk's name was then mentioned to him, he had him called in and asked his opinion. Ibn as-Sammâk proposed to him this question : "Had the Commander of the faithful ever the "occasion of committing an act of disobedience towards God, and abstained from "it through fear of offending him ?"—"Yes," said ar-Rashîd; "in my youth, I "fell in love with a slave-girl belonging to a person in my service, and, having once "found a favourable opportunity, I resolved on committing with her the evil deed, "but reflecting on the fire of hell and its terrors, and recollecting that fornication "was one of the grievous sins, I abstained from the girl through fear of Almighty "God." — Then let the Commander of the faithful rejoice! thou art one of those "who shall enter Paradise," said Ibn as-Sammâk.—"How," said ar-Rashîd, "dost "thou know that?" — "From the words of the Almighty himself," replied the other; "he has said : *But whoever shall have dreaded the appearing before his Lord* "*and shall have restrained his soul from lust; verily Paradise shall be his abode* (5)." These words gave ar-Rashîd great joy. Ibn as-Sammâk went one day to intercede with a grandee in favour of a man for whom he felt interested, and he addressed him in these terms : "The beseecher and the besought will feel honoured if the request "for which I come be granted, and disgraced if it be refused. Choose, therefore, "for thyself the honour of giving, not the shame of refusing, and choose for me the "honour of obtaining, not the shame of being refused." The request was granted. One of his sayings was: "He who, being inclined to the world, is sated with its "sweetness, shall be drenched with the bitterness of the other world, though he "abhor it." Having held a discourse one day in the hearing of his slave-girl, he

"asked her what she thought of it. She replied that it would have been good, were it not for the repetitions. "But, said he," "I employ repetitions in order to make "those understand who do not."—"Yes," she replied; "and to make those under-"stand who do not, you weary those who do." The anecdotes told of him and the exhortations which he delivered are very numerous. He died at Kûfa, A. H. 183 (A. D. 799-80). — *Sâmmak* means a *seller* or *a catcher of fish* (*samak*).

(1) *Al-Mazkûr* signifies *the mentioned, the well-remembered.* It is here employed as a surname, for in the *Nujûm*, under the year 183, there is an article on him in which he is called *Muhammad Ibn Sabîh abû 'l-Abbâs al-Mazkûr.*

(2) This expression serves to designate the *Tâbis* of the first generation, the immediate disciples of the companions.

(3) His life is given by our author.

(4) Had his oath been declared false, he would have been obliged, in conscience, to expiate it according to the prescribed forms. See vol. I. p. 53, n. 2.

(5) Korân, sûrat 79, verse 40.

ABU TALIB AL-MAKKI.

Abû Tâlib Muhammad Ibn Ali Ibn Atiya al-Hârithi al-Makki, a celebrated preacher and the author of the work entitled *Kût al-Kulûb* (*food for the heart*) (1), was noted for his piety and the austerity of his life. He pronounced discourses in the mosque, and composed some treatises on the *Tauhîd* (2). Al-Jabal (*Persian Irak*) was his native country, but, as he had resided at Mekka, he obtained the surname of al-Makki. He carried the practices of self-mortification to such a length that, it is said, he abstained from ordinary food during a considerable period and lived on nothing but wild herbs. In the use of this nutriment he persevered so long that his skin took a green tinge. In the Traditions and Sûfism he received the lessons of numerous masters. He went to Basra after the death of Abû 'l-Hasan Ibn Sâlim and represented himself as a follower of his doctrines (3). Having proceeded to Baghdad, he gave a public exhortation, but got so much embroiled in his discourse that the people

went away and left him. Muhammad Ibn Tâhir al-Makdisi (*p.* 5 *of this vol.*) relates, in his *Ansâb*, that, when Abû Tâlib al-Makki went to Baghdad and preached to the crowded congregation which had assembled to hear him, he got embroiled in his discourse, and, in one passage, it is well recollected that he said : " Nothing is more " hurtful to the creature than the creator (4). This made the people exclaim against him as a heretic, and, finding himself abandoned by them, he renounced preaching. Abû Tâlib al-Makki died at Baghdad on the 6th of the latter Jumâda, A. H. 386 (7th June, A. D. 996), and was interred in the *Mâlikiya* cemetery, on the eastern side (*of the Tigris*). His tomb is a well-known monument and attracts pious visitors. — *Hârithi* means *related to al-Hârith*, or *to al-Hâritha;* a number of tribes are designated by these names, and I do not know to which Abû Tâlib belonged.— *Makki* signifies *native of Mekka.*

(1) This works was designated as a guide to novices entering into the *sûfi*, or contemplative life.

(2) *Tauhîd* signifies the profession of the divine unity, but, in the technical language of the Sûfis, it means the *unification* of the soul with the Divinity. This is the highest station to which the soul can be elevated by contemplation and the practices of the devout life.

(3) This Ibn Sâlim appears to have been a sûfi.

(4) He probably meant to say *than the world*, but pronounced *khâlik* instead of *kholk.*

IBN SAMOUN.

Abû 'l-Husain Muhammad Ibn Ahmad Ibn Ismaîl Ibn Anbas Ibn Ismaîl, surnamed Ibn Samôun, was a native of Baghdad and a celebrated preacher. For extemporaneous speaking he had not an equal, and, in the eloquence of his exhortations, the charm of his allusions, and the grace of his style, he remained without a rival. Amongst the eminent doctors whom he met with and on whose authority he delivered Traditions, we may mention Abû Bakr as-Shibli (*vol. I. p.* 511). The *Sâhib* Abû 'l-Kâsim Ismaîl Ibn Abbâd (*vol. I. p.* 212) relates that he heard Ibn Samôun utter these words one day, when seated in the preacher's chair : " Extolled be the Being

"who hath enabled (*man*) to speak by (*means of a piece of*) flesh, and to see by "(*means of a piece of*) fat, and to hear by (*means of*) a bone!"—an ingenious allusion to the tongue, the eye, and the ear. One of his sayings was: "Seeing sin to "be vile, I renounced it through a feeling of dignity, and it was replaced in me "by devotion." His discourses abounded in delicate turns of thought. The people of Irâk had the highest opinion of his merit and were his enthusiastic admirers. It is of him that al-Harîri speaks, in the beginning of his twenty-first *makâma*, entitled *ar-Râziya* (1), where he says: "And I saw there, a certain morning, bands after "bands, swarming like locusts and running like race-horses; describing to each other "the preacher whom they were going to hear, and setting Ibn Samôun beneath him." Never did such a preacher exist since that time. He died at Baghdad in the month of Zû 'l-Hijja, A. H. 387 (December, A. D. 997); some say, on Friday, the 15th of Zû 'l-Kaada of that year; and was buried at his residence, in the street called Shârî 'l-Attâbiyîn (2). On Thursday, the 11th of Rajab, A. H. 426, his corpse was removed to the cemetery at the Harb gate and there interred; it is said that his shroud was still in perfect preservation.—*Samôun* is stated to be an alteration of *Ismaîl*, the name of his grand-father.—The primitive signification of *Anbas* (*the name of his great-grandfather*) is *lion;* but the word was subsequently employed as a proper name for men. The letter *n* of this word is not a radical; *anbas* being formed from *abas* (*to frown*) as *fânal* is formed from *fâl*.

(1) See de Sacy's *Harîri*, page ۲۰۴

(2) *Attabiyîn* signifies *makers of tabby*, the silk stuff so called.

ABU ABD ALLAH AL-HASHIMI, *THE ASCETIC.*

Abû Abd Allah Muhammad Ibn Ahmad Ibn Ibrahîm al-Kurashi al-Hâshimi (*descended from Hâshim of the tribe of Koraish*), a holy and pious ascetic and a native of al-Jazîra tal-Khadrâ (*Algeziras in Spain*), was distinguished by the gift of miracles,

I heard the people of Egypt relate most extraordinary things of him, and I saw a number of his disciples, who had all participated in the divine favour shown to their master; from them I learned that he had promised to some of his followers an exaltation in God's grace and that they really attained it. He ranked among the great saints of the first class. In his native country, the West, he frequented the society of the most eminent ascetics and profited by their instructions. On his arrival in Egypt, all those who became his disciples, or even saw him, derived advantage from the circumstance. Having gone to Syria on a pilgrimage to Jesusalem, he continued there till his death. This event took place on the 6th of Zû 'l-Hijja, A. H. 599 (17th August, A. D. 1203). The funeral prayer was said over him in the (*great mosque called*) al-Masjid al-Aksa. He died at the age of fifty-five years. His tomb is a remarkable object and attracts pious visitors, anxious to participate in the divine favour through his merits.—*Al-Jazîra tal-Khadrâ* (*the green island*) is a city in Spain, opposite to Ceuta.—One of his counsels to his disciples was: "Journey towards God "though you be lame or crippled (*in soul*); to wait for healing is to lose time."

IBN AL-AARABI.

The philologer Abû Abd Allah Muhammad Ibn Ziâd, generally known by the surname of Ibn al-Aârâbi, was a native of Kûfa and a *mawla* to the Hâshim family, being a client of al-Abbâs Ibn Muhammad Ibn Ali Ibn Abd Allah Ibn al-Abbâs Ibn Abd al-Muttalib (*Ibn Hâshim*). His father Ziâd was a slave brought from Sind; others say, a *mawla* to the Banû Shaibân, or to some other tribe; but the first statement is the truest. Ibn al-Aârâbi had a cast in his eyes (1). He was a genealogist, a philologer of the highest reputation, and one of those who transmitted orally the poems composed by the Arabic tribes. It is said that, of all the learned men of Kûfa, Ibn al-Aârâbi came nearest to those of Basra in respect to the readings of the poems taught by him (2). He was brought up by al-Mufaddal Ibn Muhammad al-Dabbi, the author of the *Mufaddaliyât* (3), who had married his mother. He obtained his knowledge

of literature from him, Abû Moawîa ad-Darîr (*vol. I. p.* 187), al-Kâsim Ibn Maan Ibn Abd ar-Rahman Ibn Abd Allah Ibn Masûd, the same whom the khalif al-Mahdi appointed *kâdi* (4), and al-Kisâi (*vol. II. p.* 237). Amongst his own disciples were Ibrahim al-Harbi (*vol. I. p.* 46), Abû 'l-Abbâs Thâlab (*vol. I. p.* 83), and Ibn as-Sikkît (5). He examined closely the productions of the learned, and pointed out a great number of faults committed by those who transmitted down philological information. He held the first rank by his knowledge of the rare and exalted expressions of the language (*al-kalâm al-gharîb*), and he pretended that Abû Obaida and al-Asmâi never produced anything good. He said that it was allowable in Arabic to substitute the letter *dâd* (ض) for the letter *zâ* (ظ), and *vice versa*, and that no one should be censured for so doing; he then recited this verse :

To God I complain of a friend whom I love, and who, in three things, has excited my anger (*ghâid*);

—Pronouncing *ghâid* instead of *ghâiz;* "and thus," said he, "did I hear it pro-"nounced by the most correct speakers among the desert Arabs.". His sittings were attended by crowds of people, anxious for instruction, and to them he addressed his dictations (6). Abû 'l-Abbâs Thâlab said: "I attended the sittings held by Ibn "al-Aârâbi, and saw there upwards of one hundred persons, some asking him ques-"tions and others reading to him; and he answered every question without (*consult-*"*ing*) a book. I followed his lessons upwards of ten years, and I never saw him "with a book in his hand; and yet he dictated to his pupils camel-loads of (*philo-*"*logical*) information." Never was a man seen who knew by heart a greater quantity of poetry. Observing one day at his sitting two persons engaged in conversation, he learned with surprise, on asking them whence they came, that one belonged to Isfîjâb (*in Transoxiana*) and the other to Spain. He then recited this verse :

(*We are*) two companions, widely separated till time joined us; the separated sometimes meet and unite together.

After which he dictated to the assembly the rest of the piece, which ran as follows :

We halted at the tent of a female, allied both to the tribe of Kais and to the Arabs of Yemen, nobly descended from pious forefathers; and she said, whilst letting down the curtain of the tent between us (*and her*) : "What is your country? who are you two men?" I replied : "My "companion and his people are of the tribe of Tamîm; I and my relatives are from Yemen.

"(*We are*) two companions, widely separated till time joined us; the separated sometimes "meet and unite together."

Abû 'l-Abbâs Thâlab gives the following lines as having been dictated to him and his fellow-students by Ibn al-Aârâbi :

May God shed his favour on a tribe whose dwelling-place is near Butnân! may blessings attend the youths therein and the men gray with years! Though they reside far away, I and they are (*united*) like wine mingled with water in the glass.

Amongst the works composed by Ibn al-Aârâbi were: the *Kitâb an-Nawâdir* (*book of anecdotes*), a large work; the *Kitâb al-Anwa* (7); the *Sifat al-Khail* (*description of the horse*); the *Sifat az-Zaré* (*description of corn in the blade*); the *Kitâb an-Nabât* (*book of plants*); the *Kitâb al-Khail* (*book of horses*); the *Târîkh al-Kabâil* (*history* [or *epochs*] *of the tribes*); the *Maâni as-Shîr* (*fine ideas occurring in poetry*); the *Tafsîr al-Amthâl* (*explanation of proverbs*); the *Kitâb al-Alfâz* (*vocabulary*); the *Nisab al-Khail* (*pedigrees of* [*famous*] *horses*); the *Nawâdir az-Zubairiyîn* (*anecdotes respecting the family of Zubair*); the *Nawâdir bani Fakâs* (*anecdotes of the sons of Fakâs*); the *Kitâb ad-Dabâb* (*book on flies*), etc. (8). The anecdotes told of him, and the philological observations which he dictated, are very numerous. Thâlab said : "I heard Ibn al-"Aârâbi mention that he was born on the night of the *imâm* Abû Hanîfa's death;" and this, according to the most authentic account, took place in the month of Rajab, A. H. 150 (August, A. D. 767). Ibn al-Aârâbi died at Sarra man râa on the 14th of Shaabân, A. H. 231 (16th April, A. D. 846); at-Tabari says, in his History, on Wednesday, the 13th of that month. Some place his death in the year 230, but the former date is nearer the truth. The funeral prayer was said over the corpse by the *kâdi* Ahmad Ibn Abi Duwâd al-Iyâdi (*vol. I. p.* 61). —The relative adjective *Aârâbi* is derived from *Aârâb;* Abû Bakr Muhammad Ibn Ozair as-Sijistâni (9), generally known by the appellation of al-Ozairi, says, in the work wherein he explains the uncommon words occurring in the Korân : "They call a man *Aâjam* or *Aâjami*, if there "be an *âjma* (*impediment*) in his tongue (*or language*), even though he belong to the "Arabian race; and they call a Persian *Ajami*, even though he speak (*Arabic*) with "correctness. A man is *Aârâbi*, if he be an inhabitant of the desert, though not "an Arab; and he is *Arabi*, if he belong to the Arabian race, even though not an "inhabitant of the desert."—*Isfîjâb* is a city in the farthest part of the East; I ima-

gine it to belong to the climate (*kingdom*) of China, or to be near it (10). — *Butnán* is a plural of *batn*, which word signifies *a low graoud.*

(1) Obliquity of vision was considered by the Arabs as a mark of beauty.

(2) See vol. I. page 379.

(3) Abû 'l-Abbâs (or Abû Abd ar-Rahmân) al-Mufaddal Ibn Muhammad Ibn Yala Ibn Aâmir Ibn Sâlim, a member of the tribe of Dabba, a branch of that of Thâlaba Ibn as-Sind, was a native of Kûfa. Having sided with Ibrahîm Ibn Abd Allah Ibn Hasan, surnamed an-Nafs az-Zakiya, who revolted against al-Mansûr in the year 145 (A. D. 762-3), he was taken prisoner, but received his pardon from that khalif, who attached him to the service of his son al-Mahdi. It was for this young prince that he compiled his *Mufaddaliydt*, a selection of one hundred and twenty-eight *kasîdas* composed by the Arabs. He died A. H. 168 (A. D. 784-5). In the manuscripts of the *Mufaddaliydt*, the number and the order of these poems vary, having been taught traditionally by different persons. They were commented by Ibn al-Aârâbi and Abû Zakariyâ at-Tibrîzi. The collection commences with the poems of Taâbbata Sharran. The other works of al-Mufaddal ad-Dabbi were, a book of proverbs, a treatise on prosody, another on the ideas usually expressed in poetry, and a vocabulary. Al-Mufaddal was held to be of the first authority as a philologer, a genealogist, and a relator of the poems and battle-days of the desert Arabs. Jahza (*vol. I. p.* 118) tells the following anecdote of him : " We were " together at ar-Rashîd's, and he said to al-Mufaddal : ' Let us know the best thing the Arabs have said " ' of the wolf, and you shall have this ring, which cost one thousand six hundred dinars (*gold pieces*). The " other replied : ' The best thing said of him is this :

ينام باحدى مقلتيه ويتقى   باخرى المنايا فهو يقظان نايم

" ' He sleeps with one eye and guards against danger with the other; thus at once waking and " ' sleeping.'

" Ar-Rashîd here said : ' God brought that passage to your lips for the sole purpose of taking away my ring.' " He then handed it to him. When Zubaida, ar-Rashîd's cousin and favorite wife, was told of the circum- " stance, she sent al-Mufaddal one thousand six hundred pieces of gold for the ring, which she offered to ar- " Rashîd, observing that she had remarked how much he liked it. The khalif immediately gave it to al-Mu- " faddal a second time, saying : Keep it and keep the money, for I am not a person to take back what I give " away.' " — (*Fihrest*, fol. 95. *Nujûm*. See also my *Diwan d'Amro 'l-Kais*, p. 117).—It was probably an edition of the *Mufuddaliydt* which Ibn al-Anbâri gave under the title of the *Jâhiliydt*. See his life in this volume.

(4) Al-Kâsim Ibn Maan Ibn Abd ar-Rahmân Ibn Abd Allah Ibn Masûd al-Masûdi, a native of Kûfa, surpassed all his contemporaries by the variety of his information; the Traditions and traditionists, poetry and poets, history and historians, scholastic theology and theologians, genealogy and genealogists, being the subjects on which he displayed the extent of his acquirements. He died A. H. 175 (A. D. 791-2). — (*Fihrest*, fol. 77. *Nujûm*.)

(5) The life of Yakûb Ibn as-Sikkît will be found in this work.

(6) See vol. II. page 159.

(7) Like many other works bearing the same title, this one doubtless contained observations, in prose and verse, relative to the supposed influence of the *anwd*, or mansions of the moon, on the weather.

(8) The nature of these and similar works is explained in the Introduction to the first volume, page xxiii

(9) Abû Bakr Muhammad Ibn Ozair (عُزَيْر) as-Sijistân, the author of the *Ghârib al-Kurân* (*rare expressions occurring in the Korân*), a work on the composition of which he spent fifteen years, was a man of great piety and virtue. He resided at Baghdad and was still living towards A. H. 330 (A. D. 941-2). His father's name is often mistaken for *Aziz* (عزيز). (Ad-Dahabi's *Târîkh al-Islâm*, N. 646.)

(10) This place lay in Transoxiana.

MUHAMMAD IBN AL-KALBI.

Abû 'n-Nadr Muhammad Ibn as-Sâib Ibn Bishr, or Mubashshir, Ibn Amr al-Kalbi, a native of Kûfa, the author of a commentary on the Korân and a genealogist, was a master of the highest authority in these two branches of science. Muhammad Ibn Saad (1) sets forth his genealogy thus : Muhammad Ibn as-Sâib al-Kalbi Ibn Bishr Ibn Amr Ibn al-Hârith Ibn Abd al-Hârith Ibn Abd al-Ozza Ibn Amr al-Kais Ibn Aâmir Ibn an-Nomân Ibn Aâmir Ibn Abdûn Ibn Kinâna Ibn Aûf Ibn Ozra Ibn Zaid Ibn Abd al-Lât Ibn Rufaida Ibn Thaur Ibn Kalb. I then consulted Hishâm Ibn al-Kalbi's *Book of Genealogies*, and found their descent given as here indicated, with the exception of the link *Abd al-Hârith,* which is omitted.—The following anecdote was related by him and has been transmitted down by his son Hishâm : "I went into " the house of Dirâr Ibn Otârid Ibn Hâjib Ibn Zurâra at-Tamîmi, at Kûfa, and found " with him a man like a mouse wriggling in a hole (2); and this was al-Farazdak the " poet. Dirâr winked at me and told me to ask him who he was. I put the ques-" tion, and the other replied : 'If thou art genealogist, trace down my descent; I am " 'sprung from Tamîm.'—I immediately repeated the list of Tamîm's descendants, " till I came to Ghâlib, the father of al-Farazdak, of whom I said : 'And Ghâlib begot " 'Hammâm'—this was al-Farazdak's real name.—" On this al-Farazdak sat up " and exclaimed : 'By Allah! my parents never called me by that name but for a " 'single hour of my life.' — 'And, by Allah!' replied I, 'I know the day on which " 'thy father called thee al-Farazdak.'—'What day was it?'—'He sent thee out on " 'some business, and, as thou wert walking forth with a *mustuka* (*or furred cloak*) " 'on thy shoulders, he said : By Allah! one would take thee for a *farazdak* (*a loaf*)

" 'made by the farmer of such and such a village, in the mountain (3).'—'That is " 'quite true,' replied the poet. He then asked me if I could repeat any of his " poems. 'No,' said I, 'but can repeat one hundred of Jarîr's (*vol. I. p.* 294) " '*kasîdas*.'—'Ah,' said he, 'thou canst repeat Ibn al-Marâgha's (*vol. I. p.* 297) " 'verses, and canst not repeat mine! By Allah! I shall satirize the tribe of Kalb " 'for a whole year, unless thou do as much for me as for Jarîr.' This threat in- " duced me to visit him repeatedly and read over his *Nakâis* (4) under his tuition, " although I had not the least use for them."—*Mustuka* means *a fur cloak with long sleeves:* its plural is *masâtik*. Some persons pronounce *mustaka*, not *mustuka*. A tradition informs us that Omar prayed in a *mustuka*, and we learn from another tradition delivered by Anas Ibn Mâlik, that the king of the Greeks sent a *mustuka* of flowered silk to the blessed Prophet, who put it on: " And I think," said he, " I " still see his hands as they appeared (*at the extremity of the sleeves*)." He then sent it to Jaafar, the son of Ali Ibn Tâlib, who said to the Prophet: " Send it to thy bro- " ther the Najâshi (*king of Abyssinia*)." An-Nadr Ibn Shumaîl (5) says that the *mustuka* is a sort of wide robe.—Muhammad Ibn al-Kalbi was a follower of Abd Allah Ibn Saba (6), him who taught that Ali Ibn Abi Tâlib was not dead, and that he would return into the world. — Sofyân ath-Thauri (*vol. I. p.* 576) and Muhammad Ibn Ishak (*vol. II. p.* 677) cited his authority for some of their Traditions, but, lest it should be known who he was, they gave them under this form: " We were told by " *Abû 'n-Nadr* that," etc. (7). This al-Kalbi fought at the battle of Dair at-Jamâjim (8), on the side of Abd-ar-Rahmàn Ibn Muhammad Ibn al-Ashâth Ibn Kais al-Kindi; his grand-father Bishr, his father as-Sâib, and his uncles Obaid and Abd ar-Rahmân fought under the khalif Ali at the battles of the Camel (A. H. 36) and Siffîn (A. H. 37). As-Sâib was slain with Musâb Ibn az-Zubair, and the following verses were pronounced on his death by Ibn Warkâ an-Nakhâi:

> Who will tell Obaid (9), for me, that I struck off his brother's head with the sharp sword. If he wish to know where he is, tell him that he reposes near ad-Daîrain, without a pillow. I struck off his head with my sword intentionally, and thus rendered orphans Sofyân and Muhammad.

Sofyân and Muhammad were the sons of as-Sâib.—Muhammad Ibn al-Kalbi died at Kûfa in the year 146 (A. D. 763-4). Under the letter *H* we shall give the life of his son Abû 'l-Mundir Hishâm, the celebrated genealogist. —*Kalbi* means *descended from Kalb*, the son of Wabara; the tribe of Kalb forms a large branch of that of Ku-

dâa, and a great number of persons have derived their patronymic from it.—*Mustuka* is a Persian word admitted into the Arabic language (10).

(1) His life will be found in this volume.

(2) Or, according to another reading : similem mentulæ molienti in vulva. The comparisons are not clear.

(3) Or, "like Farazdak, the *dihkân* of such and such a village," etc. In the life of al-Farazdak, we shall find mentioned that he received the nickname of *Farazdak* (*dough*) because his face was marked with the small-pox. The similitude appears to lie here in the porous appearance of leavened bread.

(4) *Nakâis* is the plural of *nakîsa*; this word means : Carmen alteri carmini contradicens et argumentum eius quasi dissolvens. These poems were probably al-Farazdak's answers to those of Jarîr.

(5) His life will be found in this work.

(6) See Sale's *Preliminary Discourse*, section VIII, and Dr. Cureton's *Sharastâni*, Arabic text, p. ١٣٢

(7) From this it appears that the authority of Ibn al-Kalbi as a traditionist was not much esteemed.

(8) The battle of Dair al-Jamâjim was fought A. H. 82. The fullest account we possess of Ibn al-Ashâth's revolt is that given by Price in his *Retrospect*, vol. I. p. 455 *et seq.*

(9) The word *Obaid* (*little Abd Allah*) is employed here as a term of contempt, to designate the antikhalif Abd Allah Ibn az-Zubair.

(10) The Persian word to which our author alludes is probably *mushteh* (مشته).

KUTRUB.

Abû Ali Muhammad Ibn al-Mustanîr Ibn Ahmad, the grammarian and philologer, generally known by the name of Kutrub, was a native of Basra and a *mawla* of Sâlim Ibn Ziâd. He acquired his philological information from Sîbawaih (*vol. II. p.* 396) and some of the learned men of Basra. Ardent for the acquisition of knowledge and devoted to study, he always went to Sîbawaih's lessons much earlier than the other pupils, and this induced his master to say to him one day : "Thou art "nothing else but a night-*kutrub*," and this surname stuck to him. The *kutrub* is a little animal always running about (1). Ibn al-Mustanîr was one of the chief (*philologers*) of the age ; his works are : the *Maâni 'l-Kurân* (*rhetorical figures of the Korân*), the *Kitâb al-Ishtikâk* (*treatise on etymology*), the *Kitâb al-Kawâfi* (*treatise on rhymes*), the *Kitâb an-Nawâdir* (*book of anecdotes*), the *Kitâb al-Azmina* (*book of the times*



[seasons?], the *Kitâb al-Fark* (*on the difference between the names given to the members of the human body and those given to the same members in animals*), the *Kitâb al-Aswât* (*book of cries* [or interjections]), the *Kitâb as-Sifât* (*book of epithets*), the *Kitâb al-Ilal fi 'n-Nahwi* (*on the examples generally used in grammar*) (2), the *Kitâb al-Adhdâd* (*on the words bearing each two different significations*), the *Kitâb Khulk al-Faras* (*on the frame of the horse*), the *Kitâb Khulk al-Insân* (*on the human frame*), the *Kitâb Gharîb al-Hadîth* (*on the unusual expressions occurring in the Traditions*), the *Kitâb al-Hamza* (*on the letter* hamza), the *Kitâb faala wa afala* (*on the change of signification undergone by certain verbs in passing from the first to the fourth form*), the *Kitâb ar-Radd ala 'l-Mulhidîn fi Tashâbuh al-Kurân* (*refutation of the impious, with respect to the passages of the Korân which, if taken literally, would lead to anthropomorphism*), *etc.* He was the first author who composed one of those philological treatises called *Ternaries* (*see vol. II. p.* 63); his work, though small, has the merit of priority, and served for model to Ibn as-Sîd al-Batalyausi (*vol. II. p.* 61) in his; the latter forms a large book. I have seen a third *Ternary* composed by a native of Tauris (*tibrîzi*), who was, however, a different person from the Abû Zakariyâ at-Tibrîzi, whose life is given in this work. I do not at present recollect the author's name, but the work itself is of considerable extent and merit. After all, it was Kutrub who marked out the way. Kutrub was preceptor to Abû Dulaf's sons (*vol. II. p.* 502). The following verses are attributed to him by (*Hârûn*) Ibn al-Munajjim in his *Kitâb al-Bârî* (3):

> Though thou art not with me, thy remembrance is; my heart sees thee, though thou art absent from my sight. The eye can see the beloved and perceive her absence; but the interior of the heart is never deprived of her presence.

These verses are very well known, but it is only from this work that I learned who was their author. Kutrub died A. H. 206 (A. D. 821-2). Some say that his real name was Ahmed Ibn Muhammad, and others, al-Hasan Ibn Muhammad; but that given at the head of this article comes probably nearest to the truth.

(1) According to our dictionaries, the word *kutrub* may signify a field-mouse, or an owl, or an insect that plays about on the surface of the water. It means also an elf or goblin.

(2) This title may signify also : *on faults of grammar.*

(3) The life of this Ibn al-Munajjim will be given later.



AL-MUBARRAD.

Abû 'l-Abbas Muhammad, generally known by the name of al-Mubarrad, was the son of Yazîd Ibn Abd al-Akbar Ibn Omair Ibn Hassân Ibn Sulaimân Ibn Saad Ibn Abd Allah Ibn Zaid Ibn Mâlik Ibn al-Hârith Ibn Aâmir Ibn Abd Allah Ibn Bilâl Ibn Aûf Ibn Aslam Ibn Ahjan Ibn Kaab Ibn al-Harith Ibn Kaab Ibn Abd Allah Ibn Mâlik Ibn an-Nadr Ibn al-Asad Ibn al-Ghauth. The Aûf of this list was called also Thumâla; and Ibn al-Kalbi, who makes the same observation, adds that al-Asad is the same person as al-Azd (*the progenitor of the tribe of that name*). The grammarian al-Mubarrad, surnamed ath-Thumâli al Azdi (*descended from Thumâlâ of the tribe of Azd*), was a native of Basra, but resided at Baghdad. This eminent philologer and grammarian composed a number of works on literary subjects, such as the *Kâmil* (*perfect*), the *Rauda* (*meadow*), the *Muktadib* (*rough draught*), etc. He studied under Abû Othmân al-Mâzini (*vol. I. p.* 264) and Abû Hâtim as-Sijistâni (*vol. I. p.* 603); amongst the many eminent masters who had received lessons from him, Niftawaih (*vol. I. p.* 26) was one of the most distinguished. Al-Mubarrad was a contemporary of Abû 'l-Abbâs Ahmad Ibn Yahya, surnamed Thâlab (*vol. I. p.* 83), the author of the *Fâsîh;* they were both deeply learned, and with them terminated the series of the great philologers. It was of them that a contemporary, Abû Bakr Ibn Abi 'l-Azhar, said, in one of his poems :

> Searcher of knowledge! act not foolishly, but have recourse to al-Mubarrad or to Thâlab. In them you will find united the learning of all other men; remain not then (*in ignorance, lest you be shunned*) like a mangy camel. All the knowledge in the world, from East to West, is concentrated in these two.

Al-Mubarrad liked to meet with Thâlab, because he had then an opportunity of discussing questions with him and acquiring information; but this was highly disagreeable to Thâlab, who, therefore, avoided him. Abû 'l-Kâsim Jaafar Ibn Muhammad Ibn Hamdân, a jurisconsult of Mosul and a friend to both, related as follows : " I asked Abû Abd Allah ad-Dainawari, Thâlab's son-in-law, why his relative had " such a dislike to meeting with al-Mubarrad, and he replied, because al-Mubarrad

"expressed himself with elegance and charmed the hearer by his ingenious allusions, "purity of language, and clearness of expression; whereas Thâlab's mode of speak-"ing was that usual with persons accustomed to teach. It, therefore, happened that, "when they met, the assembly were seduced by al-Mubarrad's outward show before "they could appreciate (Thâlab's real) worth." Al-Mubarrad dictated a great quantity of information and abounded in anecdote. One of the relations dictated by him was the following: "Abû Jaafar al-Mansûr appointed a person to act as guardian of the "blind, the orphans, and distressed house-keepers who were widows. A man re-"duced to great misery went one day with his son to this officer and said: 'Would "'you have the kindness to inscribe my name on the list of distressed house-"'keepers?'—'Those house-keepers are females,' observed the guardian, 'how then "'can I inscribe you among them?'—'Well,' said the man, 'put me on the blind "'list'. — 'That I will,' answered the other, 'for God hath said: *It is not the eyes* "'*which are blind, but the hearts contained in men's bosoms* (1).' — 'And inscribe "'my boy on the list of orphans.' — 'That also I shall do, for he who has a father "'like you is really an orphan.' The man then withdrew, after obtaining his in-"scription on the blind list and that of his son on the list of orphans." A certain grandee having asked al-Mubarrad to procure him a preceptor for his son, he sent him one with a letter to this effect: "I here send what you wished for, and I may "say this much for him and in his name:

"When I visit princes, all the protection I require is, that they put my talents to the test."

The idea of this verse is borrowed from a note addressed to al-Mâmûn by Ahmad Ibn Yûsuf (*vol. I. p.* 271) the *kâtib,* on the day of Newrûz (2), with the present of an embroidered robe: "I have sent to the Commander of the faithful an embroidered "robe which will speak for itself. Adieu." I once saw al-Mubarrad in a dream, and the singularity of our conversation was such that I am induced to relate it: In the year 636 (A. D. 1238-9), I passed five months in Alexandria, and happening to have with me al-Mubarrad's *Kâmil* and Ibn Abd Rabbih's *Ikd* (*vol. I. p.* 92), I perused them occasionally. In the latter work I remarked a chapter entitled: *Mistakes of which poets have been accused,* and containing verses in which it had been pretended that the authors were mistaken, whereas the were really in the right; the blunders having been made by critics not sufficiently acquainted with the subjects they were

examining. Amongst the persons mentioned in this chapter is al-Mubarrad, of whom the author says : "And similar to this is a mistake committed by Muhammad Ibn "Yazîd (*al-Mubarrad*) the grammarian, in his *Rauda*, where he blames al-Hasan Ibn "Hâni—meaning Abû Nuwâs—for having said :

> "(*The tribe of*) **Bakr Ibn Wâil has left no recollections but that of its foolish woman** (*hamkâ*) "**and its lying man.**"

" 'Because,' says al-Mubarrad, 'by the word *hamkâ* the poet meant the man called " 'Habannaka al-Kaisi, and he should not, therefore, have designated him as *hamkâ* " '(*stulta*).' Now the fact is that Abû Nuwâs meant the female of the tribe of Ijl "called Dugha, whose silliness was proverbial, and Ijl is a branch of the tribe of "Bakr." By this, the author of the *Ikd* meant to say that al-Mubarrad, in blaming Abû Nuwâs for having here made use of the word *hamkâ* (*stulta*), imagined that the poet had in view Habannaka, and, as Habannaka was a man, that he should have said *ahmak* (*stultus*), not *hamkâ;* whereas, according to Ibn Abd Rabbih, the poet really meant the woman called Dugha. Therefore, concludes the author of the *Ikd*, it is al-Mubarrad who is in the wrong, not Abû Nuwâs. A few nights after reading this passage, I dreamt that I was in Aleppo, in the college of the *kâdi* Bahâ ad-Dîn Ibn Shaddâd, where I had formerly pursued my studies. And it seemed as if we were saying the afternoon prayer in the place appropriated to that purpose, and that a number of people were there assembled. When the prayer was ended, I stood up to retire and then saw, at the lower end of the room, a man standing and praying. Being informed by one of the persons present that it was Abû 'l-Abbâs al-Mubarrad, I went over and sat down beside him, waiting till he had done. I then saluted him and said : "I am now reading your work, the *Kâmil;*" on which he asked me if I had seen his *Rauda*. I replied that I had not, and this was in fact the truth, as I had never seen the work. "Well," said he, "come with me, and I will show it "to you." On this, I arose and went up with him to his chamber, wherein I perceived a great quantity of books. He then sat down before them, looking for his *Rauda*, and I took my seat at some distance. Having drawn out a volume, he handed it to me. I opened it and, placing it on my knees, I said to him : "They have re- "marked a mistake of yours in this book."—"What mistake can they have remarked "in it?"—"They say that you found fault with Abû Nuwâs for having said so and "so in such a verse."—"He was certainly wrong there."—"Nay," said I, "he

"was in the right, and they say that you were in the wrong when you accused him "of making a mistake."—"How can that be?" I then told him what the author of the *Ikd* had said, on which he bit the end of his finger and stared at me in amazement, looking quite abashed and unable to utter a word. He remained in the same posture till I awoke. My only motive for mentioning this dream is its singularity. Al-Mubarrad was born on Monday, the festival of the Sacrifice, A. H. 210 (25th March, A. D. 826), some say in A. H. 207 (A. D. 822-3). He died at Baghdad on Monday, the 27th of Zû 'l-Hijja—some say, of Zû 'l-Kaada, A. H. 286 (5th Dec., A. D. 899); but others place his death in A. H. 285. He was interred in a house bought for the purpose, and situated in the cemetery at the Kûfa gate. The funeral service was said over him by the *kâdi* Abû Muhammad Yûsuf Ibn Yàkûb (*vol. II. p.* 664). The following lines, written after his death by Abû Bakr al-Hasan Ibn al-Allâf (*vol. I. p.* 398), are currently known, and were frequently recited by Ibn al-Jawâlîki (3):

Al-Mubarrad is gone! his days are past! and Thâlab must follow al-Mubarrad. Behold the mansion of literature half demolished, and destruction awaiting the remainder. Lament what time has snatched away, and prepare your minds for another privation. Lay in a provision out of Thâlab's learning, for he shall soon drink of the same cup as al-Mubarrad. I should tell you even to take note of his sighs, if it were possible to write them down.

A similar idea is thus expressed by Abû Abd Allah al-Husain Ibn Ali an-Namari (4), a philologer of Basra, in a piece of verse recited by him on learning the death of his rival Abû Abd Allah Muhammad Ibn al-Mualla al-Azdi :

Al-Azdi is gone and an-Namari is going; the parts of one whole are always closely united. He was my brother, the partaker of my love, although he never repaid me that debt nor acknowledged that obligation. A coolness always reigned between us, but it redounded to his honour and my own. For I never despised the men of Azd, although their country was far apart from mine.

—*Thumâli* means *descended from Thumâla,* a person whose real name was Aûf Ibn Aslam and from whom a branch of the tribe of Azd drew its origin. At-Mubarrad says, in his *Kitâb al-Ishtikâk* : "This tribe was called *Thumâla,* because it lost most "of its members in a battle, and the people said : There is only a *thumâla* of them "remaining. *Thumâla* means *a feeble remnant.*" — The following satirical lines were composed on al-Mubarrad and his tribe by a contemporary poet; Abû Ali al-

'Kâli (*vol. I. p.* 210) attributes them, in his *Amâli*, to Abd as-Samad Ibn al-Muaddal :

> We asked every tribe where was (*the tribe of*) Thumâla, and they asked us what was Thumâla. I told them that to it belonged Muhammad Ibn Yazîd, and they said : " You make it " less know to us than ever. " Then al-Mubarrad spoke to me and said : " Spare my feelings ; " that tribe of mine is a vile race. "

It is even stated that these verses were composed by al-Mubarrad himself, from a desire of being known as member of this tribe : his verses got into circulation, and he thus obtained his wish. He used frequently to recite these lines at his assemblies :

> O you who, in sumptuous array, strut about like princes and scorn the hatred of the poor; know that the saddle-cloth changeth not the nature of the ass, neither do splendid trappings change the nature of the pack-horse.

The learned explain diversely the origin of his surname *al-Mubarrad*, and here is what the *hâfiz* Abû 'l-Faraj Ibn al-Jauzi (*vol. II. p.* 96) says, in his treatise on patronymics : " Al-Mubarrad, being asked how he came by this surname, related as " follows : The chief of the *shurta (police-guards)* wanted me to pass the evening " with him in conviviality and conversation, but not wishing to go, I went to Abû " Hâtim as-Sijistâni's. Soon after, a messenger of that officer (*wâli*) came in " search of me, and Abû Hâtim bid me hide in the wicker-case of a large earthen " water-jar. Having followed his advice, he put on the lid, and went to the " messenger, saying : ' He is not in my house.'—' Nay,' said the other, ' I am " ' told that he is in it.' — ' Well,' replied Abû Hâtim, ' come in and look for " ' him.' The man went in, and searched every corner of the house, without " noticing the wicker-case. When he went away, Abû Hâtim clapped his hands, " calling at the same time towards the case : ' *Al-Mubarrad! al-Mubarrad!* (*who* " *wants cool water!*) ' When the public heard of this, they kept it up against " me." Some say that this surname was given to him by his master Abû Othmân al-Mâzini, and others again explain it in a different manner.—*Habannaka* was the surname given to Abû 'l-Wadaât—or Abû Nâfi—Yazîd Ibn Thaurân al-Kaisi, whose stupidity had become so notorious that it was proverbially said : (Such a one is) *more stupid than Habannaka al-Kaisi.*—One of his camels having gone astray, he offered two camels to whoever would bring it back. They said to him : " How

" can you offer two camels for one?" and he replied: "You do not know the plea-" sure it is to find what one has lost." This gave rise to the proverb. Verses were also made on him which got current (*among the tribes*), and the following piece, composed by Yahya Ibn al-Mubârak al-Yazîdi, a person whose life we shall give, and directed against Shaiba Ibn al-Walîd al-Absi, the uncle of Dakâka, contains an allusion to the same subject:

> Live protected by fortune, and thy (*natural*) stupidity will harm thee not; those whom we see living in prosperity are merely the favorites of fortune. The man of talent is often poor, and the fool enjoys opulence. Live protected by fortune, and you may be like Habannaka al-Kaisi or Shaiba Ibn al-Walîd.

The circumstance which induced al-Yazîdi to compose these lines was, that, being in a discussion with al-Kisâi at the court of al-Mahdi and in the presence of that khalif, he remarked that Shaiba Ibn al-Walîd, who happened to be there, displayed great partiality against him and favoured his adversary. He, in consequence, lashed him in a number of pieces, one of which was that here given.—*Dugha* was the surname of Mâriya, the daughter of Rabia Ibn Saad Ibn Ijl Ibn Lujaim. This Rabîa bore the surname of *Maghnaj* or *Mighnaj*. Dugha's silliness became so notorious that it was currently said: (Such a one is) *a greater fool than Dugha*. Ibn al-Kalbi assigns her a different origin in his *Jamhara tan-Nisab;* in speaking of the descendants of al-Anbar, he says: " And Jundub, the son of al-Anbar, engendered " Adi, Kaab, and Owaij; their mother was Mâriya, the daughter of Rabîa Ibn Saad " Ibn Ijl, or, according to another statement, she was Dugha, the daughter of Magh-" naj Ibn Iyâd." He, therefore, considers Mâriya and Dugha as different persons; whether he be in the right or not, God only knows! What established her character for silliness was that, having brought forth a child and hearing it cry, she said to her mother: " Is it the *jaar* which opens its mouth (*yaftah fâhû*)?" to which the mother replied: " Yes; and it reviles its father (*yasubb abâhû*)." The word *jaar*, in its primitive acceptation, signifies the dung of any wild animal armed with claws, but it was then applied, by a species of licence, to the excrements of other animals. Dugha, on bringing forth her child, imagined that it was an excrementitious discharge, and on hearing the child cry, she was filled with wonder and asked whence the noise proceeded. She had married a member of the family of al-Anbar Ibn Amr Ibn Tamîm, and, on her account, the Banû 'l-Anbar were called the *Banû 'l-Jaarâ* (*filii*

podicis).—These notes, though foreign to our subject, furnish some curious particulars, and that induces me to insert them.

(1) Korân, sûrat 22, verse 45.

(2) See vol. I, page 340.

(3) The life of Ibn al-Jawâliki is given by Ibn Khallikân.

(4) The author of the *Fihrest* notices two persons of the name of Abû Abd Allah an-Namari; the first as author of a treatise on colours, entitled *Kitâb al-Lumâ fi 'l-Alwân*, of a work entitled *Maâni 'l-Hamâsa*, perhaps a commentary on the *Hamâsa* of Abû Tammâm, and of a treatise having for title كتاب الحلى.— The other Abû Abd Allah an-Namari spoke with facility the language of good society and that of the people بين الكلام الخاص والعام, but, says the author of the *Fihrest*, no works are mentioned as having been composed by him. —*Fihrest*, fol. 112, 121.

IBN DURAID.

Abû Bakr Muhammad Ibn al-Hasan Ibn Duraid Ibn Atâhiya Ibn Hantam Ibn Hasan Ibn Hamâmi Ibn Jarw Ibn Wâsî Ibn Wahb Ibn Salama Ibn Hâdir Ibn Asad Ibn Adi Ibn Amr Ibn Mâlik Ibn Fahm Ibn Ghânim Ibn Daus Ibn Udthân Ibn Abd Allah Ibn Zahrân Ibn Kaab Ibn al-Hârith Ibn Kaab Ibn Abd Allah Ibn Mâlik Ibn Nasr Ibn al-Azd Ibn al-Gauth Ibn Nabt Ibn Mâlik Ibn Zaid Ibn Kahlân Ibn Saba Ibn Yashjub Ibn Yârub Ibn Kahtân, a member of the tribe of Azd and a native of Basra, was the most accomplished scholar, the ablest philologer, and the first poet of the age. Al-Masûdi speaks of him in these terms, in his *Murûj ad-Dahab*: "And, at Baghdad, "Ibn Duraid was one of those who, in our times, excelled as a poet and attained "eminence as a philologer. In this science he held the rank of al-Khalîl Ibn Ahmad "(*vol. I. p.* 493), and made known peculiarities of the (*Arabic*) language which had "not been noticed in the works of his predecessors. In poetry he could assume "every tone, from grave to gay; and his poetical productions are too numerous to be "reckoned; otherwise, we should indicate the greater part of them in this book. One "of his best pieces is the *kasîda*, so well known under the title of *al-Maksûra*, in

"which he celebrates the praises of al-Shâh Ibn Mîkâl and his son; the former, "named Abd Allah Ibn Muhammad Ibn Mîkâl, and the latter, Abû 'l-Abbâs Ismaîl "Ibn Abd Allah (1). It is said that, in this poem, he has inserted most of the words "terminated by a short *alif* (*maksûr*). It begins thus :

> "Seest thou not that my head ressembles by its colour the rays of morning (*appearing*) "underneath the training robe of darkness, and that its white (*hairs*) shine through the black, "as shineth the fire in a log of Ghada wood? (2).

He then adds : "In this well-known *kasîda*, he has had a number of imitators, such "as Abû 'l-Kâsim Ali Ibn Muhammad Ibn Abi 'l-Fahm al-Antâki at-Tanûkhi" (*vol. II. p.* 304), etc.—This poem has occupied the attention of many writers, in ancient and modern times; they explained its meaning and elucidated the signification of its words, but the fullest and best of these commentaries is that composed by the jurisconsult Abû Abd Allah Muhammad Ibn Ahmad Ibn Hishâm Ibn Ibrahim al-Lakhmi as-Sibti (3), a modern author who died towards A. H. 570 (A. D. 1174). It was commented also by the *imâm* Abû Abd Allah Muhammad Ibn Jaafar al-Kazzâz, the author of the philological treatise, the *Kitâb al-Jâmê* : we shall give this writer's life. Amongst Ibn Duraid's most celebrated works are : the *Kitâb al-Jamhara* (*the collection*), a highly-esteemed philological treatise (4); the *Kitâb al-Ishtikâk* (*on the etymology of proper names*) (5); the *Kitâb as-Sarj wa 'l-Lijâm* (*on the saddle and bridle*) (6); a large and a small book on horses; a treatise on the *Anwâ* (*influence of the stars on the weather*); the *Kitâb al-Muktabis* (*book for him who seeks information*); the *Kitâb al-Mulâhin* (*the elucidator* (?); the *Kitâb Zûwâr il-Arab* (*the Arabs noted for visiting their friends*); the *Kitâb al-Lughât* (*on the dialects* or idiomatic expressions of the Arabs); the *Kitâb as-Silâh* (*on weapons*); the *Kitâb Gharîb al-Kurân* (*on the obscure expressions of the Koran*); this work he left unfinished; the *Kitâb al-Mujtana* (*chosen selection*), a small book, but full of information; the *Wishâh* (*embroidered belt*), a short but instructive treatise. He composed also some beautiful poetry, and the men of learning in former times used to say : "Ibn Duraid is the most learned "amongst the poets, and the ablest poet amongst the learned." One of his pieces offers the following fine passage :

> A brilliant (*maiden*); did her cheeks display their brightness to the rising sun, he could not shine; (*her waist*) is a pliant branch waving on a round sand-hill (*the haunches*); and over it is seen a moon (*her face*) shining through the cover of the night (*her dark hair*). Were beauty

told to choose its representative, it would not pass her by; and were it told to address any other female, it would not speak. The darkness of her hair (*shades the world and*) makes us think the sun is set; the brightness of her face (*enlightens it and*) makes us think him rising. She appears, and her lustre dazzles every eye; woe befall the eyes that close not then!

Were I not apprehensive of lengthening this article too much, I would give numerous passages from his poetry. He was born at Basra in the street (*sikka*) of Sâlih, A. H. 223 (A. D. 837-8); he passed his youth in that city, and there he made his studies. His masters were Abû Hâtim as-Sijistâni (*vol. I. p.* 603), ar-Riâshi (*vol. II. p.* 10), Abd ar-Rahmân Ibn Abd Allah, surnamed the *nephew of al-Asmâi* (*Ibn Akhi 'l-Asmâi*) (7), Abû Othmân Saîd Ibn Hârûn al-Ushnândâni (8), author of the *Kitâb al-Maani*, and others. He left Basra in company with his paternal uncle al-Husain, when the Zenj stormed that city and murdered ar-Riâshî (*vol. II. p.* 11). He then dwelt at Omân (9) twelve years. Having returned to Basra, where he again resided for a time, he set out for Persia and there became the companion of the sons of Mîkâl, who were at that epoch the administrators of the province of Fars. It was for them that he composed his *Jamhara*. They appointed him director of the government office of Fars, and no official papers were published without his approval, neither was any order executory without his signature. He gained large sums in their service, but, being prodigal of his money and always ready to oblige, he never kept a dirhem in his possession, and indulged his generous inclinations to their full extent. In his *kasîda*, the *Maksûra*, he introduced the eulogium of his patrons and received from them a present of ten thousand pieces of gold. In the year 308 (A.D. 920-1), subsequently to the deposition of the sons of Mîkâl and their removal to Khorâsân, he proceeded to Baghdad, where he found a generous protector in Ali Ibn Muhammad al-Khuwâri. The imam al-Muktadir having been informed by al-Khuwâri of the history and high literary attainments of his guest, settled on him a monthly pension of fifty dinars, and this allowance was regularly continued to him as long as he lived. Ibn Duraid could repeat from memory a vast number of poems and other pieces; in the quantity of productions which he had learned by heart, he surpassed all his predecessors, and, when students were reading, under his tuition, the poetical compositions of the Arabs of the desert, he would repeat, from memory, the remainder of the piece which his pupil had commenced. Ad-Dârakutni (*vol. II. p.* 239) having been asked if Ibn Duraid was to be considered as a true transmitter of pieces preserved by tradition, replied that some doubts had been

expressed on the subject; indeed, it is said that he was careless in his delivery of these pieces, attributing them to the first author whose name came uppermost. The philologer Abû Mansûr al-Azhari (*page* 48 *of this vol.*) relates that, having gone to see Ibn Duraid, he found him drunk, "and therefore," said he, "I never returned "to his house again." "When we went to see him," said Ibn Shâhîn (*vol. I. p.* 324), "we were shocked at the sight of lutes hung up on the wall and of wine "unmixed with water." It is related that a beggar having asked him for something, he bestowed on him a keg of wine, having nothing else to give at the time. One of his boys disapproved of this act and said to him: "How can you possibly give wine "in charity (10)?"—"Why," replied Ibn Duraid, "that was the only thing I had." Some time afterwards, he received ten kegs of wine as a present, on which he observed to the same boy: "We bestowed one keg and receive it back tenfold." A great number of similar stories are told of him. Towards the ninetieth year of his age, he lost the use of his side by a paralytic stroke, but recovered by drinking theriac. He then relapsed deeper than ever into his old habits and denied himself no indulgence. He resumed also his lessons, reciting and dictating to his scholars; but, a year afterwards, having eaten something which disagreed with him, the palsy returned. All his body, from head to foot, was completely paralysed, but he could still move his hands in a slight degree. When in this state, he uttered cries of pain if any person happened to enter the room, even without going near him. Alluding to this, his disciple Abû Ali Ismail al-Kâli al-Baghdâdi (*vol. I. p.* 210) made the following remark: "I said to myself: The Almighty has punished him thus, for having said, in his "*Maksûra*, when speaking of time and its effects:

> "(*O Time!*) thou hast engaged with one who, if the spheres fell on him from every point "of heaven, would not utter a complaint (11)."

"And his sufferings were such that he would cry out like one trod under foot or "pricked with needles, although the person who went in did not approach him." Though reduced to this miserable state, he retained all his mental faculties, and answered with perfect justness every question which was proposed to him. "He "survived this attack two years," says Abû Ali, "and, whilst he was in that state, "I consulted him on the points of philology respecting which I had doubts, and, as "quick as thought, he returned me satisfactory answers. I asked him, one day, a "question relative to a certain verse, and he replied: '*Had the light of my eyeballs*

" '*been extinguished, you would not have found a person capable of satisfying* '" *your thirst for knowledge.* And these very words, my son, were addressed to " ' me by Abû Hâtim when I once happened to ask him a question; and he told " ' me that al-Asmâi had spoken them to him under the same circumstances.' "— " To the last question I ever addressed to him," said Abû Ali, " he made this " reply : ' *Hâl al-jarîd dûn al-karîd* (*choking has put a stop to verses*); ' and these " were the last words I heard him utter. Before that time, he used frequently to " recite this verse, applying it to himself :

" Wretch that I am! a life of pleasure was not mine, neither have I wrought a good deed " whereby I might please God. "

" The following anecdote," says al-Marzubâni (12), " was related to me by Ibn " Duraid : I fell from (*the top of*) my house in Fars, and broke my collar-bone. " I passed a sleepless night, and towards morning, having just closed my eyes, I " dreamt that a tall pale man with a thin beard came to my room, and, having taken " hold of the door posts, one in each hand, he said : ' Repeat to me the best verses " ' you ever composed on wine.' I replied that Abû Nuwâs (*vol. I. p.* 391) had left " nothing for me or any one else to say on the subject. ' Well,' said he, ' I am a " better poet than Abû Nuwâs.' This induced me to ask him who he was, and he " answered: ' Abû Nâjiya, a native of Syria.' He then recited to me these lines :

" Red before it is mixed and pale after, (*this wine*) comes forth arrayed in a double robe " of narcissus (*yellow*) and of anemony (*red*); pure, it resembles the cheeks of the beloved; " mixed, it assumes the (*pallid*) hue of the lover. "

" When he had done, I declared the verses bad, and, on his asking my reason, " I replied : ' You begin by calling it red, and then you say *arrayed in narcissus* " ' *and in anemony*, thus putting the yellow colour first; why did you so?'— " ' Such hypercriticism is most untimely, you reprobate!' was his answer." In another version of this anecdote, it is stated that Abû Ali 'l-Fârisi said : " Ibn Duraid " recited me these two lines, composed by himself, and told me that Satan appeared " to him in a dream and asked him if he had not essayed to rival Abû Nuwâs? Ibn " Duraid answered that he had. ' Well,' said Satan, ' your verses are not bad, but " ' you have committed one fault.' " The rest of the narration agrees with what precedes.—Ibn Duraid died at Baghdad on Wednesday, the 17th of Shaabân,

A. H. 321 (12th August, A. D. 933), and was buried on the east side of the river, in the Abbâsiya cemetery. His tomb is situated behind the bazar where arms are sold, near the main street (*as-Shârî 'l-Aazam*). The celebrated Motazelite divine Abû Hâshim Abd as-Salâm al-Jubbâi (*vol. II. p.* 132) died the same day, and this caused the people to say: "To-day, philology and dogmatic theology have ceased to exist!" It is stated that he lived precisely ninety-three years. Jahza tal-Barmaki (*vol. I. p.* 118) lamented his death in the following lines:

> When Ibn Duraid made the third with the grave-stone and the earth (*torab*), I lost all in losing him. I, at first, lamented the departure of generosity, but I now lament the departure of generosity and erudition.

Torab (*an unusual word*) is the plural of *torba*, (*a heap of earth.*)—*Duraid* is the *tarkhim* diminutive of *Adrad* (*toothless*). This species of diminutive is called *tarkhîm* (*softening*), because the letter *a*, the initial of the primitive word, is suppressed; it is thus that of *aswad* and *azhar* they form *suwaid* and *zuhair*.—*Hantam*, the name of one of his ancestors (*mentioned at the commencement of this article*), means an *earthen jar coated with green varnish;* it is used also as a proper name for men.—*Hamâmi*, another of his ancestors, was, according to the emir Abû Nasr Ibn Mâkûla (*vol. II. p.* 248), the first of the family who became a convert to Islamism. He was one of the seventy horsemen who accompanied Amr Ibn al-Aâsi from Omân to Medîna, on learning that the Prophet was dead; the circumstance is well-known (13).—*Hâl al-jarîd dûn al-karîd* is a well-known proverb; it originated with Abîd Ibn al-Abras, an ante-islamic poet, who pronounced these words on meeting an-Nomân Ibn al-Mundir al-Lakhmi, the last king of Hîra, in one of his bad days (14). An-Nomân resolved to put him to death according to the custom he had adopted, but first asked him to repeat some verses of his own composing; Abîd, who had discovered his intentions, replied: *Hâl al-jarîd dûn al-karîd* (*choking has put a stop to verses*). It was as if the poet had said: Strangulation has put a stop to the reciting of verses. It is a well known story, and I merely give its outline here.—*Abîd*, for so his name must be pronounced, was a celebrated poet; he was born about the same time as Abd al-Muttalib Ibn Hâshim, the grand-father of the Prophet.

(1) According to ad-Dahabi, in his Annals, life of Ibn Duraid, that philologer was employed by Abd Allah Ibn Mîkâl, who was then governor of al-Ahwâz for the khalif al-Muktadir, as preceptor to his son Ismail. — MS. No. 646, fol. 115 v.



(2) See vol. II, page 453.

(3) The manuscript of the *Bibliothèque Impériale*, No. 490, *ancien fonds*, contains a very ample and learned commentary on Ibn Duraid's *Maksûra*. Although the first pages of this commentary have disappeared, it may be easily perceived, by a comparison with the edition of the *Maksûra* and of the commentary of Ibn Hishâm, the first part of which was published at Copenhagen in 1828 by L. N. Boisen, that the *Bibliothèque impériale* possesses, in this MS., the great commentary of Ibn Hishâm al-Lakhmi, and that the printed edition of it is a mere abridgment.

(4) A copy of the last half of the *Jamhara* is in the *Bibliothèque impériale*.

(5) The Arabic text of this useful work has been published by professor Wüstenfeld, at Gottingen, in 1854, under the title of *Ibn Doreid's genealogisch-etymologisches Handbuch*.

(6) See the observations in page xxiii of the Introduction to vol. I.

(7) " *Ibn Akht 'l-Asmai* : al-Yazîdi writes as follows : His name was Abd ar-Rahmân Abû Muhammad; " some say, Abû 'l-Hasan. He was a dull heavy man, but the pieces which he transmitted orally on the au- " thority of his uncle and other learned men are held to be correct. He composed a treatise on the ideas oc- " curring in poetry (*Madni 's-Shir*)."—(*Fihrest*, fol. 75 v.)

(8) The name of Abû Othmân al-Ushnândâni occurs in the *Fihrest*, fol. 81 v. and 115 v. He is there stated to have been one of the learned men of Basra and the author of a *Kitâb Madni's-Shir*, and a *Kitâb al-Abyât*.

(9) Perhaps the word عمان must be pronounced *Ammân*. There was a city of this name in the Balkâ of Syria. Omân is that province of Arabia which is situated at the entrance of the Persian gulf.

(10) According to the Moslim law, wine is a thing of no value.

(11) Horace has said, in a similar strain : Si fractus illabatur orbis, Impavidum ferient ruinæ.—(Od. 3. 3. 7.

(12) His life will be found in this volume.

(13) None of the hisiorians whom I have consulted allude to this circumstance.

(14) See Pococke's *Specimen hist. ar.* 2nd ed. p. 73, and Caussin de Perceval's *Essai sur l'histoire des Arabes*, tom. II, page 104.

ABU OMAR AZ-ZAHID AL-MUTARRIZ.

Abû Omar Muhammad Ibn Abd al-Wâhid Ibn Abi Hâshim al-Bâwardi, generally known by the appellation of al-Mutarriz and surnamed *Ghulâm Thalab* (*Thalab's boy*), received also the denomination of az-Zâhid (*the ascetic*) for his mortified life, and ranked among the most eminent and the most learned of the philologers. For a considerable time, he had been an assiduous disciple of Abû 'l-Abbâs Thalab (*vol. I. p.* 83), and to this circumstance he was indebted for his surname. He acquired a great stock of information under the tuition of that master, on whose work, the *Fasîh*,

he composed two treatises: the first, a small volume of corrections, and entitled ***Fâut al-Fasîh*** (*omissions in the Fasîh*); the second, a commentary, forming also one volume. His other works were the ***Kitâb al-Yawâkît*** (*book of jewels*); the ***Kitâb al-Jurjâni;*** the ***Kitâb al-Mûdih*** (*the elucidator*); the ***Kitâb as-Sâât*** (*book of hours*); the ***Kitâb Yaum wa Laila*** (*book of the day and the night*); the ***Kitâb al-Mustahsan*** (*the approved*); the ***Kitâb al-Asharât*** (*book of decennaries*); the ***Kitâb as-Shûra*** (*treatise on counsel*); the ***Kitâb al-Buyoû*** (*treatise on sales*); a treatise on the meaning of the names of the poets; a work on the Arabian tribes; the ***Kitâb al-Maknûn wa 'l-Maktûm*** (*the concealed and the hidden*); the ***Kitâb at-Tuffâha*** (*on the apple*); the ***Kitâb al-Madâkhil;*** the ***Ilal al-Mudâkhil;*** the ***Kitâb an-Nawâdir*** (*book of anecdotes*); the ***Kitâb Fâit al-Aîn*** (*omissions of* [al-Khalîl Ibn Ahmad (*vol. I. p.* 493) in his work] *the Aîn*), the ***Kitâb Fâit al-Jamhara*** (*omissions of* [Ibn Duraid (*p.* 38 *of this vol.*) in his work] *the Jamhara*), and a notice on the expressions which the Arabs of the desert reprehended as inaccurate in the lessons and writings of Abû Obaid (*vol. II. p.* 486). Many rare and obsolete terms of the language were made known by Abû Omar, and the greater part of the words indicated by Ibn as-Sîd al-Batalyausi (*vol. II. p.* 61), in his *Ternary*, is taken from his indications. Many curious anecdotes are told of this philologer. The information which he communicated to his scholars was then transmitted down by Abù 'l-Hasan Muhammad Ibn Zarkûya, Abû Ali Ibn Shâdân, and others. His birth took place in the year 261 (A. D. 874-5), and he died at Baghdad, on Sunday, the 13th of Zû 'l-Kaada, A. H. 345 (16th February, A. D. 957), or 344. He was interred the next day in the cloister (*suffa*) situated near the tomb of Mârûf al-Karkhi (1), from which it is only separated by the road. Abû Omar's application to study and his zeal for the acquisition of knowledge hindered him from employing means to gain wealth and retained him constantly in a state of poverty. The quantity of information which he communicated to his disciples and of the pieces which he knew by heart was so great that the learned men of that time impugned as false the greater part of his philological observations, and they used to say that if a bird flew by, Abû Omar would bring forward something on the subject, heading it with these words: "Thalab told us, on the autority of "Ibn al-Aârâbi, that," etc. Some anecdotes of that kind are effectively related of him. He is considered, however, as a correct and trustworthy Traditionist by all competent masters in that branch of knowledge. The greater portion of the works and pieces which he taught was dictated by him, from memory, without his having

recourse to a book; it is said that the philological matter which he thus made known filled thirty thousand leaves of paper. It was this copiousness which exposed him to the imputation of falsehood. A number of persons concerted together and imagined a question which they might propose to him; when they obtained his answer, they let a year pass over, and then submitted to him the same question, but his answer corresponded exactly with that which he had previously given. A similar attempt to ensnare him was made by some persons who were going to hear his lessons: they happened to be conversing on the vast quantity of information which he was ever ready to communicate, and observed that, by this very talent, he had incurred the imputation of falsehood. On their way, they passed by a bridge, and one of them said: "Let us write down the name of this bridge and ask him about it; "we shall see what answer he makes." When they entered the place where Abû Omar was, that person addressed him, saying: O *shaikh!* what does the word "*bridge* (*kantara*) mean with the Arabs?" The professor answered that it meant so and so (*stating its different significations*), and his auditors received this answer with a secret smile. A month afterwards, they put forward a person to question him about that same word, on which he replied: "Did you not ask me the same question "a month ago, and did I not answer it so and so?" On hearing these words, the assembly was filled with admiration at his quick apprehension, acuteness, and promptitude in calling to mind the question and the time at which it had been proposed; but whether his answer was exact or not, they had no means of verifying.—Moizz ad-Dawlat Ibn Buwaih (*vol. I. p.* 155) had given the command of the Baghdad police-guards (*shurta*) to one of his young attendants whose name was Khuwâja. When Abû Omar heard of this appointment, he was dictating to his scholars the contents of his *Kitâb al-Yawâkît*, and at his next lesson he said, on taking his seat: "Write: *Yâkût khuwâja* (*a merchant's jewel*); the primitive signification of the "word *khuwâj*, in the dialect of the Arabs, is *hunger*." He then discussed this subject in its various ramifications and made his scholars write down his remarks. The persons present were struck with amazement at his boldness in advancing (*what they thought were*) falsehoods, and began to look out for the word in the treatises of philology. Abû Ali al-Hâtimi (*p.* 74 *of this vol.*), the *kâtib* and philologer, said: "We extracted from a dictation made by al-Hâmid (*vol. I. p.* 591) on the authority "of Thalab who said, on the authority of al-Asmâi who cites Ibn al-Aârâbi, that the "word *khuwâj* means *hunger*."—Abû Omar al-Mutarriz was giving lessons to the

son of the *kâdi* Abû Omar Muhammad Ibn Yûsuf, and one day he dictated to him nearly one hundred philological questions, indicating their niceties and concluding with two lines of poetry. (*Some time after*), Abû Bakr Ibn Duraid (*p.* 37 *of this vol.*) came into the *kâdi* Abû Omar's, with Abû Bakr Ibn al-Anbâri (*p.* 53 *of this vol.*) and Abû Bakr Ibn Muksim (2). The *kâdi* submitted to them these questions, but they had no idea of them and knew nothing of the verses. "Well," said the *kâdi*, "what "say you to that?"—"For my part," said Ibn al-Anbâri, "I am so much engaged "in composing a treatise on the obscurities of the Korân (*Mushkil al-Kurân*), that "I can say nothing on the subject." Ibn Muksim answered in similar terms, stating that he was taken up with the *readings* of the Korân, but Ibn Duraid declared positively that the questions were all of (*the philologer*) Abû Omar's invention and had no foundation whatever in the language: after this, they withdrew. When Abû Omar heard of what had passed, he went to the *kâdi* and told him to bring in the collected poetical works (*diwâns*) of some ancient poets whom he named. The *kâdi* opened his library and took out the books. Abû Omar then began to discuss each question successively, adduced from these *diwâns* certain passages in proof of all his statements and pointed out those passages to the *kâdi*. On concluding, he said: "As for the "two verses, they were recited by Thalab in your own presence, and you yourself "wrote them down on the cover of such a work," naming it. The *kâdi* brought in the book and found the verses written on the cover and in his own hand-writing. —"I found," said the Raîs ar-Ruasâ (3), "in the works of the philologers, and par- "ticularly in Abû Obaid's *Gharîb ul-Musannaf*, many of the expressions which had "been considered as the mere fabrications of Abû Omar."—Abû 'l-Kâsim Abd al-Wâhid Ibn Ali Ibn Barhân al-Asadi said: "None of the ancients or of the moderns "ever treated philological points so well as Abû Omar az-Zâhid."—Abû Omar composed a *Gharîb al-Hadith* (*obscure terms occurring in the Traditions*), founded on Ahmad Ibn Hanbal's work, the *Musnad*, and on this production he set the highest value.—Abû Ali Muhammad Ibn al-Hasan al-Hâtimi said: "An indisposition having "prevented me from attending the sittings of Abû Omar az-Zâhid, some days passed "over and he, at length, asked for me. Being informed that I was unwell, he came "the next morning to see me, and, as I happened to have gone out to take a bath, "he wrote the following line on my door with a piece of chalk:

"The strangest thing we ever heard of is, that people should visit a sick man and not find "him.



"The verse was his own." Abû Omar professed an excessive admiration of Moawîa, and, having composed a treatise on the merits of that khalif, he obliged every person who came to study under him to read that book. He was a man of great merit and extensive information, but what we have said in this article must suffice.—*Mutarriz* signifies *an embroiderer;* as Abû Omar practised that art, he derived from it a surname which has been borne also by other learned men.—I looked out for the name of Abû Omar in as-Samâni's *Kitâb al-Ansâb*, under the word AL-MUTARRIZ; he does not mention him, but he speaks of a poet called Abû 'l-Kâsim Abd al-Wâhid Ibn Muhammad Ibn Yahya Ibn Aiyûb al-Mutarriz, a native of Baghdad; this may perhaps be the father of Abû Omar, if we are to judge from his name; if not, he is a person unknown to me. As-Samâni adds that his poetry bore a high reputation and obtained great publicity. He then cites the following passage of his composition :

> Overcome with grief, we stopped at as-Sarât (4) one evening, to exchange adieus; and, despite of envious foes, we stood unsealing (*the packets of*) every passionate desire. On saying farewell, she saw me borne down by the pains of love and consented to grant me a kiss; but, impelled by startled modesty, she drew her veil across her face. On this I said : " The full-moon " has now become a crescent. " I then kissed her through the veil and she observed : " My " kisses are wine : to be tasted they must be passed through the strainer. "

Although as Samâni says nothing of Abû Omar in that article, he mentions him under the head of GHULAM THALAB, adding the remarks which we have already made at the commencement of this notice.—Since writing the above, a number of years had elapsed when I found at Baghdad the *Diwân* of Abû Kâsim Abd al-Wâhid, surnamed al-Mutarriz. He was a native of that city, and the greater part of his poetry is very good. His birth took place in the year 354 (A. D. 965), and his death in 439, on Sunday, the first of the latter Jumâda (23rd November, A. D. 1047). It is therefore evident that he was not the father of Abû Omar, but another person of the same trade.—*Bawardi* means *belonging to Bâward* or *Abîward*, a village in Khorâsân and the native place of Abû 'l-Muzaffar Muhammad al-Abîwardi, a poet whose life we shall give.

(1) The life of Mârûf will be found in this work.

(2) The *imâm* Abû Bakr Muhammad Ibn al-Hasan Ibn Yakûb Ibn Muksim al-Attâr, a learned Korân-*reader* and grammarian of Baghdad, composed some works on the koranic sciences, one of which, the *Kitâb al-*

Anwâr (*book of lights*) contains an explanation of the meaning, and an elucidation of the style of the Korân. Having adopted the *readings* taught by Ibn Shanabûd (*see page* 16 *of this vol.*) he gave such scandal to the public that he was cited before an assembly of doctors presided by Ibn Mujâhid and forced to retract, but, on the death of Ibn Mujâhid, he returned to his former opinions. Born A. H. 265 (A. D. 878-9); died A. H. 354 (A. D. 965). — (*Tabakât al-Kurrâ*, fol. 84.)

(3) The Râis ar-Ruasâ Ali Ibn al-Husain Ibn Ahmad Ibn al-Muslima, vizir to the khalif al-Kâim, commenced his career in a subordinate station at Baghdad, and rose by his talents to the vizirate. He was versed in jurisprudence, the Traditions, and other sciences. Having incurred the enmity of the Turkish guards, he was expelled by them from Baghdad, but returned soon after; being then attacked by Abû 'l-Harith al-Basâsiri at-Turki (*see vol. I, page* 172), and having fallen into the hands of his enemies, he perished in excruciating tortures, A. H. 450 (A. D. 1058).

(4) See vol. I, page 318, note 25.

ABÛ MANSUR AL-AZHARI.

Abû Mansûr Muhammad Ibn Ahmad Ibn al-Azhar Ibn Talha Ibn Nûh Ibn Azhar al-Azhari al-Harawi (*native of Herat*), a philologer of the highest rank and celebrity, was a doctor of the Shafite sect, but addicted himself so exclusively to the study of the language that his reputation is founded on his acquirements in that branch of knowledge. His piety, his talents, and his exactitude as a transmitter of philological information were universally acknowledged. The matter of his lessons was derived by him from the philologer Abû 'l-Fadl Muhammad Ibn Abi Jaafar al-Mundiri, who had received it from Abû 'l-Abbâs Thalab and other masters. Having proceeded to Baghdad, he met Ibn Duraid, but never taught any thing on his authority. He received also a part of his information from Abû Abd Allah Ibrahîm Ibn Arafa, surnamed Niftawaih (*vol. I. p.* 26), and from Abû Bakr Muhammad Ibn as-Sari, a grammarian more generally known by the name of Ibn as Sarrâj (*see page* 52 *of this vol.*). Some say, however, that he obtained no part of his information from the latter person. To acquire a more complete knowledge of the Arabic language, al-Azhari travelled over Arabia; and a person of merit has stated that he read a note, to the following effect, in Abû Mansûr's hand-writing: "I had the misfortune to be made "a prisoner, the year in which the Karmats intercepted the pilgrim-caravan at al-

"Habîr. The people to whose share I fell were Arabs, bred in the desert; they "passed the grazing-time in visiting with their flocks the regions in which rain had "fallen, and, in the hot season, they returned to a number of watering-places situated "at the spots where they usually stationed; they kept camels and lived on the milk "of these animals; they spoke an idiom suited to their Bedwîn habits, and very "rarely indeed, did they mispronounce a word or commit a gross fault of language. "I remained in bondage amongst them for a long time; our winters we passed at "ad-Dahnâ, our springs at as-Sammân, and our summers at as-Sitârân. From dis-"coursing with them and from their conversation one with the other, I learned a "great quantity of words and singular expressions; and most of these I inserted in my "book,"—by his *book* he means the *Tahdîb*—"where you will find them classed "under their proper heads." He again resumes the subject in this discourse, and mentions that he passed two winters at as-Sammân. Abû Mansûr al-Azhari had a passion for collecting loose scraps of philology and possessed a perfect acquaintance with all the secrets and niceties of the language. His philological treatise, the *Tahdîb* (*arrangement*), fills upwards of ten volumes and is a highly esteemed work. His *Gharîb al-Alfâz* (*rare words*), a work in one volume, is held by jurisconsults as their main authority for the signification of every obscure and doubtful word in the law language. The *Kitâb-at-Tafsîr* (*explanation of difficult words* (?) is another of his productions. At Baghdad he met Abû Ishak az-Zajjâj (*vol. I. p.* 28) and Abû Bakr Ibn al-Anbâri, but has given nothing on the authority of either. He was born A. H. 282 (A. D. 895-6), and he died at Herât towards the close of the year 370 (*ends in July, A. D.* 981). Some place his death a year later.—The patronymic *al-Azhari* he derived from the circumstance of his having an ancestor who bore the neme of *Azhar*.—Of *Harawi* we have already spoken (*vol. II. p.* 288).—The Karmats (*Karâmita*) were so called after a man named *Kirmit*, who belonged to the Sawâd (1) of Kûfa. They held a most reprehensible doctrine, and they made their appearance in the year 281 (A. D. 894-5), under the khalifate of al-Motadid billah. This sect subsisted for a long period and acquired such strength that it not only rendered the roads dangerous for travellers, but conquered a great number of provinces. Of these events a full account will be found in the works of historians (2). The combat of *al-Habîr* to which al-Azhari alludes, took place A. H. 311 (A. D. 923-4), the Karmats, who had then for chief Abû Tâhir al-Jannâbi al-Kirmiti, attacked the pilgrim-caravan, slew some of the travallers, reduced others to slavery, and seized

on all their property. This occurred in the khalifate of al-Muktadir, son of al-Motadid. It is said that the Karmats made their first appearance in the year 278 (A.D. 891-2), and that their first chief was Abû Saîd al-Jannâbi, who resided in the province of Bahrain and Hajar. He was murdered in the year 301 (A. D. 913-4) by one of his slaves. Abû Tâhir lost his life in A. H. 332 (A. D. 943-4).—*Jannâbi* means *belonging to Jannâba,* a town in the province of Bahrain, and situated on the sea-coast, near Sîrâf.—*Habîr* (*as an appellative noun*) signifies *a low ground.*—*Ad-Dahnâ,* or *ad-Dahna* with a short final *a,* is the name of a large tract of country in the Arabian desert, forming part of the territory belonging to the tribe of Tamîm. It is said to consist of seven mountains of sand; according to some, it is situated in the desert of Basra and in the territory of the tribe of Saad.—*As-Sammân* is a red mountain in the neighbourhood of ad-Dahnâ; to cross it requires three days, but its height is not great. Some say that it is situated near the sandy desert of Aâlij, at nine day's journey from Basra.—*As-Sitârân,* the dual of *Sîtâr,* is a name serving to designate two valleys which lie in the territory of the tribe of Saad; one of them is called *as-Sîtâr al-Aghbar* (*the dusty Sîtâr*), the other the *as-Sitâr al-Hâiri* (3), and both bear the denomination of *Saudâ.* They contain some springs of running water which serve to irrigate date-trees. The preceding remarks have no direct connexion with our subject, but, as they serve to explain some words which might embarrass the reader of this compilation, we have judged it useful to insert them.

(1) See vol. II. page 417.
(2) Ibn Khallikân has already given some account of them. See vol. I. p. 427 *et seq.*
(3) The MS. of al-Yâkûti's *Mushtarik,* in the *Bibliothèque Impériale,* reads *al-Jâbiri* (الجابرى).

ABU ABD ALLAH AL-YAZIDI.

Abû Abd Allah Muhammad Ibn al-Abbâs Ibn Muhammad Ibn Abi Muhammad al-Yazîdi, a *mawla* to the tribe of Adi Ibn Abd Manât (*al-Adawi*), was a grammarian and

philologer of the highest rank, a relator of anecdotes and a transmitter of the phraseology current among the Arabs of the desert. We shall give the life of his ancestor Abû Muhammad Yahya Ibn al-Mubârak. One of the anecdotes told by him was the following : An Arab of the desert loved a female of the same region and sent her, by a negro slave, a present of thirty sheep and a skin filled with wine. On the way, the slave killed one of the sheep and ate a portion of it, and drank part of the contents of the wine-skin. When he brought the rest to her, she perceived the trick, and on the slave's asking her, when about to return, if she had any message to send back, she resolved on acquainting the master with the fellow's conduct, and answered : "Give him my salutation, and tell him that our month was *mahâk*, and that Suhaim, "the keeper of our sheep, came here with a bloody nose (*marthûm*)." The slave, not knowing what she intended by these expressions, bore them back to his master, who immediately perceived their drift, and calling for a cudgel, said to the messenger: "Tell me the truth, or I shall give you a sound drubbing." The slave confessed his fault and obtained pardon. This message contained a most subtle and elegant allusion to what the slave had done : the word *marthûm* means one whose nose is broken and bleeds; *ratham*, another derivative of the same root, means a white spot on the upper-lip of a horse. *Marthûm* is employed metaphorically to designate a wine or water-skin (1). — He left some works, such as the *Kitâb al-Khail* (*book of horses*), the *Manâkib Bani 'l-Abbâs* (*merits of the Abbasides*), the *Akhbâr al-Yazîdîyin* (*history of the Yazîd family*), and a compendious treatise on grammar. Having been employed, towards the close of his life, as preceptor to the children of al-Muktadir billah, he filled that office for some time. Soon after his entrance into the khalif's service, one of his friends met him and asked his protection, but he replied : "I am too busy for that (2)." Abû Abd Allah al-Yazîdi died on the eve of Monday, the 17th of the latter Jumâda, A. H. 310 (October, A. D. 922), at the age of eighty-two years and three months. — *Yazîdi* here means *related to Yazîd Ibn Mansûr;* of this we shall again speak, in the life of his ancestor Abû Muhammad Yahya Ibn al-Mubârak.

(1) Our author has here imitated the manner of many Arabian commentators, who explain what is clear enough and pass over what is obscure. He might have added that a *mahâk* month is one, on the last night of which there is no moonshine. So that it contains only twenty-nine moonlight nights in place of thirty. The expression : *the month was mahâk* is, therefore, equivalent to *one of the thirty was wanting.* This, of course,



referred to the thirty sheep. Our author might also have observed that *Suhaim*, a very common Bedwin name, means *the little black*, an epithet designating perfectly well a wine-skin rubbed over with pitch to preserve it.

(2) It was perhaps the idiomatic form of this expression in Arabic which caused it to be remarked.

IBN AS-SARRAJ *THE GRAMMARIAN.*

Abû Bakr Muhammad Ibn as-Sari Ibn Sahl the grammarian, generally known by the name of Ibn as-Sarrâj, was one of the most distinguished masters in that science, and his high abilities in it and in philology are universally acknowledged. Amongst the persons from whom he acquired his philological information was Abû 'l-Abbâs al-Mubarrad (*see p.* 3 *of this vol.*); and some eminent masters, such as Abû Saîd as-Sîrâfi (*vol. I. p.* 377), and Ali Ibn Isa ar-Rummâni (*vol. II. p.* 242), studied it under his tuition. Al-Jauhari, in his *Sahâh,* cites his autority in a number of articles. Ibn as-Sarrâj composed some grammatical works of great repute, and his *Kitâb al-Osûl* (*principles*), one of the best treatises on the subject, is always referred to when the traditional information on any grammatical point is uncertain or contradictory. His other works are the *Jumal al-Osûl* (*the collected principles*), a short treatise called the *Mûjaz* (*compendium*); the *Kitâb al-Ishtikâk* (*on etymology*), a commentary on Sîbawaih's *Kitâb* (*vol. II. p.* 396), the *Ihtijâj al-Kurrâ* (*appreciation of the motives which influenced Korân*-readers *in their readings*), the Book of the Poets and of Poetry, the Book of the Winds, the Air, and Fire; the Book of the Camel, and the *Kitâb al-Muwâsilât* (*book of loving unions,* or *book of gifts*). He pronounced the letter *r* incorrectly, giving it the sound of *gh,* and happening, one day, to dictate a word in which this letter occurred, and perceiving that his disciple wrote it with a *ghain,* he exclaimed: " No, no! with a *gha,* with a *gha!*" (1). I found in an anthology some verses attributed to him, but am unable to ascertain whether they are really his or not. They relate to a girl whom the poet loved and are familiar to most persons. The lines to which I allude are these :

I compared her beauty with her conduct, and found that her charms did not counterbalance her perfidy. She swore to me never to be false, but 'twas as if she had sworn never to be true. By Allah! I shall never speak to her again, even though she resembled in beauty the full moon, or the sun, or al-Muktafi!

This article was already terminated when I discovered that these verses are certainly his, and a curious anecdote is connected with them. The author, Abû Bakr, loved a young girl, but she treated him with marked disdain: it happened at that time that the imâm (*khalif*) al-Muktafi returned from ar-Rakka, and, when the people assembled to witness his entry into the city, Abû Bakr was so much struck with his beauty that he recited these verses to his companions. Some time after, the *kâtib* Abû Abd Allah Muhammad Ibn Ismaîl Ibn Zenji (2) repeated them to Abû 'l-Abbâs Ibn al-Furât (*vol. II. p.* 358), saying that they were composed by Ibn al-Motazz (*vol. II. p.* 41), and Abû 'l-Abbâs communicated them to the vizir al-Kâsim Ibn Obaid Allah (*vol. II. p.* 299). The latter then went to the khalif and recited the verses to him, adding that they were by Obaid Allah Ibn Abd Allah Ibn Tâhir (*vol. II. p.* 79), to whom al-Muktadir immediately ordered a present of one thousand dinars. "How very strange," said Ibn Zenji, "that Abû Bakr Ibn as-Sarrâj should compose verses which "were to procure a donation to Obaid Allah Ibn Abd Allah Ibn Tâhir!" Abû Bakr died on Sunday, the 26th of Zû 'l-Hijja, A. H. 316 (11th February, A. D. 929). — *Sarrâj* means *a saddler*.

(1) He meant to say: *with a râ*.

(2) " Abû Abd Allah Muhammad Ibn Ismaîl Ibn Zenji, a *kâtib* celebrated for the beauty of his penman-" ship, left a collection of epistles composed by himself and a treatise on his art." — (*Fihrest*, fol. 178.)

IBN AL-ANBARI *THE GRAMMARIAN.*

Abû Bakr Muhammad Ibn Abi Muhammad al-Kâsim Ibn Muhammad Ibn Bashshâr Ibn al-Hasan Ibn Baiyân Ibn Samâa Ibn Farwa Ibn Katan Ibn Diâma al-Anbâri, the

grammarian and author of several well-known treatises on grammar and philology, was the most learned man of his time in the different branches of general literature, and their superior also by the quantity of literary matter which he knew by heart. He was veracious and trust-worthy, pious, virtuous, and a strict follower of the *sunna*. Amongst his numerous works were treatises on the different koranic sciences, on the rare and the obscure expressions occurring in the Korân and the Traditions, on the pause, on the commencement of phrases, a refutation of those who impugn the edition of the Korân in general use, and a book called *az-Zâhir* (*the blooming*). High praise is bestowed on him by the Khatîb (*vol. I. p.* 75) in his History of Baghdad; this author says : " I have been informed that Abû Bakr made " dictations even in his father's life-time, each of them teaching in a different part " of the same mosque. His father was learned in philology, and an exact, veracious, " and trust-worthy transmitter of pieces preserved by tradition. He inhabited Baghdad. " A number of learned men and his own son delivered pieces on his autority. He " composed a treatise on the (*names of the parts of the*) human frame, a treatise on " the frame of the horse, a book of proverbs, a treatise on the long and the short final " *alif*, a treatise on the genders, a treatise on the uncommon expressions occurring " in the Traditions and other works." Abû Ali al-Kâli (*vol. I. p.* 210) says : " It " is stated that Abû Bakr Ibn al-Anbâri knew by heart three hundred thousand verses " illustrative of expressions occurring in the Korân, and that a person having said to " him : ' The great quantity of pieces which you know by heart is often spoken of; " ' how much do you really know?' he answered : ' I have in my memory (*as much* " ' *as would fill*) thirteen chests.'" It is mentioned that he knew by heart one hundred and twenty commentaries of the Korân with their *isnâds* (1). Abû 'l-Hasan ad-Dârakutni (*vol. II. p.* 239) relates that, on a certain Friday, he happened to be present at one of the sittings held by Ibn al-Anbâri for the purpose of making dictations, and that he gave a wrong pronunciation to a name occurring in the *isnâd* of a Tradition. " He said *Haiyân* (حيان)," relates ad-Dârakutni, " instead of *Habbân* " (حبان), or *Habbân* instead of *Haiyân*. I thought it would be a pity that an error " of this kind should be adopted and propagated on the authority of so able and so " eminent a man as Ibn al-Anbâri, but, not daring to acquaint him with his mistake, " I waited till the lesson was over, and approached the disciple to whom the dictations were directly addressed, pointing out the error of the master and informing " him of the true reading. I then retired. The following Friday, I attended the

"next sitting, and Abû Bakr said: 'Let it be known to all here present, that, last "'Friday, in dictating a certain Tradition, I gave a wrong pronunciation to a name, "'and that youth indicated the true one; and let that youth know that I referred "'to the source whence I derived the Tradition and found the word written as he "'said.'" Amongst Ibn al-Anbâri's works may be noticed his *Gharîb al-Hadîth* (*unusual terms occurring in the Traditions*), filling, it is said, forty-five thousand leaves; a commentary on the grammatical treatise the *Kâfi* (2), filling about one thousand leaves; a treatise on the final *h*, in about one thousand leaves; a list of words each of which bears two contrary significations, the *Kitâb al-Jâhiliyât* (3), filling seven hundred leaves, a treatise on the genders, the most complete over composed; the *Risâla tal-Mushkil* (*epistola dubii* (?), in which he refutes Ibn Kutaiba (*vol. II. p.* 22) and Abû Hâtim (*vol. I. p.* 603). He was born on Sunday, the 11th of Rajab, A. H. 271 (4th January, A. D. 885), and he died on the eve of the Festival of the Sacrifice, A. H. 328 (16th September, A. D. 940); some say, A. H. 327.—His father al-Kâsim died at Baghdad, A. H. 304 (A. D. 916–7); some say, in the month of Safar, A. H. 305. —We have explained the meaning of the word *Anbâri* (*vol. II. p.* 58).—At one of his dictations he quoted the following verses by a Bedwîn Arab:

> When you hindered her from speaking to me, why did you not hinder her image from leaving the distant region where she now resides and visiting my slumbers in its unerring course? May God shed his favour on a certain dwelling, in the sands of the tribe's reserved grounds, although the aspect of its ruins made me betray the passion I concealed. Were my corpse borne on its bier past these abodes, the very owl which dwells therein would say: "O my friend! "come and stay with me."

At another sitting, he dictated these lines:

> In the white regions of al-Orba, if you visit its people, you will see fair gazelles roaming at liberty without a keeper. They go forth for the pleasure of encountering danger, and incur no jealous suspicions; chaste they are, and he who wishes to sport with them may despair.

(1) See vol. I, page xxii.

(2) Hajji Khalifa notices a treatise on grammar entitled the *Kâfi*, and composed by Abû Jaafar Ahmad an-Nahhâs. As this grammarian was a pupil of Ibn al-Anbâri's (see vol. I, p. 81), it is possible that the commentary here mentioned by Ibn Khallikân referred to the work of an-Nahhâs. The author of the *Fihrest* mentions the grammatical treatise the *Kâfi*, as the work of Ibn al-Anbâri himself, and takes no notice of the commentary.

(3) This appears to have been a collection of poems composed in the times anterior to Islamism, a work similar to the *mufaddaliyát* (see page 26 of this volume). What may help to confirm this conjecture is, that in the list of Ibn al-Anbári's works, as given in the *Fihrest*, fol. 105 v., we find a *Kitáb al-Mufaddaliyát* and no *Kitáb al-Jáhiliyát*.

ABU 'L-AINA.

Abû Abd Allah Muhammad Ibn al-Kâsim Ibn Khallâd Ibn Yâsir Ibn Sulaimân al-Hâshimi (*a member*, by enfranchisement, *of the Hâshim family*), surnamed Abû 'l-Ainâ, was a *mawla* to (*the khalif*) Abû Jaafar al-Mansûr. The family of Abû 'l-Ainâ, who was a blind man, remarkable for his repartees, verses, and literary knowledge, belonged to (*the province of*) al-Yamâma (*in Arabia*), but he himself was born at al-Ahwâz and bred at Basra. He there learned Traditions and cultivated literature, having taken lessons from Abû Obaida (1), al-Asmâi (*vol. II. p.* 123), Abû Zaid al-Ansâri (*vol. I. p.* 570), al-Otbi, and other masters. He was an excellent *hâfiz* and spoke with great elegance; fluent in his discourse, prompt in his repartees, and surpassing in penetration and sharpness all his contemporaries, he ranked among the most brilliant wits of the age. Numerous amusing anecdotes are related of what passed between him and Abû Ali ad-Darîr (2), and of the charming pieces of verse which he composed on those occasions. Being one day in the society of a certain vizir, the conversation turned on the history of the Barmekides and their generosity; on which the vizir said to Abû 'l-Ainâ, who had just made a high eulogium of that family for their liberality and bounty : "You have praised them and their qualities "too much; all this is a mere fabrication of book-makers and a fable imagined by "authors." Abû 'l-Ainâ immediately replied : "And why then do book-makers "not relate such fables of you, O vizir?" The vizir remained silent, and the company were struck with astonishment at Abû 'l-Ainâ's boldness.—Having one day complained of his distressed circumstances to Obaid Allah Ibn Sulaimân Ibn Wahb (*vol. I. p.* 29), the latter replied : "Did I not write in your favour to Ibrahîm Ibn "al-Mudabbar (3)?"—"It is true," said Abû 'l-Ainâ; "but you wrote to a man

"prevented from satisfying his generous inclinations by the protraction of poverty, "the humiliation of captivity, and the cruelty of fortune; so my efforts were frus- "trated and my hopes disappointed."—"But," said the vizir, "it was you yourself "who made choice of him."—"O vizir!" replied Abû 'l-Ainâ, "I am not to be "blamed for that; *Moses chose* (out of) *his people seventy men* (4), and there was not a "prudent man among them; the blessed Prophet chose for secretary Abd Allah Ibn "Saad Ibd Abi Sarh, and he fell into apostacy and joined the infidels; and Ali, the "son of Abû Tâlib, chose for arbitrator Abû Mûsa 'l-Ashari, and he decided against "him."—By the words *humiliation of captivity*, Abû 'l-Ainâ alluded to the circumstance of Ibrahîm Ibn al-Mudabbar's having been imprisoned at Basra by Ali Ibn Muhammad, chief of the Zenj (*vol. II. p.* 11). Ibrahîm effected his escape by breaking through the prison wall.—Abû 'l-Ainâ having one day gone to visit Abû 's-Sakr Ismaîl Ibn Bulbul (*vol. II. p.* 612), that vizir said to him: "What has kept you away "from us so long, Abû 'l-Ainâ!"—"My ass was stolen from me."—"How was "it stolen?"—"I was not with the thief, so I cannot say."—"Why then not ride to "visit us on another?"—"My poverty prevented me from buying; my pride, from "hiring; and my independence, from borrowing."—He one day had a dispute with a descendant of Ali, and his adversary said to him: "You attack me, and yet you say "in your prayers: Almighty God! bless Muhammad and the family of Muhammad." —"Yes," replied Abû 'l-Ainâ, "but I add: who are virtuous and pure."—A common fellow having stood in his way, he perceived it and said: "What is that?"—"A "man of the sons of Adam," was the reply. "Welcome, welcome!" exclaimed Abû 'l-Ainâ, "God grant you long life! I thought that all his sons were dead."—Having gone one day to the door Sâîd Ibn Makhlad and asked permission to enter, he was told that the vizir was engaged in prayer. "Ah!" exclaimed Abû 'l-Ainâ, "there is a pleasure in novelty." It must be here observed that Sâîd had been a Christian before his appointment to the vizirat (5).—Happening to pass by the door of Abd Allah Ibn Mansûr, who was then recovering from an attack of sickness, he asked the servant how he was. "Just as you could wish," was the answer. "Why "then," replied Abû 'l-Ainâ, "do I not hear the funeral cry?"—A mendicant whom he invited to partake of his supper having eaten it all up, he said to him: "I "asked you through charity, and it will be a charity in you to leave me."—One of his friends met him at an early hour of the morning and expressed his astonishment at his being out so soon: "You do as I do," replied Abû 'l-Ainâ, "and yet you wonder

"at me." Having been informed that al-Mutawakkil had said of him: "Were he "not blind, I should take him for a boon companion;" he said: "Provided the "khalif dispense me from watching for the new moon"—(*which is the duty of a* "muwazzin)—" and from reading the inscriptions on seals"—(*which is the duty of a kâtib*),—"I should make a good boon companion."—Being asked how long he would continue to praise some and satirize others, he replied: "As long as the virtuous do "good and the wicked do evil; but God forbid that I should be as the scorpion which "stingeth equally the Prophet and the infidel." Ibn al-Mukarram (6), with whom he frequently engaged in playful dispute, having heard a man observe that he who loses his sight loses his shrewdness, he said: "What makes you forget Abû 'l-Ainâ? "he has lost his sight and gained immensely in shrewdness." The same Ibn al-Mukarram heard him say one day, in his prayers: "O Lord, hearken to thy peti-"tioner!" on which he exclaimed: "You son of a prostitute! whom have you not "petitioned?" The same person once asked Abû 'l-Ainâ maliciously, how many liars there were at Basra, and obtained for answer: "As many as there are reprobates "at Baghdad (7)."—Having gone to see Ibn Thawâba (8), who had got the better of Abû 's-Sakr (9) in a dispute, he said to him: "I have learned what passed between "you and Abû 's-Sakr, and if he did not make you a full reply, it was because he "could find no pride in you to humble, and no honour to blast; and moreover he "detested your flesh too much to devour it, and despised your blood too much to "think it worth spilling."—"And what business have you," exclaimed Ibn Thawâba, "to thrust yourself into my affairs and those of people in his station? beggar that "you are!"—"Blame not a man of fourscore," replied Abû 'l-Ainâ, "a man who "has lost his sight and who is ill-treated by his prince, if he has recourse to the cha-"rity of his brethren; that is a better occupation than the trade of a catamite, hin-"dering men to have progeny and increasing the burden of their crimes."—"When two persons rail at each other," said Ibn Thawâba, "it is the vilest who "gains the day."—"Right!" retorted Abû 'l-Ainâ, "and you gained the day over "Abû 's-Sakr, and silenced him yesterday."—Happening, in the year 246 (A. D. 860-1), to enter into the presence of al-Mutawakkil, who was then in his palace called al-Jaafari, that khalif said to him: "What thinkest thou of this our dwelling-house?" to which he made this reply: "Others have built houses in the world, but you "have built a world in your house." Al-Mutawakkil expressed his satisfaction at the answer, and then asked him how he stood wine. The other replied: "I cannot

"resist a small quantity, and I disgrace myself if I take much."—"Come!" said the khalif, "do not say so, but be our boon companion."—"I am a sightless man," replied Abû 'l-Ainâ; "all who sit in your company are ready to serve you, and I "require a person to serve me; neither am I free from the apprehension that you "may look at me with the eye of one who is well pleased whilst your heart is wroth, "or that your eye may express wrath whilst your heart is well-pleased; and if I "cannot distinguish these two signs, it may cost me my life. So I shall prefer safety "to risk."—"I am told," said the khalif, "that thou hast an evil tongue."—"Com- "mander of the faithful!" replied Abû 'l-Ainâ, "the Almighty himself has uttered "praise and satire; he has said : *How excellent a servant! for he frequently turned "himself unto God* (10), and : *a defamer, going about with slander, a preventer of "good, a transgressor, a wicked wretch* (11). And a poet hath said :

> "If I praise not the honest man and revile not the sordid, the despicable, and base, why "should I have the power of saying, *That is good, and this is bad?* and why should God have "opened (men's) ears and my mouth?"

—"What place are you from?" said the khalif.—"From Basra."—"What hast "thou to say of it?"—"Its water is bitter; its heat is a torment, and it is pleasant "when hell is pleasant." When Najâh Ibn Salama was delivered over to Mûsa Ibn Abd Allah al-Ispahâni, who had been commissioned to exact from him the sums which he owed (*to government*), the cruel tortures to which the prisoner was subjected caused his death (12). This happened on Monday, the 22nd of Zû 'l-Kaada, A. H. 245 (19th. Feb., A. D. 860). The same evening, al-Mutazz billah, the son of al-Mutawakkil, attained the age of puberty, and some persons of high rank were assembled at Abû 'l-Ainâ's. One of them having asked him if he had any news of Najâh Ibn Salama, he answered (*in the words of the Korân, sûrat* 28, *verse* 14) : "Moses "(*Musâ*) struck him and killed him." Those words came to the ears of Mûsa, who, soon after, met Abû 'l-Ainâ in the street and threatened him, on which the latter said (*in the words of the same chapter, verse* 18) : "Dost thou intend to kill me, as "thou killedst a man yesterday?"—A certain great man having made him a promise which he did not fulfil, Abû 'l-Ainâ wrote to him in these terms : "The confidence I "have in your word prevents me from complaining of your delay; and the know- "ledge I have of your constant occupations induces me to awaken your recollection. "Yet, persuaded as I am of your magnanimity, and convinced of your generous spirit,

"I dread lest death overtake me, and death is the destroyer of hope. May God in-"crease your days and make you attain the term of your wishes. Adieu." — The anecdotes told of Abû 'l-Ainâ are very numerous; the following one is stated to have been related by himself: "I was one day sitting with Abû 'l-Jahm (13), when a man "came in and said to him: 'You made me a promise, and it depends on your kind-"'ness to fulfil it.'—Abû 'l-Jahm answered that he did not recollect it, and the other "replied: 'If you do not recollect it, 'tis because the persons like me to whom "'you make promises are numerous; and if I remember it, 'tis because the persons "'like you to whom I may confidently address a request are few.'—'Well said! "'blessings on your father!' exclaimed Abû 'l-Jahm, and the promise was imme-"diately fulfilled.'—Abû 'l-Ainâ was born A. H. 191 (A. D. 806-7) at al-Ahwâz, as we have already said; he passed his early youth at Basra; on attaining his fortieth year, he lost his sight, and having resided for a time at Baghdad, he returned to Basra, and died there in the month of the latter Jumâda, A. H. 283 (July-August, A. D. 896); some say, 282. His son Jaafar says that his death took place on the 10th of the first Jumâda, and his birth in A. H. 190; God best knows which of these statements is the more correct. — He received the surname of *Abû 'l-Ainâ* (*father large-eye*) from the circumstance of his having asked Abû Zaid al-Ansâri how he formed the diminutive of the word *ainâ* (*a large-eyed female*), to which he received this answer: "*Oyainâ*, O Abû 'lAinâ!" which nickmane stuck to him ever after.—The name *Khallâd* takes a double *l*.—We have already spoken of *al-Yamâma* (*vol. II. p.* 10) and *al-Ahwâz*.

(1) His life will be found in this work.

(2) Abou Ali ad-Darîr (*the blind*), called also (perhaps by antiphrasis) *Abû Ali al-Basîr* (البصير) (*th clear sighted*), was an eminent poet and epistolary writer; the author of the *Fihrest* informs us under the heads of *Abû Ali al-Basîr* and *Abû 'l-Ainâ*, that the former corresponded with and satirized the latter.—(*Fihrest*, fol. 169, 171.)

(3) Ibrahîm Ibn al-Mudabbar and his brothers, Ahmad and Muhammad, were eminent poets and prose-writers وجميعهم شاعر مترسل بليغ. — (*Fihrest*, fol. 169). — The word مترسل seems to indicate that they were employed in the Board of Correspondence.

(4) Korân, sûrat 7, verse 154.

(5) Sâîd Ibn Makhlad was one of al-Motamid's vizirs. Ibn al-Athîr informs us in his *Kâmil*, under the year 276, that Sâîd Ibn Makhlad went that year to Wâsit, where al-Muwaffik, the khalif's brother and lieutenant, received him with the highest marks of honour. On this occasion, Sâîd conducted himself with much haughtiness, and, soon after, al-Muwaffik imprisoned him and his family.

(6) According to the author of the *Fihrest*, fol. 170, Muhammad Ibn Mukarram was an eloquent *kâtib* and

epistolary writer. In the Khatîb's great *History of Baghdad*, we find mention made of an Abû Jaafar Muhammad Ibn Mukarram as-Saffâr who died, as it would appear, in the year 231 (A. D. 845-6).

(7) Baghdad appears to have been the native place of Ibn al-Mukarram, as Basra was that of Abû 'l-Ainâ.

(8) The author of the *Fihrest* indicates two persons bearing the surname of Ibn Thawâba, one called Abû 'l-Hasan Ibn Thawâba, a man of learning and talent; and the other Abû Abd Allah Muhammad Ibn Ahmad Ibn Thawâba, an accomplished epistolary writter and secretary of the khalif al-Motadid.—(*Fihrest*, f. 176 v.)

(9) He means the vizir; see vol. II. p. 612.

(10) Korân, sûrat 38, verse 29.

(11) Korân, sûrat 68, verses 11 and 12.

(12) Najâh Ibn Salama was president of the Board of Requests (*diwân at-taukia*), an office in which were drawn up the answers to the memorials presented to the sovereign. He was charged also with the control of the agents who administered the estates belonging to government. Having discovered some extensive peculations committed by Mûsa Ibn Abd al-Malik, chief of the Revenue-Office (*al-karâdj*), and al-Hasan Ibn Makhlad, president of the Board of Estates, he sent in a memorial to the khalif al-Mutawakkil, representing to him that these two officers had retained in their possession forty millions of dirhems. The khalif replied that, the next day, Mûsa and al-Hasan should be delivered over to him, that he might proceed against them. But that night, the vizir Obaid Allah Ibn Yahya, who favoured those two officers, induced Najâh to withdraw his accusation and promised that he would arrange the affair. The next morning, Najâh's retraction was presented to the khalif with a declaration signed by Mûsa and al-Hasan, wherein they stated that they had already paid into the hands of Najâh upwards of two millions of dinars, for which he had not accounted to the state. Al-Mutawakkil immediately delivered over Najâh and his sons to Mûsa, who obliged them to confess that they had in their possession about forty millions of dinars, without counting their magazines of corn, their horses, and landed property. Mûsa took all this wealth from his prisoners and, after inflicting a severe flogging on Najâh, he put him to death by the compressing of his testicles. The sons of the victim were then beaten till they acknowledged having in their possession seventy thousand dinars and other property. Mûsa took all from them, and extorted also large sums from the agents employed by Najâh in the different cities of the empire. — (Ibn al-Athîr's *Kâmil*, year 245).

(13) Ad-Dahabi states in his Obituary that Abû 'l-Jahm Ahmad Ibn al-Husain, a poet remarkable for his moral exhortations خطيب الشعراء, died A. H. 319 (A. D. 931).

MUHAMMAD IBN OMAR AL-WAKIDI.

Abû Abd Allah Muhammad Ibn Omar Ibn Wâkid al-Wâkidi, a native of Medîna (*al-Madani*) and a *mawla* to the Hâshim family—or, according to some, to that of Aslam, a descendant of Sahm, — was a man eminent for learning, and the author



of some well-known works on the conquests of the Moslims and other subjects. His *Kitâb ar-Ridda* (*history of the apostacy*), a work of no inferior merit, contains an account of the apostacy of the Arabs on the death of the Prophet, and of the wars between the Companions and Tulaiha Ibn Khuwailid al-Azdi, al-Aswad al-Ansi and Musailama al-Kazzâb (*the liar*) (1). He received traditional information from Ibn Abi Dib (*vol. II. p.* 589), Mamar Ibn Râshid (*vol. I. p. xxiv*), Malik Ibn Anas (*vol. II. p.* 545), ath-Thauri (*vol. I. p.* 576), and others; his secretary Muhammad Ibn Saad, whose life comes immediately after this, and a number of other distinguished men delivered traditional information on his authority. He held the post of *kâdi* in the eastern quarter of Baghdad, and was appointed by al-Mâmûn to fill the same office at Askar al-Mahdi. The Traditions received from him are considered of feeble authority, and doubts have been expressed on the subject of his (*veracity*). Al-Mâmûn testified a high respect for him and treated him with marked honour. Al-Wâkidi once wrote to him, complaining that straitened circumstances had burthened him with debts, and specified the amount of what he owed. On this memorial al-Mâmûn inscribed the following answer: "You possess the qualities of liberality and modesty: "liberality allows your hand to disperse freely what you possess, and modesty induces "you to mention only a part of your debts. We have, therefore, ordered you the "double of what you ask; if this be not sufficient, the fault is your own; and if it "answer your expectations, be yet more liberal than before, for the treasures of God "are open, and his hand is stretched forth to do good. When you acted as *kâdi* to "ar-Rashîd, you told me that the blessed Prophet said to az-Zubair (2): 'O Zubair! "'the keys of the provision which God grants to his creatures are placed before his "'throne; He bestoweth on them in proportion to their expenditure; if they spend "'much, He gives much, and if they spend little, He gives little.'"—"I had completely forgotten this Tradition," observed al-Wâkidi, "and I derived more pleasure from his reminding me of it than from the present he made me." Bishr al-Hâfi (*vol. I. p.* 257) related one single fact relative to al-Wâkidi, which was that he heard him say: "How to write a charm to cure fevers. Take some olive leaves, "and, on a Saturday, being yourself in a state of purity, write on one of these leaves: "*Hell is hungry*, on another, *Hell is thirsty*, and on the third, *Hell is refreshed*. "Put them into a rag and bind them on the left arm of the person suffering from "fever. I made the experiment myself, said al-Wâkidi, and found it successful." Such is the relation given by Abû 'l-Faraj Ibn al-Jauzi (*vol. II. p.* 96) in the book

which he composed on the Life of Bishr al-Hâfi.—Al-Masûdi mentions, in his *Murûj ad-Dahab*, that al-Wâkidi related the following anecdote: "I had two friends, one of "whom belonged to the family of Hâshim, and we were all as if animated by one "soul. Poverty then came upon me, and I was reduced to deep distress, when my "wife said to me, as the great Festival was drawing near: 'As for ourselves, we can "'support in patience our misery and affliction; but there are our children, and it "'cuts me to the heart to think that they will see the neighbours' children dressed "'out and adorned for the Festival, whilst ours must continue as they now are, in "'their worn-out clothes. Could you contrive to procure the means of clothing "'them?' I immediately wrote to my friend, the Hâshimide, requesting him to let "me have whatever sum he could dispose of, and he sent me a purse sealed up, "and containing, he said, one thousand dirhems. I had hardly recovered from the "joy I experienced, when I received a note from my other friend, wherein he made "a complaint similar to that which I had addressed to the Hâshimide; I immediately "sent him the purse without even breaking the seal, and, being then ashamed of "appearing before my wife, I went to the mosque and remained there till morning. "When I returned home, instead of being reproached for what I had done, I had "the satisfaction of receiving her full approbation and, just at that moment, the "Hâshimide came in, with the purse sealed up as before. 'Tell me sincerely,' "said he, 'how you disposed of what I sent you.' I told him the plain fact. 'Well,' "said he, 'when you applied to me, I sent you all I possessed on earth, and having "'then written to my friend requesting him to share with me what he had, I re- "'ceived from him my own purse, sealed with my signet.'—We then decided on "making an equal partition of the thousand dirhems, having first taken out one "hundred for my wife (3). Al-Mâmûn having heard of the circumstance, sent for "me and made me relate what had passed; he then ordered us a present of seven "thousand dinars, two thousand dinars for each of us, and one thousand for my "wife.' The Khatîb relates this anecdote, with some slight difference, in his History of Baghdad. Al-Wâkidi was born in the beginning of A. H. 130 (Sept., A. D. 747); he died on the eve of Monday, the 11th of Zû 'l-Hijja, A. H. 207 (27th April, A. D. 823), being then *kâdi* of the quarter of Baghdad situated on the western side of the Tigris. Such is the statement made by Ibn Kutaiba, but as-Samâni says that he was *kâdi* of the eastern quarter of Baghdad, as we have already mentioned. The funeral service was said over him by Muhammad Ibn Samâa at-Tamîmi, and he was interred

in the Khaizurân cemetery. Some place his death in 209 or 206, but the date we have given is the true one. The Khatîb says, in his History of Baghdad, towards the beginning of his notice on al-Wâkidi, that he died in the month of Zû 'l-Kaada, but towards the end of the article, he places his death in Zû 'l-Hijja. I found among my rough notes, and in my own hand-writing, that al-Wâkidi died at the age of seventy-eight years. *Wâkidi* means *descended from Wâkid;* one of his ancestors bore this name. — Of *al-Madani* we have already spoken (*p.* 5 *of this vol.*). — *Askar al-Mahdi* (*al-Mahdi's camp*), a place now known by the name of *ar-Rusâfa*, is situated in the eastern quarter of Baghdad. It was built by Abû Jaafar al-Mansûr for his son al-Mahdi, after whom it was called. This confirms the statement that al-Wâkidi was *kâdi* of the eastern quarter of the city, not of the western.

(1) See Abû 'l-Fida, reign of Abû Bakr; Price in his *Retrospect*, vol. I; Kosegarten's Annals of at-Tabari; part II, and Mr. Caussin de Perceval's *Essai sur l'histoire des Arabes*, tome III.

(2) Abû Abd Allah az-Zubair Ibn al-Auwâm Ibn Khuwailid Ibn Asad Ibn Abd al-Ozza Ibn Kussai, a member of the tribe of Koraish and of the family of Asad, was a cousin of Muhammad by the mother's side, and one of the ten proselytes to whom the founder of Islamism annonced their certain entry into paradise. Persecuted, like the other Moslims, by the Pagan Arabs, he took refuge iu Abyssinia, but returned in time to accompany Muhammad in his emigration to Medîna. He fought in all Muhammad's battles, and, at the combat of Badr, he was the only warrior among the true believers who took the field on horseback. At the conquest of Mekka, he bore Muhammad's standard, and upwards of thirty wounds received in various combats against the infidels attested his bravery and his attachment to that faith in the cause of which his sword was the first ever drawn. Jealous of Ali, he espoused the quarrel of Aâisha, and fell by the hand of Amr Ibn Jarmûz the 10th of the latter Jumâda, A. H. 36 (December, A. D. 656), soon after the battle of the Camel. He met with his death in a valley near Basra, called *Wâdi 's-Sabâa* (*the valley of the lions.*) — (Abû 'l-Fida. *Tabakât al-Muhaddithîn. Siar as-Salaf.*)

(3) One thousand pieces could not be equally divided between three persons; the difficulty was obviated by reducing the sum to nine hundred.

MUMAMMAD IBN SAAD.

Abû Abd Allah Muhammad Ibn Saad Ibn Manî az-Zuhri, was a man of the highest talents, merit, and eminence. He lived for some time with al-Wâkidi (see the pre-

ceding article) in the character of a secretary, and for this reason he became known by the appellation of *Kâtib al-Wâkidi*. Amongst the masters under whom he studied was Sofyân Ibn Oyaina (*vol. I. p.* 578); traditional information was delivered on his own authority by Abû Bakr Ibn Abi 'd-Dunyâ (*vol. I. p.* 531) and Abû Muhammad al-Hârith Ibn Abi Osâma at-Tamîmi. He composed an excellent work, in fifteen volumes, on the different classes (*tabakât*) of Muhammad's companions and of the Tâbî's; it contains also an history of the khalifs brought down to his own time. He left also a smaller *Tabakât*. His character as a veracious and trust-worthy historian is universally admitted. It is said that the complete collection of al-Wâkidi's works remained in the possession of four persons, the first of whom was his secretary, Muhammad Ibn Saad. This distinguished writer displayed great acquirements in the sciences, the Traditions, and traditional literature; most of his books treat of the Traditions and law. The Khatîb Abû Bakr (*vol. I. p.* 75), author of the History of Baghdad, speaks of him in these terms : "We consider Muhammad Ibn Saad as a "man of unimpeached integrity, and the Traditions which he delivered are a proof "of his veracity, for in the greater part of the information handed down by him, we "find him discussing it, passage by passage." He was a *mawla* to al-Husain Ibn Abd Allah Ibn Obaid Allah Ibn al-Abbâs Ibn Abd al-Muttalib. He died at Baghdad, on Sunday the 4th of the latter Jumâda, A. H. 203 (December, A. D. 818), at the age of sixty-two years, and was interred in the cemetery outside the Damascus gate (*Bâb as-Shâm*).

ABU BISHR AD-DULABI.

Abû Bishr Muhammad Ibn Ahmad Ibn Hammâd Ibn Saad al-Ansâri ad-Dûlâbi (*a native of Dûlâb*) was allied, by adoption, to the Ansârs. The surname of al-Warrâk ar-Râzi (*the scribe of Rai*) was borne by him (*because he was originally from the province of Rai and copied or sold books*). Ad-Dûlâbi displayed great learning in the Traditions, historical narrations, and general history; he learned the Traditions in Syria and Irâk from Muhammad Ibn Bashshâr (1), Ahmad Ibn Abd al-Jabbâr al-Otâ-

ridi, and a great number of other teachers. His own authority was cited for Traditions by at-Tabarâni (*vol. I. p.* 592) and Abû Hâtim Ibn Habbân al-Busti (2). He left some useful works on history and on the dates of the births and deaths of the learned; these productions are so correct that persons who cultivate such branches of knowledge place full reliance on the information they derive from them, and his statements may be found quoted in works of the highest repute. In a word, he was one of the first masters on these subjects, and an authority to whom constant reference is made. His productions are drawn up with great care. He died at al-Arj, A. H. 320 (A. D. 932). It is related that he gave the following lines as the production of Orwa Ibn Hizâm al-Ozri (*vol. I. p.* 671) and used to repeat them very often :

> When my heart designed to abandon her, it found its project opposed by two strenuous intercessors (*love and remembrance* (?) *established*) in my bosom. When it said No, they said Yes; but all were soon unanimous, for they prevailed.

— *Dûlâbi*, or *Daulâbi*, which last is considered by as-Samâni as the correct pronunciation, means *belonging to ad-Dûlâb*, a village in the province of Rai. Another village of the same name lies in the province of al-Ahwâz, and near it was fought the celebrated battle against the Azârika (*vol. II. p.* 514). Another Dûlâb is situated to the east of Baghdad, and a fourth place of this name is *Dûlâb al-Jâr* (3). *Dûlâb*, pronounced also *Daulâb*, means any thing which turns round (*a water-wheel, for instance*).—*Al-Arj* is a steep mountain pass on the pilgrim road from Mekka to Medîna. In the territory of Tâif is a populous village called *al-Arj*, the native place of al-Arji the poet (*vol. I. p.* 267), whose real names were : Abd Allah Ibn Omar Ibn Amr Ibn Othmân Ibn Affân.—I do not know in which of these two places ad-Dûlâbi died. There is also a place in Yemen called *Sûk al-Arj*.

(1) Abû Bakr Muhammad Ibn Bashshâr Ibn Othmân Ibn Dâwûd Ibn Kaisân al-Abdi, called also Bendâr, was a traditionist and a native of Basra. Al-Bukhâri cited his authority for some Traditions. He died A. H. 252 (A. D. 866).—(*Tab. al-Muhaddithîn.*)

(2) Abû Hâtim Muhammad Ibn Habbân, a native of the town of Bust, in Sijistân, was a traditionist of the highest authority and the author of some esteemed works on the traditionists, medicine, astronomy, and other subjects. He died A. H. 354 (A. D. 965).—(*Huffâz*, Ibn Khaldûn's *Prolegomena.*)

(3) We should perhaps read *Hâzin* (حازن) with the *Marâsid.*

ABU ABD ALLAH AL-MARZUBANI.

Abû Abd Allah Muhammad Ibn Imrân Ibn Mûsa Ibn Saîd Ibn Obaid Allah al-Kâtib al-Marzubâni was born at Baghdad, but his family belonged to Khorâsân. Besides drawing up numerous works and curious compilations (1), which are well known, he delivered orally a great deal of literary and historical information. As a transmitter of Traditions, he bore the character of a sure authority, but in his religious belief he leant towards the Shîite doctrines. He gave his Traditions on the authority of Abd Allah Ibn Muhammad al-Baghawi (*vol. I. p.* 323), Abû Bakr Ibn Abi Dâwûd as-Sijistâni (*vol. I. p.* 590), and other masters. It was he who first collected and revised the poetical works of the Omaiyide (*khalif*), Yâzid the son of Moawîa, the son of Abû Sofyân; they form a small volume of about sixty pages (2). After him, other persons undertook the same task, but they inserted in the collection a great number of pieces which were not Yazîd's. The poems of this prince, though not numerous, are highly beautiful; one of his sweetest passages is that contained in the piece rhyming in *aîn*, where he says :

> Separated from Laila, I longed for a glimpse of her figure, thinking that the flame which raged within my bosom would be calmed at her aspect; but the females of the tribe said : " You hope " to see the charms of Laila! die of the (*lingering*) malady of hope! How couldst thou look " on Laila, whilst the eyes which you cast on other women are not yet purified by tears? How " can you hope to enjoy her discourse, since your ears have hearkened to the voice of stran- " gers? O Laila! thou art too noble to be seen! he only can see thee whose heart is humble " and submissive (3). "

I conceived so great an admiration for Yazîd's poetry, that, in the year 633 (A. D. 1235-6), being then at Damascus, I learned it all by heart, and succeeded in distinguishing the genuine pieces from those which were falsely ascribed to him. I examined also the latter with attention, and was enabled, by my researches, to discover by whom each of them was composed; these results I should set forth here were I not apprehensive of lengthening this article too much.—Al-Marzubâni was born in the month of the latter Jumâda, A. H. 297 (Feb.-March, A. D. 910); — some say, 296 — and he died on Friday, the 2nd of Shawwâl, A. H. 384 (9th November, A. D.

994). His death has been placed erroneously in the year 378. The funeral service was said over him by the doctor Abû Bakr al-Khowârezmi. He was interred in his house, situated in the *shârî* of Amr the Greek (*Amr ar-Rûmi*), a street in that quarter of Baghdad which lies on the east side of the river. He delivered traditional information on the authority of Abû 'l-Kâsim al-Baghdâdi (4), Abû Bakr Ibn Duraid (*page* 37 *of this vol.*), and Abû Bakr Ibn al-Anbâri (*page* 53 *of this vol.*); his own authority was cited by Abû Abd Allah as-Saimari, Abû 'l-Kâsim at-Tanûkhi (*vol. II.* (p. 567), Abû Muhammad al-Jauhari, and others.—He received the surname of *al-Marzubâni* because one of his ancestors bore the name of *al-Marzubân*, a designation applied by the Persians to great and powerful men only. This word signifies *guardian of the frontier*, as we learn from Ibn al-Jawâlîki's (5) work, entitled *al-Muarrab*.

(1) Ibn Khallikân mentions, in the life of the poet Abû Bakr al-Khowârezmi, that al-Marzubâni was the author of a *Mojam as-Shuarâ*, or dictionary of notices on the poets.

(2) The original has : Of about three *kurrâsas*. A *kurrâsa*, or *quire*, generally contains twenty pages.

(3) These verses seem to have a mystic import; the Beloved signifying the Divinity.

(4) This I believe to be the same person as the Abd Allah al-Baghawi already mentioned in this article.

(5) His life will be found in this work.

ABU BAKR AS-SULI.

The *kâtib* Abû Bakr Muhammad Ibn Yahya Ibn Abd Allah Ibn al-Abbâs Ibn Muhammad Ibn Sûl Tikîn, generally known by the appellation of as-Sûli as-Shatranji (*as-Sûli the chess-player*), bore a high reputation as a man of talent and an accomplished scholar. He delivered traditional information on the authority of Abû Dâwûd as-Sijistâni (*vol. I. p.* 589), Abû 'l-Abbâs Thalab (*vol. I. p.* 83), Abû 'l-Abbâs al-Mubarrad (*page* 31 *of this vol.*), and other great masters; Abû 'l-Hasan ad-Dârakutni (*vol. II. p.* 239), Abû Abd Allah al-Marzubâni, see the preceding article, and others have transmitted down the information which he imparted. He became one of (*the khalif*) ar-Râdi's boon companions, after having been his preceptor; the khalif al-

Muktafi and his successor al-Muktadir received him also into their intimacy on account of his convivial talents. He composed a number of celebrated works, such as the *Kitâb al-Wuzarâ* (*book of vizirs*), the *Kitâb al-Waraka* (*book of the leaf* (?)), the *Adab al-Kâtib* (*the knowledge requisite for a kâtib*), the *Kitâb al-Anwâ* (*book of species*), the History of Abû Tammâm (*vol. I. p.* 348), the History of the Karmats, the *Kitâb al-Ghurar* (*book of brilliancies* (?)), the History of Abû Amr Ibn al-Alâ (*vol. II. p.* 399), the *Kitâb al-Ibâda* (*book of devotion*), the History of Ibn Harma (1), the History of as-Saiyid al-Himyari (*vol. II. p.* 241), the History of Ishak Ibn Ibrahîm an-Nadîm (*vol. I. p.* 183), a biographical dictionary of modern poets, etc. The science which he chiefly cultivated was biography, but he knew by heart and transmitted down a great number of literary productions. Sincere in his religious belief and virtuous in his conduct, he merited the confidence which was always placed in his word. As a chess-player he remained without an equal, and, even to the present day, it is said proverbially of a player whose abilities are intended to be extolled, that *such a one plays at chess like as-Sûli*. I have met a great number of persons who believed that as-Sûli was the inventor of chess, but this is an erroneous opinion, that game having been imagined by Sissah Ibn Dâhir the Indian, for the amusement of king Shihrâm. Ardashîr Ibn Bâbek, the founder of the last Persian dynasty, invented the game of *nerd* (*tables*) (2), wich was, therefore, called *nerdashîr* (3). He designed it as an image of the world and its inhabitants, and, therefore, divided the board into twelve squares to represent the months of the year; the thirty pieces (*or men*) represented the days of the month, and the dice were the emblems of fate and the vicissitudes through which it conducts the people of the world. But, to expatiate on these points would lead us too far, and make us digress from the subject in which we are now engaged. The Persians count the game of *nerd* as one of the inventions which did honour to their nation. [Balhait was at that time king of India, and for him Sissah invented the game of chess. The sages of the time declared it superior to the game of *nerd*, and that for reasons too long to be explained] (4). It is said that, when Sissah invented the game of chess and presented it to Shihrâm, the latter was struck with admiration and filled with joy; he ordered chess-boards to be placed in the temples, and considered that game as the best thing that could be learned, in as much as it served (*as an introduction*) to (*the art of*) war, as an honour to religion and the world, and as the foundation of all justice. He manifested also his gratitude and satisfaction for the favour which heaven had granted him in illustrating his reign by

such an invention, and he said to Sissah. "Ask me for whatever you desire." — "I then demand," replied Sissah, "that a grain of wheat be placed in the first "square of the chess-board, two in the second, and that the number of grains be "progressively doubled till the last square is attained: whatever this quantity may "be, I ask you to bestow it on me." The king, who meant to make him a present of something considerable, exclaimed that such a recompense would be too little, and reproached Sissah for asking so inadequate a reward. Sissah declared that he desired nothing but what he had mentioned, and, heedless of the king's remonstrances, he persisted in his demand. The king, at length, consented, and ordered that quantity of wheat to be given him. When the chiefs of the government office received orders to that effect, they calculated the amount, and answered that they did not possess near so much wheat as was required. These words were reported to the king, and he, being unable to credit them, ordered the chiefs to be brought before him. Having questioned them on the subject, they replied that all the wheat in the world would be insufficient to make up the quantity. He ordered them to prove what they said, and, by a series of multiplications and reckonings, they demonstrated to him that such was the fact. On this, the king said to Sissah: "Your "ingenuity in imagining such a request is yet more admirable than your talent in "inventing the game of chess." — The way in which this doubling of the grains is to be done consists in the calculator's placing one grain in the first square, two in the second, four in the third, eight in the fourth, and so on, till he comes to the last square; placing in each square the double of what is contained in the preceding one. I was doubtful that the amount could be so great as what is said, but having met one of the accountants employed at Alexandria, I received from him a demonstration which convinced me that their declaration was true: he placed before me a sheet of paper in which he had doubled the numbers up to the sixteenth square, and obtained thirty-two thousand seven hundred and sixty-eight grains (5). "Now," said he, "let us consider this quantity to be the contents of a pint measure, and this "I know by experiment to be true;"—these are the accountant's words, so let him bear the responsibility — "then let the pint be doubled in the seventeenth square, "and so on progressively. In the twentieth square it will become a *waiba* (*peck*), "the *waibas* will then become an *irdabb* (*bushel*), and in the fortieth square we shall "have one hundred and seventy-four thousand seven hundred and sixty-two *irdabbs*. "Let us suppose this to be the contents of a corn store, and no corn store contains

"more than that; then, in the fiftieth square we shall have the contents of one "thousand and twenty-four stores; suppose these to be (*situated in*) one city — and "no city can have more than that number of stores or even so many—we shall then "find that the sixty-fourth and last square gives sixteen thousand three hundred and "eighty-four cities (6). Now, you know that there is not in the world a greater num- "ber of cities than that, for geometry informs us that the circumference of the globe "is eight thousand (7); parasangs so that, if the end of a cord were laid on any part "of the earth, and the cord passed round it till both ends met, we should find the "length of the cord to be twenty-four thousand miles, which is equal to eight thou- "sand parasangs. This (*demonstration*) is decisive and indubitable."—Were I not apprehensive of extending this article too much and being led away from my subject, I should render this evident, but, in my notice on the sons of Mûsa, I shall touch again on the subject (8). You know also that the inhabited portion of the earth forms about one quarter of its surface.—These observations have caused us to digress, but as they convey some useful information and a curious piece of reckoning, I decided on inserting them so that they might come under the notice of such persons as treat with incredulity the result obtained by doubling the squares of the chess-board, and oblige them to acknowledge its exactitude; the demonstration here given clearly proves the truth of what has been said on the subject. — Let us return to as-Sûli. Al-Masûdi relates, in his *Murûj ad-Dahab*, that the *imâm* (or *khalif*) ar-Râdi billah went to a delightful garden filled with flowers, at one of his country seats, and asked the boon companions who accompanied him if they ever saw a finer sight. They all began to extol it and describe its beauties, declaring that nothing in the world could surpass it; on which ar-Râdi said : "As-Sûli's manner "of playing chess is yet a finer sight and surpasses all you could describe." It is related, says the same author, that when (*the khalif*) al-Muktafi (*billah*) first heard of as-Sûli's extraordinary talent in that game, he had already taken into his favour a chess-player named al-Mâwardi, whose manner of playing had excited his admiration. When as-Sûli and al-Mâwardi were set to play in the presence of al-Muktafi, the khalif yielded to his partiality for the latter, and, led away by the friendly feelings which a long acquaintance had established between them, he prompted him and encouraged him so openly that as-Sûli felt at first embarrassed and confused. However, as the game went on, he recovered his self-possession and vanquished his adversary so completely that no one could gainsay it. Al-Muktafi being thus convinced of his

talent, lost all his partiality for al-Mâwardi and said to him : "Your *mâ-ward* (*rose* "*water*) is turned into urine." — Innumerable anecdotes are told of as-Sûli and his adventures; yet, with all his talent, his acknowledged learning, humour, and elegant taste, he met with a depreciator in Abû Saîd al-Okaili, who attacked him, but not severely, in a satire : as-Sûli had a room filled with works composed by himself and all in differently coloured bindings; these he used to call the fruits of his studies (9), and, when he had occasion to refer to any of them, he would tell his boy to bring him such and such a book. This led Abû Saîd to compose the following lines :

> Of all men, as-Sûli possesses the most learning — in his library. If we ask him for an explanation on a point of science, he answers : "Boys! bring here such and such a packet of " science (10). "

As-Sûli died at Basra, A. H. 335 (A. D. 946-7), or 336; he had sought concealment there to avoid the active search which people of all ranks were making after him with the intention of putting him to death. The crime imputed to him was his publishing a certain Tradition relative to (*the rights of*) Ali, the son of Abû Tâlib. Some time previously, he had been obliged, by straitened circumstances, to leave Baghdad. — We have already spoken of the word *Sûli* in the life of Ibrahîm Ibn al-Abbâs as Sûli (*vol. I. p.* 22), the uncle of Abû Bakr's father. — *Sissah* is to be pronounced with an *i* followed by a double *s* and then an *h*. — *Dâhir* is pronounced with an *i* in the second syllable. — *Ardashîr* is thus spelled by ad-Dârakutni; another author says that it is a Persian word signifying *flour and milk; ard* means *flour*, and *shîr*, *milk*. Some say that *Ardashîr* means *flour and sweetness* (11), and others state that it should be written *Azdashîr*. It was this prince who overthrew the provincial kings (*Mulûk at-Tawâif*) and formed, out of their empires, a kingdom for himself. He was the ancestor of that Persian dynasty which ended in Yazdajird (*Yezdegird*) and was overthrown in the thirty-second year of the Hijra, in the khalifate of Othmân Ibn Affân. Their history is well known. This dynasty must not be confounded with the first series of the Persian kings which terminated in Dârâ (*Darius*), the son of Dârâ, him who was slain by Alexander. This conqueror established provincial kings throughout the country, and he gave them this name because each of them had a different people under his rule; these states had previously belonged to a single man. Ardashîr was one of the provincial kings, but he succeeded in subduing the

others and establishing the empire in its primitive unity. The country had remained under the provincial kings during four hundred years. The last Persian dynasty subsisted for the same period.—I am unable to fix with certainty the orthography of *Balhait*, the name of the king of India, but I found it thus written, with the vowels, by the copyist of the book which I consulted. It may or it may not be correct.

(1) " In A. H. 176 (A. D. 792-3) died Abû Ishak Ibrahîm Ibn Ali Ibn Maslama Ibn Aâmir Ibn Harma " (هرمة) al-Fihri, a celebrated poet of whom al-Asmâi said : ' Ibn Harma was the last of the poets.' No " testimony can be stronger than this in favour of his talents." — (*Nujûm.*)

(2) Hyde has treated of these games in his treatise *De Ludis Orientalium*.

(3) Ibn Khallikân, or the author whom he copies, seems, therefore, to have considered the word *nerdashîr* as the equivalent of *nerd Ardashîr* (*Ardashîr's nerd*).

(4) If the passage here placed between crotchets be not an interpolation, the author has been led into a contradiction by his forgetting to compare the additional notes which he inserted in the margin of his work with what he had already written. It may be here mentioned that nothing positive is known of Sissah, Shihrâm, and Balhait.

(5) This is perfectly exact.

(6) These sums are exact.

(7) The reasoning which follows is so inconclusive, that we must suppose our author to have misunderstood what was said.

(8) The life of Muhammad Ibn Mûsa Ibn Shâkir will be found in this volume; but it does not contain the slightest allusion to the arithmetical problem of the chess-board.

(9) Literally : *his hearing*; that is, what he learned at his master's lectures.

(10) The grammatical construction of this last verse is incorrect : for فلانة we sh uld read الفلانة.

(11) These derivations, which have been already given (vol. I. p. 555), are too futile to merit attention.

AL-HATIMI.

Abû Ali Muhammad Ibn al-Hasan Ibn al-Muzaffar, surnamed al-Hâtimi, a native of Baghdad, a *kâtib* and a philologer, was one of the most eminent among those learned men who had attained celebrity by their extensive information and numerous productions. He studied the belles-lettres under Abû Omar-az-Zâhid (*page* 43 *of this vol.*),

and dictated historical information on his authority at literary assemblies. He gave also some pieces on the authority of other masters. The *kâdi* Abû 'l-Kâsim at-Tanûkhi (*vol. II. p.* 567) and a number of other eminent men transmitted down information received from him. Al-Hâtimi composed an epistle called *ar-Risâla tal-Hâtimiya* (*the Hâtimian epistle*), in which he related his interview with al-Mutanabbi (*vol. I. p.* 102), and the manner in which he exposed, on that occasion, the plagiarisms and defects which occur in that poet's compositions. This treatise is a proof of the extensive acquirements and vast information possessed by its author. In commencing, he explains the motive which led him to (*write it*), and he then says: "When Ahmad Ibn al Husain al-Mutanabbi arrived at Madîna tas-Salâm (*Bagh-*" *dad*), on his return from Egypt, with the project of fixing his abode at the court of " the vizir Abû Muhammad al-Muhallabi (*vol. I. p.* 410), he folded himself up in " the cloak of pride and swept along with the train of his ostentation, whilst his " haughty mien and lofty gait displayed his arrogance and vain presumption (1); " from every person whom he met he turned away in disdain, and spoke of none " but with insidious calumnies. Deluded by self-admiration, he imagined that all " literary talent pertained to him alone; he thought that poetry was an ocean to " whose pure waters none but himself had a right to approach, and a garden whose " blooming flowers he alone was entitled to gather and whose nosegays were to be " culled by him alone, to the exclusion of all others. It is easy for any man to " strut about when in solitude (2), but every reputation requires a basis to sup-" port it. For a length of time, he continued to run in this path, and I allowed " his insolence to roam even to the full extent of its tether; he strode about in his " vanity, thinking that he was the unrivalled courser of the hippodrome, the steed " which never yet had found another to run with it neck and neck, the sole master " of the language, the only deflowerer of virgin phrases, the sovereign lord of elo-" quence in prose and verse, the unequalled hero of the age in talent and in " learning! His heavy tread bore down many of those who had distinguished " themselves by the insignia of the belles-lettres and had forced out from the soil of " literature springs of the sweetest water. Some hung down their heads before him, " others drooped the wing, testifying by their looks humble submission. But " Moizz ad-Dawlat Ahmad Ibn Buwaih"—I have already traced his history (*vol. I. p.* 155)—" saw with displeasure that his capital, the abode of the khalifate, the " seat of glory, the pearl of the empire, should be visited by a man who had just left



"the court of Saif ad-Dawlat Ibn Hamdân"—I have also spoken of this prince (*vol. II. p* 334)—"the open enemy of Moizz ad-Dawlat, and that he should not find "in his kingdom a person able to compete with the new comer in his art. For that "monarch had a lofty soul, an imperial resolution, and a will which, if directed "towards the conduct held by fortune, would have prevented her vicissitudes from "sporting with worthy men and her changes from revolving over them. As for "the vizir al-Muhallabi, he was led by mere supposition to imagine that none could "cope with al-Mutanabbi, that he himself could not equal him nor attain to the "height of any of his thoughts, much less lift the burden of talent which the poet bore "so lightly. Great men have various ways of exalting, extolling and honouring "those whom they think fit; but their sentiments sometimes alter, and then they "promptly abandon their former line of conduct. This was the case with the vizir "al-Muhallabi in the change which his opinion underwent respecting the man "whom he patronised; for, in reality, Abû 't-Taiyib had no other merit to distin-"guish him from the vulgar herd of literary men (not to speak of the noble leaders "of the flock), but a talent for poetry. Herein, I avow, his various productions "were brilliant, and the flowers he culled were full of sweetness. I, therefore, un-"dertook to seek out his faults, pare his nails, publish his secrets, disclose to view "what he kept folded up, and put to the test the negligences of his compositions, till "such time as the palace of some distinguished man should unite us, so that I and he "might race in the same hippodrome and make known who was the vanquisher, who "the vanquished, who reached the goal, and who was distanced. I then possessed a "talent copious as the rain-cloud, a mind which, in all accomplishments, flashed "forth a sparkling radiance, and a genius like the pure wine which is crowned with "bubbles and betrays the secret confided to the wine-jar. Besides this, the lake of "my youth was translucent and its raiment ample, the stuff of my life was glossy, its "zephyrs mild, and its clouds dropping genial rain. But my youth, ardent though it "was, had to await the harbinger of a fitting time; for horses run not on the day of "trial by means of their nerves and vigour, but by the impulse of their riders. How-"ever, each man obtains in his day a moment wherein he may accomplish his wishes, "satisfy his desires, and, though great his expectations, the path to their fulfilment "opens wide. But, at length, I had the pleasure of passing over the days which "intervened between our meeting, and I set out for his dwelling-place, having under-"neath me a quick-paced, hawk-eyed mule, its head towering as if borne on the wings

"of an eagle. It was really a magnificent conveyance, and I seemed like a blazing "star mounted on a cloud conducted by the south wind; whilst before me a number "of handsome pages, some free-born, some slaves, ran in succession, as pearls run "off the string. I mention this, not through ostentation and boasting, but because "Abû 't-Taiyib himself saw it all; its beauty did not, however, excite his admiration, "neither did its splendour attract his attention; that brilliant troop, which, as I "suspect, filled his eyes and heart (*with wonder*), served only to increase his self-"love and make him turn his face away from me. He had opened a shop (*school*), "in that place and uttered his literary wares to some youths who had never received "a learned education, nor whetted their talents in debate (3), nor trained their "minds in the study of literature; unable to distinguish between the beauties of "language and its faults, between its facilities and its difficulties; their utmost "desire being to read the poems of Abû Tammâm, to discourse on some of his ori-"ginal ideas, and to cite some of the readings which the editors of his works had "written down as authorised. I found there a company of young men, learning "from al-Mutanabbi passages of his poetry; but, when my arrival was announced "and permission asked for me to enter, he sprung up from his seat and hastened "to hide from my sight. I had however anticipated his departure by dismounting "from my mule, and he saw me full well, for I had ridden up to a spot where his "eyes could not fail to light upon me. On entering the assembly, I was received "with profound respect by all, and seated in al-Mutanabbi's own place. I then "perceived that his seat was covered with an old cloak which, trough the persis-"tance of time, had become a tattered remnant, a collection of loose shreds. I had "scarcely time to sit down, when he entered; I rose and saluted him politely, though "he deserved it not, for he had left his place to avoid rising up on my entrance; but "I, in going to see him, had another objet in view. Wen I met him, I applied "to myself the words of the poet:

"It was a disgrace for me to visit thee, but my desire to see thee prevented my retreat.

"And he (*might well have*) applied to his own case these words of another poet:

"Some men render others as wretched as themselves; and God permits that some make
"others happy. Man obtains not his subsistence by superior cunning; wealth and subsistence
"are portions (*distributed by fate*). 'Tis thus the skilful archer sometimes misses the deer,
"and one who is no archer strikes it.

"And behold! he had put on seven vests, each of a different colour; and yet we
"were in the burning heat of summer, and the day was warm enough to melt the
"contents of the skull. I sat down, ready to rise up if necessary; he sat down in
"a kneeling posture and averted his head, as if he saw me not. I then turned from
"him negligently, reproaching myself with my folly in coming to see him, and the
"trouble I had taken in setting out to meet him. He remained for some time, his
"face averted and not deigning to lend me a glance of his eye, whilst every one of
"the band assembled before him was making signs to him and pointing towards me,
"endeavouring to arouse him from his torpor and rudeness. Their efforts served
"only to augment his indifference, insolence, and pride; but he, at length, thought
"proper to turn towards me and show me a certain degree of politeness; and I de-
"clare upon my honour, and that is the best of oaths, that the only words he said
"were : 'How are you?' (4). I replied : 'Well; were it not for the wrong I did
"'myself in coming to see you, the degradation which my dignity has incurred in
"'making you this visit, and the determination which led me reluctantly to one
"'who, like you, has never profited by the lessons of experience and prudence.' I
"then fell upon him as the torrent falls upon the depths of the walley : 'Tell me,'
"said I, 'whence come your pride and presumption, your self-conceit and haugh-
"'tiness? What motive have you to aspire to a height which you can never attain,
"'to aim at a butt which you cannot reach? Have you ancestry to ennoble you,
"'honour to exalt you, a sultan to patronise you, or learning to distinguish you?
"'Had you judged rightly of your own worth, had you weighed your merits in a
"'just balance, vanity would never have seduced you, and you would have remained
"'what you always were, a mere poet, rhyming for a livelihood.' At this invective,
"his colour changed, his respiration became embarrassed, and he commenced
"making humble excuses, and asked for pardon and indulgence, swearing repeat-
"edly that he had not recognised me, and that it was not his intention to insult me.
"I replied : 'Nay, sir! if your visitor be a man nobly born, you appear ignorant of
"'his descent; if an accomplished scholar, you seem not to perceive his learning;
"'and if a favourite of the sultan, you refuse him the place of honour! Are you
"'then the sole heir of every glory? No, by Allah! but you have taken pride as a
"'veil to hide your inferiority, and have made it an antechamber, that you may
"'avoid being questioned!' He again uttered excuses, but I only made answer :
"'There is no excuse for you; entreaties are useless!' The assembly then began

" to request me to spare him and accept his excuses, and to show that moderation
" which offended dignity employs in its own defence; but I still continued to repri-
" mand him in the same strain and to reproach him with his despicable cha-
" racter, whilst he persisted in declaring that he had not recognised me in time to
" do me fitting honour. 'Did I not send in to you,' said I, 'my name and sur-
" 'name when I applied for permission to enter? If you recognised me not, were
" 'there not persons in this assembly who did? and even were the case as you say,
" 'did you not remark my aspect? did you not scent the odour of my superiority?
" 'did you not feel that I was a man apart?' Whilst I was thus filling his ears with
" taunts and invectives, he continued to exclaim: 'Be calm! moderate your passion!
" 'restrain your impetuosity! have patience! patience is the characteristic of per-
" 'sons so respectable as you.' I, at length, resumed my affability and softened
" towards him, regretting to have passed the bounds in reprimanding him; but I
" had already broken him in as you would tame a young and restive camel. He
" then began to extol my merits and praise me, swearing that, since his arrival in
" Irâk, he had ardently longed to see me, and was always promising to himself the
" satisfaction of meeting me and gaining my friendship. He had just ended his
" declarations, when a young student from Kûfa, a descendant of Ali Ibn Abi Tâlib,
" requested permission to enter: he ordered him to be introduced, and in came a
" boy of an active form, moving with all the grace and vivacity of youth, who ex-
" plained the object of his visit with a gentle voice, a sweet tongue, a gay humour,
" a ready answer, a smiling mouth, the gravity and dignity of old age. I was
" struck at the aspect of such endowments and captivated by the talents he displayed.
" Al-Mutanabbi then made him repeat some verses." Here the author commences the relation of his discourse with al-Mutanabbi relative to the plagiarisms and faults in that poet's compositions. The preceding extract is very long, but the passages were so closely connected that it was impossible to make suppressions. The epistle itself contains a mass of information, and if, as the author states, he pointed out to the poet, in one sitting, all the faults he there mentions, such a feat must be considered as a proof of prodigious information. He entitled this work *al-Mûdiha* (*the expositor*); it is of a considerable size, filling, as it does, thirteen quires (*two hundred and sixty pages*), and it serves as a testimony of the eminent talent possessed by the author, of his presence of mind, and of the readiness with which he adduced his numerous proofs. The *Hilya tal-Muhâdara* (*ornaments of conversation*), another

work of his, forms two volumes and contains a great quantity of literary matter. Al-Hâtimi died on Wednesday, the 26th of the latter Rabî, A. D. 388 (27th April, A. H. 998).—He received the surname of *al-Hâtimi* because one of his ancestors bore the name of *Hâtim* (5).

(1) The arrogance and extravagant vanity of al-Hâtimi are fully displayed in the long declamation which follows.

(2) The writer means to say that, if the man who presumes on his talents mingles with the world, he will quickly find a rival or a superior.

(3) Literally : He had established a market with some youths, whom learned men had not educated and who had not been ground down on the mill-stone of adversaries.

(4) In Arabic *Aish khabarak*. It is remarkable that the vulgar form *aish*, for *aiyu shaiyin*, was in use at that early period. Al-Hâtimi seems to have been struck with the singularity of such an expression coming from the mouth of al-Mutanabbi.

(5) The author repeats here, and I suppress the same anecdote which he has already given in the life of Abû Omar az-Zâhid. See page 46 of this volume.

IBN AL-KUTIYA (*OR* AL-GOUTIYA).

Abû Bakr Muhammad Ibn Omar Ibn Abd al Azîz Ibn Ibrahîm Ibn Isa Ibn Muzâhim, generally known by the name of Ibn al-Kûtiya (*son of the Gothic woman*), was born in Cordova and resided in that city, but his family belonged to Seville. In the latter place he received lessons from Muhammad Ibn Abd Allah Ibn al-Kûk (1), Hasan Ibn Abd Allah az-Zubaidi (2), Saîd Ibn Jâbir (3), and other masters; in Cordova he studied under Tâhir Ibn Abd al-Azîz (4), Ibn Abî 'l-Walîd al-Aaraj, Muhammad Ibn Abd al-Wahhâb Ibn Mughîth, and others. He was one of the ablest philologers and grammarians of the age, and possessed extensive information in the Traditions, jurisprudence, and history; he also knew by heart a fund of curious anecdotes, and, by the quantity of poetical pieces which he transmitted down and of historical facts which he discovered, he outstripped every competitor. In the history of Spain he displayed the highest acquirements, and was so fully acquainted with the biography of the emirs, jurisconsults, and poets who flourished in that country, that he used to



dictate, from memory, all the facts concerning them. The works which treat on philology formed the principal subject of his lessons, and their contents were taken down under his dictation; but, in transmitting Traditions and maxims of jurisprudence, he was by no means correct, not having the original works to refer to. It, therefore, resulted that the texts delivered by him on these subjects were appreciated for their meaning only, not for their literal accuracy, and it frequently happened that, under his tuition, students read over works the contents of which, as far as implies correctness, he could not repeat from memory (5). He lived to an advanced age and gave lessons to successive generations; *shaikhs* and old men cited passages which they had learned from him, and, as he himself had met with and studied under all the eminent masters who then lived in Spain, he transmitted down a great quantity of instructive observations which they had communicated to him. Amongst the useful works composed by him on the Arabic language may be noticed the *Kitâb Tasârîf il-Afâl* (*on the conjugations of verbs*); this was the first treatise ever composed on the subject, that of Ibn al-Kattâa (*vol. II. p.* 265) having been drawn up in imitation of it. His treatise on the words which terminate in a long or in a short *alif*, contains an immense quantity of information not to be found elsewhere, and surpasses all the imitations made by later writers as much as it surpassed all the former productions on the same subject (6). When Abû Ali 'l-Kâli (*vol. I. p.* 210) went to Spain, he frequented the society of Ibn al-Kûtiya and always spoke of his talents in the highest terms: being asked by the reigning sovereign of Spain, al-Hakam, the son of an-Nâsir li-Dîn illah Abd ar Rahmân, who was the ablest philologist whom he had met in that country? he replied: "Muhammad Ibn al-Kûtiya." The eminent abilities of Ibn al-Kûtiya were accompanied by a spirit of profound piety and an assiduous attachment to the practices of devotion; he displayed also considerable talent as a poet, but he afterwards renounced that occupation, although his poetical compositions were remarkable for correctness of style, perspicuity of thought, the beauty of the exordiums and the grace of the transitions. The accomplished scholar and poet Abû Bakr Yahya Ibn Hudail at-Tamîmi (7) relates that as he was going, one day, to a country-house which he had at the foot of the Cordova mountain, in one of the most delightful spots on earth, he met Ibn al-Kûtiya returning from a country-seat which he possessed in the same neighbourhood. "On seeing me," said Ibn Hudail, "he reined (*his* "*mule*) over to me and expressed great pleasure at our meeting. I then, in a spor-"tive mood, recited extempore this verse:

"'Whence comest thou, incomparable man? thou who art the sun and whose sphere is the
" world!

" On hearing these words, he smiled and answered with great promptitude :

" I come from a hermitage where the devotee can enjoy solitude, and where sinners may
" transgress in secret.

" I was so highly delighted with his reply, that I could not forbear kissing his " hand and praising him, and invoking God's blessing on him; he was moreover " my old master, and, therefore, deserved these marks of respect."—Abû Bakr Ibn al-Kûtiya died at Cordova on Tuesday, the 23rd of the first Rabî, A. H. 367 (8th November, A. D. 977); he was interred the following day in the Koraish cemetery, at the hour of the evening prayer. Some persons place his death in the month of Rajab of the year just mentioned, but the former date is more correct.— *Kûtiya* (*the Gothic woman*) is derived from Kût (*Goth*); who was the son of Ham, the son of Noah, and from him the Sûdân (*the negroes*), the Indians, and the natives of Sind draw their origin. Al-Kûtiya was the mother of Ibrahîm, the son of Isa Ibn Muzâhim, from whom this Abû Bakr was descended, and the daughter of Obba (*Oppas*), the son of Guitisha (*Witiza*). Her father was king of Spain, and from him it was and from his brothers, Artabâs (*Ardabast*), count of Spain, and Sîda (*Sisebert*), that Târik Ibn Nusair (8), at the head of the Moslims, took the cities of Spain. Al-Kûtiya went to (*the khalif*) Hishâm Ibn Abd al-Malik to complain of the injustice with which she had been treated by her uncle Artabâs, and, when in Syria, she married Isa Ibn Muzâhim, a *mawla* of the Omaiyide (*khalif*) Omar Ibn Abd al-Azîz. This induced her husband, Ibn Muzâhim, to accompany her back to Spain, in which country his descendants continued to reside. She returned with a letter of recommendation addressed by Hishâm to (*Abû*) 'l-Khattâr (9) as-Shôbi al-Kalbi, the chief to whom he had entrusted the government of Spain. (*Abû*) 'l-Khattâr put a stop to the persecutions which she suffered from her uncle, rendered full justice to all her claims against him, and treated her with marked respect. She lived to an advanced age and saw the vicissitudes of fortune establish the Omaiyide prince, the emir Abd ar-Rahmân Ibn Moawîa Ibn Hishâm Ibn Abd al-Malik, surnamed ad-Dâkhil (*the enterer, the new comer*), on the throne of Spain. She sometimes went to see him, and he granted whatever requests she had to make (10). Her posterity have continued to bear the name of the *Sons of the Gothic woman*, even to the present day. Such is

the statement made (*by Abû Bakr al-Kubbashi*) in the enlarged and embellished extract from the jurisconsult Abû Omar Ahmad Ibn Muhammad Ibn Afîf at-Târîkhi's (11) work, entitled, *Kitâb al-Ihtifâl fi Alâm ir-Rijâl* (*the careful remembrancer of eminent men*), which is a compilation of notices on the jurisconsults and learned men of Cordova who flourished in later times. Abû Bakr al-Kubbashi, whose full names were Abû Bakr al-Hasan Ibn Muhammad Ibn Mufarrij Ibn Abd Allah Ibn Mufarrij, a member of the tribe of al-Maâfir and a native of Cordova, transmitted down at-Târîkhi's work from memory (12). Abû Muhammad Ibn ar-Rushâti (*vol. II. p.* 69) says, in his *Ansâb*, that *Aîn Kubbash*, a spring of water in the western suburb of Cordova, gave the title of *al-Kubbashi* to Abû Abd Allah Muhammad Ibn Mufarrij al-Maâfiri al-Kubbashi, who died on the eve of Friday, the 5th of Ramadân, A. H. 371 (4th March, A. D. 982). I may here observe that this person was the father of the Abû Bakr al-Hasan just mentioned.

(1) Al-Makkari, MS. of the *Bibliothèque impériale*, ancien fonds, No. 704, fol. 205, notices an Abû Abd Allah Muhammad Ibn Abd al-Hakk al-Khaulâni, surnamed Ibn al-Kûk, who died A. H. 318 (A. D. 930). This may perhaps be the person whom Ibn Khallikân meant. According to al-Makkari, Ibn al-Kûk was a native of Seville; he studied at Cordova and proceeded to Mekka in A. H. 266 (A. D. 879-80). He took lessons in that city and became an eminent jurisconsult of the Hanifite sect (*fakih fi 'l-râi*). He drew up bonds with great ability and bore the reputation of a pious Moslim and a trust-worthy traditionist.

(2) Al-Hasan Ibn Abd Allah Ibn Madhij az-Zubaidi died towards A. H. 320 (A. D. 932).—(*Bughya.*)

(3) Saîd Ibn Jâbir Ibn Mûsa al-Kilâi, a native of Seville, died A. H. 326 (A. D. 937-8).—(*Bughya.*)

(4) Abû 'l-Hasan Tâhir Ibn Abd al-Azîz ar-Roaini, a native of Cordova, a traditionist, and a philologer of eminent abilities, died A. H. 304 (A. D. 916-7).—(*Bughya.*)

(5) A good professor never taught a work the contents of which he had not already got by heart.

(6) The MS. of the *Bibliothèque impériale*, ancien fonds, No. 706, contains two curious works on the conquest of Spain by the Moslims and the history of that country under the Arabian governors and the first Merwanide emirs. One of these works bears Ibn al-Kûtiya's name as the author; the other is anonymous. For the character of Ibn al-Kûtiya's work see Mr. Dozy's *Al-Baiyan al-Mogrib*, Introduction, p. 28.

(7) Abû Bakr Yahya Ibn Hudail, an accomplished scholar and a poet of great reputation, died A. H. 385 (A. D. 995), or 386, aged eighty-six years.—(*Bughya.*)

(8) Ibn Khallikân probably meant to write *Târik, the* mawla *of Mûsa Ibn Nusair*, unless he followed here some ancient tradition.

(9) In place of *al-Khattâr* (الخطار), the MSS. read *al-Khattâb* (الخطاب). This error seems to have originated with Ibn Khallikân or his copyist. Abû 'l-Khattâr al-Kalbi was the nineteenth governor of Spain.

(10) See *al-Makkari*, in Gayangos's translation, vol. II. p. 50.

(11) Abû Omar Ahmad Ibn Muhammad Ibn Afîf, a native of Cordova, was distinguished for his learning, profound piety, and skill in drawing up bonds and contracts. He is the author of a work in five volumes

destined as a guide to students (*fi addb al-mutaalimin*), and an history of jurisconsults, occasionally cited by Ibn Bashkuwâl. Having removed from Cordova to Almeria, he was appointed *kâdi* of Lorca, and died there, A. H. 420 (A. D. 1029), in the month of the second Rabî. — (Ibn Bashkuwâl's *Silat.*) — The author of the *Bughya* mentions an Ahmad Ibn Muhammad at-Târikhi, probably the same person as the above, and informs us that he composed a number of works on the history of Maghrib, and wrote a large volume in which he described the roads, harbours, and cities of Spain, the six *junds*, or military divisions of that empire, etc.

(12) Abû Bakr al-Hasan Ibn Muhammad Ibn Mufarrij al-Maâfiri al-Kubbashi, a native of Cordova and a learned traditionist, the author of the *Ihtifal*, or history of the khalifs, jurisconsults, and *kadis* mentioned here by Ibn Khallikân, died somewhat later than A. H. 430 (A. D. 1039).—(Ibn Bashkuwâl's *Silat.*)

ABU BAKR AZ-ZUBAIDI.

Abû Bakr Muhammad Ibn al-Hasan Ibn Abd Allah Ibn Madhij Ibn Muhammad Ibn Abd Allah Ibn Bishr az-Zubaidi, a native of Seville and a resident in Cordova, was the ablest grammarian and the most learned philologer of the age. He surpassed all his Spanish contemporaries by his knowledge of syntax, rhetoric, and curious anecdotes; besides which, he was well versed in biography and history. The works which he left us are a proof of his extensive learning, and, amongst them, we may notice his abridgment of the *Aîn* (*vol. I. p.* 496), and his classified list (*tabakât*) of grammarians and philologers who flourished either in the East or in Spain, from the time of Abû 'l-Aswad ad-Duwali (*vol. I. p.* 662) to that of his own master, Abû Abd Allah ar-Riâhi the grammarian. He composed also a refutation of the doctrines held by Ibn Masarra (1) and his followers; this work he entitled: *Hatk Sutûr al-Mulhidîn* (*the impious unmasked*). His other works are: a treatise on the incorrect phraseology of the vulgar; the *Wâdih* (*plain treatise*), a highly instructive work on grammar; and a treatise on the grammatical forms, which has never been surpassed. (*The Omaiyide prince*) al-Hakam al-Mustansir billah, lord of Spain, confided his son and publicly declared successor, Hishâm al-Muwaiyad billah, to the tuition of az-Zubaidi; and the young prince not only learned arithmetic and grammar under this preceptor, but acquired a great stock of other information. To the favour of his pupil, az-Zubaidi was indebted for a large fortune, his appointment to the place of *kâdi* at

Seville and his nomination to the command of the police-guards (*shurta*). The ample wealth which he accumulated was long enjoyed by his descendants. He used to extol in terms of the highest praise the abilities and intelligence of his pupil, al-Muwaiyad, declaring that, amongst all the youths of the imperial family and the sons of the grandees, he never conversed with a boy of his age who was more acute, more quick of comprehension, more sagacious, or more prudent. He related of him also a number of curious anecdotes. Az-Zubaidi composed a great quantity of poetry, and, in one of his pieces, directed against Abû Muslim Ibn Fihr (2), he says :

Abû Muslim! a man must be judged from his intelligence and discourse, not from his equipage and dress. A man's clothing is not worth a straw, if he possesses a narrow mind. It is not long sittings in the professor's chair, my good Abû Muslim! which can procure learning, wisdom, and intelligence.

When employed in the service of al-Hakam al-Mustansir, he ardently longed to see a slave-girl whom he had left at Seville, and, being unable to obtain the permission of going to visit his beloved concubine, he wrote to her these lines :

Alas, my dear Salma! take it not to heart! separation must be endured with fortitude. Think not that I bear your absence with patience, unless it be with the patience of a man in the pangs of death. God hath not created a torture more excruciating than the moment of adieus. Death and separation appear to me the same, except that the former is accompanied by the wailing of the funeral mourners. Promptly severed as we were, though once closely united, reflect that every meeting leads to a departure, that the boughs divide into branches, that proximity tends to remoteness, and union to separation.

He frequently recited the following lines :

To be poor in one's native country is like living in a foreign land; a foreign land with wealth is home; the earth is all the same; mankind are brothers and neighbours.

When Abû Ali al-Kâli (*vol. I. p.* 210) arrived in Spain, az-Zubaidi took notes at his literary and philological lectures; he studied also under Kâsim Ibn Asbagh (3), Saîd Ibn Fahlûn (4), and Ahmad Ibn Saîd Ibn Hazm (5). His family belonged to the military division of Syria called the *Jund* of Emessa. He died at Seville on Thursday, the 1st of the latter Jumâda, A. H. 379 (6th September, A. D. 989). He was interred the same day, after the celebration of the afternoon prayer, and the funeral service was said over him by his son Ahmad. He lived to the age of sixty-three years.—*Madhij*, in its primitive acceptation, served to designate a red sand-hill

in Yemen. Mâlik, the son of Odod, was born on it and received the name of Madhij for that reason. This word then got into such use among the Arabs as a proper name for men, that they ended by considering it as such and forgetting that it applied to this hill.—*Zubaidi* means *descended from Zubaid;* this was the surname of Munabbih, the son of Saab, the son of Saad al-Ashîra (*vol. I. p.* 106), the son of Madhij, him who was called by the name of the hill. Zubaid is a large tribe established in Yemen, and has produced a great number of remarkable persons, some of them companions of Muhammad.

(1) Abû Abd Allah Muhammad Ibn Masarra al-Jabali was a native of Cordova. His application to the doctrines of the *sûfis* and his studies in some philosophical works attributed to Empedocles, induced him to admit and to teach privately the doctrines of pantheism. His works were publicly burned in Seville under the reign of Abd ar-Rahmân II. He died in the month of Shawwâl, A. D. 319 (Oct.-Nov., A. D. 931), at the age of fifty years.—(*Tabakât al-Hukamâ.* — Dozy's *Histoire des musulmans d'Espagne*, t. III. p. 19.)

(2) In the *Bughya* and in al-Makkari's work this name is written *Fahd.*

(3) Abû Muhammad Kâsim Ibn Asbagh Ibn Muhammad al-Baiyâni, an eminent *hâfiz*, traditionist, and genealogist, travelled to the East and studied under the ablest masters at Mekka and at Baghdad. On his return to Spain he composed a great number of works, the titles of which, with the names of the persons under whom he studied, are given in the *Bughya* on the authority of Abû Muhammad Ibn Hazm. He bore a high reputation for learning and for his exactitude as a traditionist, and his *Ansâb*, or patronymics, is a most copious and an excellent work. His family belonged to Baena (البيّانة), but he himself resided in Cordova and died at an advanced age in that city, A. H. 341 (A. D. 951-2). — (*Bughya tal-Multamis.* — *Makkari.*)

(4) Abû Othmân Saîd Ibn Fahlûn (or Fahl) Ibn Saîd, learned Traditions at Cordova in A. H. 274 (A. D. 887-8) from Muhammad Ibn Waddâh; he studied also under other masters, and was giving lessons himself in A. H. 341 (A. D. 952-3).—(*Bughya.*)

(5) Abû Omar Ahmad Ibn Saîd Ibn Hazm as-Sadafi al-Muntajîli (المنتجيلى), the author of a voluminous biographical work, died A. D. 350 (A. H. 961-2).—(*Bughya.*)

ABU ABD ALLAH AL-KAZZAZ.

The grammarian Abû Abd Allah Muhammad Ibn Jaafar at-Tamîmi (*member of the tribe of Tamîm*), surnamed al-Kazzâz, was a native of Kairawân. His principal occupation was the study of grammar and philology, and the composition of works

on various subjects. One of his productions, the *Kitâb al-Jâmî* (*collector*), treats of philology and is a work of great extent and high repute. Abû 'l-Kâsim Ibn as-Sîrafi (*vol. II. p.* 276), the Egyptian *kâtib*, says that Abû Abd Allah al-Kazzâz was employed in the service of al-Azîz Ibn al-Moizz al-Obaidi, the sovereign of Egypt, and that he composed some works at the desire of that prince. According to another statement, al-Azîz Ibn al-Moizz ordered him to compose and draw up in alphabetical order a work containing all the words of that third class which is indicated in the well-known grammatical definition : *The parts of speech are : the noun, the verb, and the particle* (1). And Ibn al-Jazzâr (2) observes that he does not know of any grammarian's having composed a work on a similar plan. In pursuance to the prince's commands, al-Kazzâz collected all the scattered information contained in the most esteemed treatises on this subject, and arranged it in a clear, simple, and easy order. He thus formed a volume of two thousand pages. The preceding indications are taken from the emir al-Mukhtar al-Musabbihi's (*page* 87 *of this vol.*) greater history. In a work called *Kitâb at-Târîd* (*book of allusions*), he inserted the quibbles and allusions employed in common discourse. Abû Ali al-Hasan Ibn Rashîk (*vol. I. p.* 384) says in his *Anmûdaj* : " Al-Kazzâz brought the ancient writers to shame and reduced " the modern authors to silence; respected by the princes, the men of learning and " the men of rank, he was beloved by the people. He rarely engaged in conver- " sation unless to speak of the religious or the profane sciences; he had a great " command of language and composed equally well in the natural and the artificial " styles of poetry. He sometimes pronounced his verses to enliven conversation, " without seeming to care about them ; and he attained with great ease, and in a " gentle quiet way, the highest point to which persons having a talent for poetry " can aspire; namely, novelty of thought and force of expression. Versed in all the " forms of rhetoric, he was equally well skilled in the art of poetry. As specimens " of the pieces to which we allude, we may here insert the following :

" I swear by the place which thy beloved image holds in my heart, by the lasting sway of " love over my bosom, that if my wish were granted to dispose of thy person at my will, I should " treasure thee up in the pupil of my eye and shelter thee under the curtains of my eyelids ! " Then I should enjoy my utmost wishes, and fear no longer for thy character the danger of " unjust suspicions; suspicions which daily force my soul to taste the goblet of death. When " the hearts of other men are at peace, mine fears for thee the secret glances of the evil eye; " and why should I not fear for thee who art my world : nay, God's vengeance alone prevents " me saying : Who art my divinity !

"Love me in secret and let thy thoughts alone inform me of my happiness. Sure of thy "affection, I care not for the lot which may await me.

"Who will console the travellers whom fortune has separated, and who now proceed, some "to the far East and some to the distant West (3). Fate seemed to have dreaded meeting with "its fate, had it kept them together; and it, therefore, dispersed them throughout the world.

"In Abû Rabîa we find a meadow (*rabîa*) where our hopes may roam unrestrained; he always "remembers his promises, and he forgets the favours he bestows.

"Since you know that you are the light of my eye, and that I see nothing if I see not you, "why have you withdrawn from my sight? Then indeed every object but thyself is hidden "from my view."

After giving many other pieces by the same author, Ibn Rashîk adds: "Some of "the poems by Abû Abd Allah"— meaning al-Kazzâz—"are yet finer than those I "have quoted; but I could not recall them to memory, and besides, I made it a rule, "in composing this book, not to confine my choice to any particular class of poems. "He died at al-Hadra, A. H. 412 (A. D. 1021-2), aged nearly seventy years."—By *al-Hadra* he means Kairawân, which was at that time the capital of the kingdom (4). —*Kazzâz* means a *worker*, or a *dealer in silk* (*kazz*). A number of persons were known by this surname.

(1) In Arabic, the words *particle* and *letter* are called *harf*. To distinguish them, the former is called the *harf employed to modify the sense* (*jâa li mâna*). Prepositions, conjunctions, etc., are *harfs*.

(2) It is possible that this may be the Ibn al-Jazzâr mentioned in vol. I. p. 672.

(3) Literally: *to Najd and Tihâma* (منجد ومتهم); a frequent expression with the poets.

(4) *Hadra* signifies *presence*, and, therefore, *the metropolis*, because the sovereign is there present. *Hadratkum* (*your presence*) is the equivalent of *your majesty*, *your excellence*, and *sir*.

THE EMIR AL-MUKHTAR AL-MUSABBIHI.

The emir al-Mukhtâr Izz al-Mulk (*the chosen, the glory of the empire*) Muhammad Ibn Abi 'l-Kâsim Obaid Allah Ibn Ahmad Ibn Ismaîl Ibn Abd al-Azîz, generally

known by the appellation of al-Musabbihi the *kâtib*, drew his origin from a family of Harrân, but Egypt was the place of his birth. This highly accomplished and learned scholar was the author of a celebrated history (*of Egypt*) and other works, all of them attesting the eminent talents with which he was gifted. He always wore the military dress, and it was in the service of al-Hâkim al-Obaidi, the son of al-Azîz, and the sovereign of Egypt, that he rose to fortune. He mentions in his history, that he entered into al-Hâkim's service in the year 398 (A. D. 1007-8), and that, after holding the governments of al-Kais and al-Bahnasa, in the province of as-Saîd, he was appointed head of the *Diwân at-Tartîb* (1). The interviews and conferences which he had with al-Hâkim are attested by his greater history. He compiled about thirty works, and, in speaking of his history, he says: "This valuable work, the contents of which render all other treatises on the same subject "unnecessary for the reader, offers him the history of Egypt, of its governors, "emirs, imâms, and khalifs, the description of its wonders, its edifices, its various "productions which serve for food, a notice on the Nile, an history of the persons "who settled in that country, brought down to the time in which the rough draught "of this chapter was first made, the compositions of the poets, the biography of the "*muftis*, and an account of the sittings held by the *kâdis*, the magistrates (*hâkims*), "the *muaddils* (2), the literary men, the amatory poets, etc."—This work fills twenty-six thousand pages (3). Another of his works, containing two thousand pages, bears the title of *at-Talwîh wa 't-Tasrîh* (*indirect and direct indications*), and treats of the ideas occurring in poetry, and the other species of composition. His *Kitâb ar-Râh wa 'l-Irtiâh* (*wine and cheerfulness*) fills three thousand pages; his *Kitâb al-Ghark wa 's-Shark* (*drowning and strangling*), in which he mentions the persons who met with their death in either of these manners, four hundred pages; his *Kitâb at-Taâm wa 'l-Adâm* (*book of meats and sauces*), two thousand pages; his *Darak al-Bughia* (*the attainment of wishes*), treating of religions and religious practices, seven thousand pages; his *Kisas al-Anbiyâ* (*history of the prophets*), three thousand pages; his *Kitâb al-Mufâtaha wa 'l-Munâkaha* (*liber initionis et congressûs*), treating *de variis congressûs modis*, two thousand four hundred pages; his *Kitâb al-Amthila lid-Dual il-Mukbila* (*book of emblems for the kingdoms which are to come*), a work founded on the stars and calculations, one thousand pages; his *Kadâyâ 's-Sâbiya* (*Sabean judgments*), on judicial astrology, six thousand pages; his *Jûna tal-Mâshita* (*comb-case of the female hair-dresser*), containing curious relations, pieces of poetry,

and anecdotes never before repeated, which miscellany fills three thousand pages; his *Kitâb as-Shajan wa-s'Sakan* (*sadness and alleviation*), containing the history of true lovers and their sufferings, five thousand pages; and his *Kitâb as-Suwâl wa 'l-Jawâb* (*book of questions and answers*), six hundred pages. He composed also the *Mukhtâr al-Aghâni wa Maânîha* (*selections from the Kitâb al-Aghâni with an explanation of its verses*) (4), and other works. We possess some good poetry of his composition, and in one of his pieces, which is an elegy on the death of his concubine, he says:

O let me take the path which leads to God! my heart is broken, and affliction has exhausted my tears. Can I bear my loss with patience, now that my love sojourns in the tomb? O how great, how poignant are my sorrows! O that I had died before her, or that death had taken us off together!

The celebrated philologer, scribe, and book copyist, Abû Muhammad Obaid Allah Ibn Abi 'l-Jaû, having accepted an invitation from al-Musabbihi, and gone to visit him, was addressed by his host in these extempore lines:

By lodging with me you have lodged joy in my heart, and it is ready to fly from excess of felicity. Thy science has showered (*down on us, copious as*) the rains of heaven; were it not for thee, no rain had fallen to-day. Your arrival has spread around a reviving perfume, and the darkness has been changed into light.

This Ibn Abi 'l-Jaû was a poet, an accomplished scholar, a pleasing companion and universally agreeable. He composed a great quantity of epistolary, expostulatory, and satirical pieces. He copied books at the rate of fifty leaves (*or one hundred pages*) for a dinar (*about ten shillings*), and his writing was so extremely beautiful, that the specimens of it still in the hands of the public are in the highest request. He died A. H. 395 (A. D. 1004-5). Al-Musabbihi was born, as he himself informs us in his greater history, on Sunday the 10th of Rajab, A. H. 366 (4th March, A. D. 977). He died in the month of the latter Rabî, A. H. 420 (April-May, A. D. 1029). His father died on Monday morning, the 9th of Shaabân, A. H. 400 (28th March, A. D. 1010), at the age of ninety-three years, and the funeral prayer was said over him in the great mosque of Old Cairo. He was interred in the (*court of the*) house where he resided. Al-Musabbihi lamented his death in the following lines:

To deplore this misfortune, (*our*) tears are not sufficiently abundant; it repels resignation, and

betrays the feelings we suppressed. A misfortune which slays our hearts within our bosoms, which casts us into restless affliction. O fate! thou hast struck thy talons into my heart and covered it with wounds. O fate! thou hast clothed me in a robe of sadness, since a person so dear to us has been laid in the tomb. Hadst thou accepted a ransom, I should have redeemed him for whose sake my bones are broken (*with grief*) whilst his are mouldering into dust. O thou who seest me overcome by an event so unexpected, and blamest my weakness! why dost thou blame me? I have lost my father! no orphanage is more painful than the loss of parents in our youth (5). I used to grieve when death seemed to approach him, or when worldly cares took him by surprise.

A number of other poets, whose names are mentioned in the greater history, composed elegies on his father's death. As-Samâni says, in his *Ansâb* : " *Al-Musab-* " *bihi* (6) means descended from an ancestor whose name was *Musabbih*. This sur- " name was borne by the author of the History of the Maghribins (*the Fâtimides*) " and of Misr. " The writer means the emir of whom we have been just speaking.

(1) I am inclined to believe that the *Diwân at-Tartîb* was the same establishment as the *Diwân ar-Rawâtib*, office where all salaries were regulated and payed.

(2) The *muaddil* is the public officer who certifies the morality of such persons as appear before the *kâdi* to give evidence. He is also called the *muzakki* (*purifier*).

(3) The author says : Thirteen thousand *leaves* (*waraka*).

(4) See vol. II. page 249.

(5) Al-Musabbihi was not then so very young; he had passed his thirty-third year, and probably did not feel so much as he pretends.

(6) The surname of this historian is often incorrectly written *al-Masthi*; المسبحى for المسبحى.

IBN HAMDUN *THE KATIB.*

Abû 'l-Maâli Muhammad Ibn Abi Saad al-Hasan Ibn Muhammad Ibn Ali Ibn Hamdûn the *kâtib*, surnamed Kâfi 'l-Kufât (*the most serviceable of assistants*) Bahâ ad-Dîn (*splendour of religion*), was a native of Baghdad, highly distinguished for his talents and consummate abilities as a literary man and a *kâtib*. He came of a family noted for producing men of influence and merit, as not only he, but his father and

his brothers, Abû Nasr and Abû 'l-Muzaffar, occupied eminent posts in the service of the state. Having pursued his studies under Abû 'l-Kâsim Ismaîl Ibn al-Fadl al-Jurjâni and other masters, Abû 'l-Maâli composed his *Tazkira* (*remembrancer*), an excellent compilation of historical notices, pieces of literature, anecdotes, and poems. Nothing like it has ever been produced by later writers, and, being a most useful work, it still retains its reputation and continues in the hands of the public. Imâd ad-Dîn al-Ispahâni mentions him in the *Kharîda*, and says : " He was army inspector " under al-Muktafi (*li amr illah*), and intendant of the palace under al-Mustanjid. " Ardent for praise and eager for renown, he spread the shade of his protection over " literary men and, gifted with talents and genius, he composed a work entitled the " *Tazkira*, wherein he combined gaiety with seriousness, frivolity with knowledge. " But the khalif al-Mustanjid having remarked in it some anecdotes, extracted, according to the author's account, from historical works, but which seemed allusions " to the fallen state of the empire, he imagined that Abû 'l-Maâli's object was to " vilify the government, and he, therefore, took him from his seat of office and cast " him into prison, where he remained in suffering till he died. This occurred at " the beginning of the year 562 (November, A. D. 1166). He once recited to me " the following piece of his composition, containing an enigmatical description of " the linen fan (1) :

" Fast and loose, it cannot touch what it tries to reach ; though tied up, it moves swiftly, and " though a prisoner, it is free. Fixed in its place, it drives before it the gentle breeze ; though " its path be closed up, it moves on in its nocturnal journey. It received from Solomon an " inheritance (2). It remains dry when the star Simâk (*Spica Virginis*) exerts its (*cooling*) " influence (*over the weather*), but it sheds its moisture when the ardours of Orion return. " Its salutation consists in one of the (*four*) elements, and for that reason every soul is its " friend (3)."

Imâd ad-Dîn gives also the following passages as his :

May your glory never require augmentation ! May thy gifts never require pressing to be granted ! But yet I desire increase of fortune, though reason bids me to remain contented.

Little of head and of wit ! heavy in breath and in body ! you pretend to smell sweet like me ; sweet you smell, but it is of perfumes (4).

Another writer says that he learned by heart a great quantity of Traditions. Ibn Hamdûn relates that he heard the *imâm* (*khalif*) al-Mustanjid repeat the following

verses, composed by Abû Hafs as-Shatranji on a girl who had a cast in her eyes:

> When tormented with love, I praised God for the obliquity of vision which rendered sidelong glances unnecessary; I looked at her, and the spy who watched me thought that I looked at him (5); I thus felt secure from treachery (6).

This is certainly a novel and striking idea.—Ibn Hamdûn was born in the month of Rajab, A. H. 495 (April-May, A. D. 1102), and he died on Tuesday, the 11th of Zû 'l-Kaada, A. H. 562 (29th August, A. D. 1167). He was interred the next day, in the Koraish cemetery, at Baghdad. He died in prison.—His brother, Abû Nasr Muhammad Ibn al-Hasan, surnamed Ghars ad-Dawlat (*plant of the empire*), an officer of the civil administration (*aâmil*), was looked upon as one of those virtuous and holy men whose society is much to be desired. He was born in the month of Safar, A. H. 488 (Feb.-March, A. D. 1095), and he died at Baghdad in the month of Zû 'l-Hijja, A. H. 545 (March-April, A. D. 1151). He was interred in the Koraish cemetery. Their father was a *kâtib* of high rank, a skilful administrator, and a good accountant. He composed a work on the nature of the different posts in the civil service (*fi maarifa tal-Aâmâl*), and lived to an advanced age. He died on Saturday, the 10th of the first Jumâda, A. H. 546 (25th August, A. D. 1151).

(1) The *linen fan* (*mirwaha tal-khaish*) is a large piece of linen stretched on a frame and suspended from the ceiling of the room. It is moistened with rose-water and set in motion by a cord. They make use of it in Irâk. — See de Sacy's *Hariri*, page ۴۷۴.

(2) This is an allusion to the 81st verse of the 21st sûrat of the Korân: "And unto Solomon (*we subjected*) "a strong wind which ran at his command." The next hemistich of Ibn Hamdûn's verse presents a double difficulty: the verb عربت may be read in various manners, and the allusion made by the poet is very obscure. From the opposition which exists between the ideas of *Arab* and *Nabatean*, I am inclined to read this doubtful verb as if it were pointed thus: عرّبت; the meaning of the hemistich would then be: and its materials, *i. e.* the substance of which it is formed, have received an Arabic appearance, as the Nabateans have received one. We should then have an allusion to the proverbial expression: قد استعرب النبط (*the Nabatean may become like en Arab*), and another allusion to the fact that one of the names of the material employed to make fans is *kattân* (*linen*), an Arabic modification of the Persian word *ketan*. The text, however, is too uncertain to justify any attempt at translation, and I, therefore, pass to the next verse.

(3) *Nafs*, here translated *soul*, is the equivalent of the Latin *anima*. The author plays upon the double meaning of the word.

(4) The word لبن appears, in this verse, to bear the meaning of لبان or لبنى (*frankincense*).

(5) It was, therefore, the poet who squinted, not the girl; Ibn Khallikân sometimes forgets himself.

(6) The MSS. read العذر, but the true reading appears to be الغدر.

IBN KURAIA.

The *kâdi* Abû Bakr Muhammad Ibn Abd ar-Rahmân, a native of Baghdad and generally known by the surname of Ibn Kuraia, filled the functions of his office in as-Sindiya and other places in the province of Baghdad, by the appointment of the *kâdi* Abû 's-Sâib Otba Ibn Obaid Allah. Ibn Kuraia was one of the wonders of the world for the promptitude with which he replied to every question submitted to his opinion; and his answers were expressed in the purest style and in the most beautiful rhythmical prose. Having been received into the intimacy of Abû Muhammad al-Muhallabi (*vol. I. p.* 410), he attached himself exclusively to that vizir. There exists, in the hands of the public, a well known work containing a collection of questions proposed to Ibn Kuraia and the answers which he returned. The men of rank and the literary characters of that age took great pleasure in jesting with him and consulting him, by writing, on odd and laughable questions, to which he immediately replied by written answers in the same style. The vizir of whom we have just spoken encouraged some persons to invent a number of ridiculous questions on a variety of burlesque subjects, in order to obtain his answers, and the *kâtib* Abû 'l-Abbâs Ibn al-Mualla wrote to him as follows: "What does the *kâdi*, may God direct "him! say of a Jew who committed fornication with a Christian, and she brought "forth a child with a human body and the head of an ox? They are now both under "arrest. What does the *kâdi* opine respecting them?" On this paper he immediately inscribed an answer in these terms: "This evidence none can refuse — it "bears hard upon the accursed Jews—and proves that they drank down the love of "the calf into their hearts (1)— so that it now comes out from their lower parts—I "opine that on the Jew's neck the calf's head you should tie—and on the Christian's "shoulder fix the leg and the thigh—and that they should be dragged on the ground "—whilst the words: *Darkness upon darkness* (2) are proclaimed around.—Receive "my salutation."—When the Sâhib Ibn Abbâd (*vol. I. p.* 212) visited Baghdad, he went to the vizir al-Muhallabi's levees (3), and was there so greatly struck with the *kâdi* Ibn Kuraia's wit and delicate repartees, that, in a letter addressed by him to Abû 'l-Fadl Ibn al-Amîd (4), he said: "And there was at the levee a facetious *shaikh*,

"called the *kâdi* Ibn Kuraia, with whom I discussed some questions too indelicate "to be mentioned here; and I must say that I found his conversation singularly "witty." An elderly man who smelt strongly of perfumes having asked him, in the presence of the vizir Abû Muhammad, the definition of the term *kafa* (5), he replied : "It is that part which is surrounded by thy skirts (*jurubbân*); which draws "on thee the railleries of thy friends; the part on which thy sultan corrects thee, and "in which te familiariter utuntur ephebi tui (6). There are four definitions of it." The *jurubbân* of a coat is the broad piece of stuff which covers the *os coccygis* and hides the *kafa*. It is a Persian word Arabicized (7). All the questions proposed to him were of this sort, and I should mention some more of them here, did I not wish to avoid prolixity; but a good number of them, with the answers, have been inserted by the celebrated poet Abû Bakr Muhammad Ibn Sharaf al-Kairawâni (8), in his work entitled *Abkâr al-Afkâr* (*original thoughts*). The *kâdi* Abû Bakr Ibn Kuraia died at Baghdad on Saturday, the 19th of the latter Jumâda, A. H. 367 (1st Feb., A. D. 978), aged sixty-five years.—*Kuraia* was the surname of one of his ancestors, according to as-Samâni.—*As-Sindiya* is the name of a village situated on the (*canal called*) Nahr Isa, between Baghdad and al-Anbâr. To indicate that a person is a native of this place, they say *Sindawâni* (not *Sindi*), lest he should be taken for a native of Sind, the country which lies on the borders of India.

(1) Korân, sûrat 2, verse 87.

(2) Korân, sûrat 24, verse 40.

(3) The word *majlis*, here rendered by *levee*, signifies in general a *sitting held to render justice, a tribunal*; it also designates *the levees of a vizir*.

(4) The life of Ibn al-Amîd will be found in this volume.

(5) *Kafa* signifies *the back of the neck*. It is also employed to designate the lower part of the back.

(6) By these words he alluded to the *muliebris patientia*, of which men who perfumed their person were often suspected.

(7) The Persian word is *ghirîbân* كريبان.

(8) Imâd ad-Dîn, in his *Kharîda* (MS. of the *Bibliothèque impériale*, Supplement), gives numerous extracts from the poems of Ibn Sharaf al-Kairawâni, and says that he was a contemporary of Ibn Rashîk (*vol. I. p.* 384). Hajji Khalifa places his death in A. H. 460 (A. D. 1067-8), which agrees with Imâd ad-Dîn's statement.

IBN MUHRIZ AL-WAHRANI.

Abû Abd Allah Muhammad Ibn Muhriz Ibn Muhammad al-Wahrâni, surnamed Rukn ad-Dîn (*column of religion*)—some say, Jamâl ad-Dîn (*beauty of religion*)—was a man of wit and talent. He left his country and came to Egypt in the reign of the sultan Salâh ad-Dîn, but, as the art to which he applied was the drawing up of official papers, and as he found there al-Kâdi 'l-Fâdil (*vol. II. p.* 111), the *kâtib* Imâd ad-Dîn al-Ispahâni, and other distinguished individuals of the same class, he felt his inferiority, and perceived that his abilities, eminent as they were, could not be employed with profit to himself. He, therefore, abandoned the grave style of writing, and, having taken to light compositions, he wrote the collection of visions and epistles which bears his name. This work, copies of which are very common, is a proof of the buoyant humour, acute mind, and accomplished wit possessed by the author. The *Great Vision* alone would suffice for his reputation; it abounds in charming ideas, but its length precludes its insertion here. He afterwards visited different countries, and, having resided for some time at Damascus, he was nominated preacher (*khâtib*) at Dàraîya (1), a village situated in the Ghûta (2) and at the gates of the city. He died at Dâraiya, A. H. 575 (A. D. 1179-80), and was interred at the entrance of the funeral chapel erected over the grave of the *shaikh* Abû Sulaimân ad-Dârâni (*vol. II. p.* 88). I found in the hand-writing of al-Kâdi 'l-Fâdil that, on the 17th of the month of Rajab, the news of al-Wahrâni's death came (*to Egypt*) from Damascus.—*Wahrâni* means *native of Wahrân* (*Oran*), a large city in the land of Kairawân. It is situated on the Syrian Sea (*the Mediterranean*), at the distance of two days' journey from Tilimsen. Ar-Rushâti (*vol. II. p.* 69) says that it was founded, A. H. 290 (A. D. 903), by Muhammad Ibn Abi Aûn, Muhammad Ibn Abdûs, and a band of adventurers from Spain (3). It has produced many distinguished men, some of them remarkable for learning.

(1) In vol. II. p. 89, this name is incorrectly spelt *Dâriya*. Its orthography is here fixed by Ibn Khallikân.

(2) The cultivated country around Damascus is called the Ghûta.

(3) See Ibn Khaldûn's *Histoire des Berbers*, tome I. p. 283 of the French translation, and El-Bekri's *Description de l'Afrique septentrionale*, p. 165 of the French translation.



IBN TAIMIYA AL-HARRANI.

Abû Abd Allah Muhammad Ibn Abi 'l-Kâsim al-Khidr Ibn Muhammad Ibn al-Khidr Ibn Ali Ibn Abd Allah, generally known by the appellation of Ibn Taimiya al-Harrâni and surnamed Fakhr ad-Dîn (*glory of religion*), was an eminent preacher and a jurisconsult of the Hanbalite sect. He held the first place in his native town by his learning, and was highly distinguished for his piety. Having cultivated the sciences under some men of great erudition, he proceeded to Baghdad, where he studied jurisprudence under Abû 'l-Fath Ibn al-Manni (*vol. I. p.* 237), and learned Traditions from Shuhda Bint al-Ibari (*vol. I. p.* 625), Ibn al-Mukrab, Ibn al-Batti (*vol. II. p.* 66), and others. He composed a very good compendium of the doctrines professed by Ahmad Ibn Hanbal (*vol. I. p.* 44), and an excellent collection of *khotbas* (*sermons*), which is a work of high repute. He left also a commentary on the Korân, and some good poetry. He occupied the post of preacher (*khatâba*) at Harrân, and this office was afterwards filled by other members of his family. His life was one uniform course of rectitude and virtue. He was born at Harrân towards the end of the month of Shaabân, A. H. 542 (January, A. D. 1148), and he died in that city on the 11th of Safar, A. H. 621 (4th March, A. D. 1224). Abû 'l-Muzaffar Sibt Ibn al-Jauzi (*vol. I. pp.* 439, 674) says: "He incurred general odium in Harrân, "and, when any person of that place commenced to display abilities, he never "ceased persecuting him till he drove him out of the city. He died on the 5th of "Safar, A. H. 621." This date differs from ours. He then adds: "I heard "him, one Friday, on the conclusion of the public prayer, recite the following "verses in the great mosque of Harrân:

"My beloved friends! I have warned my eyes that they and sleep are never to meet unless "we meet again. Spare a heart tortured with love, and pity an enfeebled body worn away. "How often have you adjourned the night of our promised meeting! life has passed away, and "yet we do not meet."

Abû Yûsuf Mahâsin Ibn Salâma Ibn Khalifa al-Harrâni mentions Ibn Taimiya with commendation in his History of Harrân, and says that he died on Thursday, the 10th



of Safar, A. H. 622 (21st February, A. D. 1225), soon after the hour of the *asr* prayer (1). Abû 'l-Barakât Ibn al-Mustaufi (*vol. II. p.* 556) speaks of him in his History of Arbela, and states that he arrived in that city in the year 604, with the design of making the pilgrimage to Mekka. He then extols his merit and adds: "He gave lessons every day on the interpretation of the Korân; he related anecdotes "with great elegance; his discourse had a peculiar charm, and this, joined to an "agreeable disposition, rendered his company most acceptable to people of all ranks. "His father was one of the *abdâls* (2) and holy ascetics. He (*the son*) acquired his "knowledge of jurisprudence at Harrân and at Baghdad; in controversy he displayed "singular acuteness. He composed some compendious treatises on jurisprudence, "and left a collection of sermons in the style of Ibn Nubâta's (*vol. II. p.* 110). As "an expounder of the Korân he stood pre-eminent, and in all the sciences his abi-"lities were highly conspicuous. He learned Traditions from the first masters at "Baghdad." Ibn al-Mustaufi then cites the following piece as the production of Ibn Taimiya:

Receive my salutations and let the past be forgotten; my departure from you was much against my will. Ask the night if sleep has ever closed my eyelids since I left you. Friends beloved of my heart! I swear by Him who decreed our separation, that if the joyful day of our meeting return and the woes which afflict me be healed, I shall go forth to meet the camels which bear you hither, and lay my face as a carpet in their path; even should I apply my forehead to the ground—even should the (*heat, ardent as*) brands of *ghada* wood (3), scorch my cheeks! Then I should receive new life—then wrapt in joy, I should exclaim: *Receive my salutations! the past is now forgotten!*

He then adds: "I asked him the meaning of his name *Taimiya*, and he replied: "'My father, or my grandfather, I am not sure which, made the pilgrimage, leaving "'his wife in a state of pregnancy. On arriving at Taimâ, a little girl who came "'out of a tent attracted his attention, and, on his return to Harrân, he found that "'his wife had lain in of a daughter. When the child was presented to him, he "'exclaimed: *Ya Taimiya! ya Taimiya!* (*O the girl of Taimâ! the girl of Taimâ!*) "'—being struck with its resemblance to the little girl he saw there. The child "'was, therefore, named Taimiya.' Such was the purport of his words."—*Taimâ* is the name of a village in the desert of Tabûk, half-way between Khaibar and Syria. *Taimiya* means *a female belonging to Taimâ;* but the more correct expression (*in this case*) is *Taimâwiya*, because the masculine form of the relative adjective derived from

Taimâ is *Taimawi*. The statement furnished by Ibn Taimiya himself has however been generally adopted.

(1) See vol. I. p. 594.

(2) The Moslim saints are supposed to form a corporation composed of a certain number of members and always subsisting. In this corporation the highest rank is held by the *chief*, or *Ghauth*; the next, by four *Autâd*; the third, by seven *Akhyâr*; the fourth, by forty *Abdâl*; the fifth, by seventy *Nujab*; and the sixth, by three hundred *Nukab*.—See on this subject a passage of al-Ishâki, quoted by Lane in his translation of the *Thousand and One Nights*, vol. I. p. 233.—In the dictionary of technical terms employed by the *sûfis*, MS. of the *Bibliothèque impériale*, Supplement, I find the following explanations of these terms : The *Kutb* (*axis*) is the individual to whom has been delegated Almighty God's inspection over the universe at all times. — The *Kutb*, at the moment in which recourse is had to him is the *Ghauth* (*assistance*).—The *Autâd* (*pegs*) are the four men who preside over the four regions of the world, the east, the west, the north, and the south. By them God preserves these regions, because they are charged to inspect (*over their respective quarters*). — The *Budalâ* (*substitutes*; the word *abdâl* has the same meaning ;) are seven men ; when one of them travels forth, he leaves behind him a body in his image, so that no one can perceive his absence.— The *Nujabâ* (*excellent*) are forty persons occupied in rectifying the affairs of men, in bearing their burdens, and in exercising the rights of the creature (*not of the creator, like the* kutb *and the* autâd). — The *Nukabâ* (*administrators*) are those who inspect and produce to view the secret of men's bosoms. They are three hundred in number.—It would appear that, in the *sûfi* confraternity, these names served to designate the grand-master and the principal chiefs.

(3) According to the Arabic philologers, the wood of the *Ghada* tree gives out great heat and retains its fire very long.

AL-ATTABI *THE GRAMMARIAN*.

Abû Mansûr Muhammad Ibn Ali Ibn Ibrahîm Ibn Zibirj the grammarian, surnamed al-Attâbi, possessed a good knowledge of grammar, philology, and belles lettres. His writing was so beautiful and correct, that specimens of it are much sought after by literary men. He studied general literature under Abû 's-Saâdât Hibat Allah Ibn as-Shajari (a *sharîf* whose life we shall give), Abû Mansûr Mauhûb Ibn al-Jawâlîki (1), and others. He learned Traditions from the first masters of that age, and wrote a great deal. Volumes in his handwriting are highly valued. His birth took place in the month of the first Rabî, A. H. 484 (April-May, A. D. 1091),

and his death occurred on the eve of Tuesday, the 25th of the first Jumâda, A. H. 556 (22nd May, A. D. 1161).—*Attâbi* means *belonging to al-Attâbiyûn*, a place in Baghdad so called, and situated on the west side of the river. Abû Mansûr resided there, but he afterwards removed to the east side. The surname of *al-Attâbi* was also borne by a celebrated poet called Abû Amr Kulthûm Ibn Amr Ibn Aiyûb, but he derived it from the circumstance of his being descended from Attâb Ibn Saad Ibn Zuhair Ibn Jusham. Kulthûm was an eloquent and able poet, who celebrated the praises of Harûn ar-Rashîd and other great men. He belonged to Kinnisrîn, an ancient city of Syria, near Aleppo. I should have mentionned him in this work, but, as it was designed to contain notices on those persons only the dates of whose decease were known, and as I was unable to ascertain the year of his death, I felt constrained to omit him (2).

(1) The life of Ibn al-Jawâlîki will be found in this work.

(2) He died A. H. 208 (A. D. 823-4), according to the author of the *Nujûm*.

AL-MASUDI AL-BANDAHI.

Abû Saîd—some say Abû Abd Allah—Muhammad Ibn Abi 's-Saâdât Abd ar-Rahmân Ibn Muhammad Ibn Masûd Ibn Ahmad Ibn al-Husain Ibn Muhammad al-Masûdi, surnamed Tâj ad-Dîn (*crown of religion*) al-Bandahi, was a native of Marwarrûd in Khorâsân, a doctor of the Shafite sect, and a *sûfi*. He displayed great talents as a philologer, and composed on al-Harîri's *Makâmas* (*vol. II. p.* 490) the fullest and most complete commentary ever written on that work. I saw a copy of it in five large volumes, which is more than twice the size of any other commentary composed to elucidate the *Makâmas*. This work bears a high character, and copies of it are very common. He resided at Damascus, in the Sumaisât convent (*Khângâh*), and gave public lessons there. Previously to this, he had been preceptor to al-Malik al-Afdal (*vol. II. p.* 353), the son of the sultan Salâh ad-Dîn, and, through his means,

he was enabled to procure the numerous rare and valuable books, by the assistance of which he composed his commentary on the *Makâmas*. Abû 'l-Barakât al-Hâshimi, a native of Aleppo, relates as follows: "When the sultan Salâh ad-Dîn entered Aleppo "in the year 579 (A. D. 1183), al-Masûdi (*al-Bandahi*) went down to the great "mosque of that city, and having installed himself in the library formed of the books "given as *wakfs* (1) to that establishment, he selected a number of them (*and took "them away*) without meeting the slighest opposition. I myself saw him pack them "up in a pannier." I met some of al-Bandahi's disciples and received from them lessons and certificates authorising me to teach what I had learned from them. I read, in the work of a modern historian, that al-Bandahi's birth took place in the year 521, but one of our literary men states that he found the following note in al-Bandahi's own hand-writing: "I was born at the hour of sunset, on the eve of "Tuesday, the first of the latter Rabî of the year 522 (4th April, A. D. 1128)." This statement is evidently more correct than the former, because it is taken from the hand-writing of the person himself and indicates the day and the month. He died at Damascus on the eve of Saturday, the 29th of the first Rabî, A. H. 584 (28th May, A. D. 1188). Some place his death on the 1st of the latter Rabî. He was interred at the foot of Mount Kâsiyûn. He settled his books as *wakfs* on the convent of which we have spoken. The following verses were often in his mouth:

> "I saw tears of blood flow from your eyes," said she, "through apprehension of our departure; why now hast thou remplaced those tears of blood by tears of water?" I replied: "Nót that I was solaced in thy absence or that I yielded to consolation; those tears have turned "grey from the lengthened age of my weeping."

Similar to this are the words of another poet:

> Soâd said: "Dost thou shed tears of water after tears of blood?" I replied: "My tears "have turned grey from the lengthened age of my weeping."

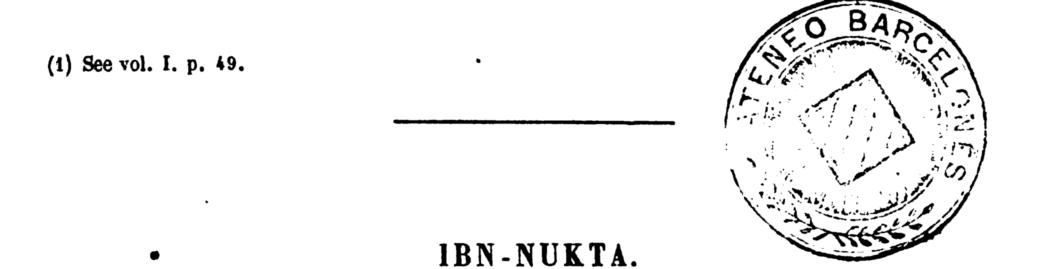
This doctor bore the surname of *al-Masûdi* because he had an ancestor called *Masûd*. —Of *Marwarrûd* we have already spoken (*vol. I. p.* 50).—*Bandahi* means *belonging to Penj Dîh*, a district of Marwarrûd. *Penj Dîh* signifies *five villages*. To designate a native of this place, they employ also the words *al-Fanjdîhi* and *al-Banjdîhi*. It has produced many eminent and learned men.—*Kâsiyûn* is the name of a mountain overlooking Damascus from the north. It contains many beautiful country seats,

schools (*madâris*), convents (*rubt*), and gardens; the river Yazîd (*has its source*) in it, and the Thaura flows at its foot. It possesses also a large mosque built by the sovereign of Arbela, Muzaffar ad-Dîn, the son of Zain ad-Dîn (*vol. II. p.* 535). Ibn Onain, a poet whose life we shall give, composed a *kasîda*, rhyming in *l*, in praise of the sovereign of Yemen, Saif al-Islâm Ibn Aiyûb (*vol. I. p.* 655), and, as he expresses in this piece his desire of seeing Damascus again, he enumerates the delightful spots in its vicinity, and says, when speaking of Mount Kâsiyûn :

> The ardent love of my heart for Kâsiyûn will subsist even when the foundations of that mountain shall pass away.

It is a brilliant poem, full of originality and ornament.

(1) See vol. I. p. 49.



IBN-NUKTA.

Abû Bakr Muhammad Ibn Abd al-Ghani Ibn Abi Bakr Ibn Shujâa Ibn Abi Nasr Ibn Abd Allah al-Hanbali (*member of the Hanbalite sect*), generally known by the appellation of Ibn Nukta, and surnamed Moîn ad-Dîn (*defender of the faith*), was a eminent traditionist and a native of Baghdad. His ardour in search of Traditions, the quantity of them which he heard and committed to paper, and the frequent journeys which he undertook for the purpose of procuring them raised him to celebrity. He travelled to Khorâsân, Persian Irâk, Mesopotamia, Syria, and Egypt, visiting the principal traditionists, hearing their lessons, and obtaining information from their lips. He wrote a great deal and took down a quantity of useful notes. In the supplement which he composed to the emir Ibn Mâkûla's *Ikmâl* (*vol. II. p.* 248), and which forms two volumes, he displayed no inferior talent. He wrote also a small work on patronymics (*ansâb*), which serves as a supplement to the treatise composed on that subject by Muhammad Ibn Tâhir al-Makdisi (*p.* 5 *of this vol.*), and to that of Abû Mûsa al-Ispahâni (*p.* 4 *of this vol.*). Another work of his, the *Kitâb at-*

Takyîd (*book of fixation*), contains all the (*requisite*) information respecting the traditionists, (*the unusual words occurring in*) the different collections of Traditions and the *isnâds* (1). When I first heard of him, he was still living, but I never had an opportunity of meeting him. Ibn al-Mustaufi (*vol. II. p.* 556) mentions him, in the History of Arbela, as one of the persons who visited that city and heard Traditions delivered there. He speaks of him with commendation and adds : "He re- "cited to me the following verses, as having been composed by Abû Ali Muhammad "Ibn al-Husain Ibn Abi 's-Shibl, a native of Baghdad and one of the best poets "that Irâk has produced in modern times."—Ibn al-Hazîri (*vol. I. p.* 563) speaks of him in his *Zîna tad-Dahr*.—

"Discover not thy sufferings or thy joys to a censor or a false friend ; for pretended sympathy "is as bitter to the heart as the exultation of foes."

Ibn Nukta died at Baghdad on the 22nd of Safar, A. H. 629 (19th December, A. D. 1231), at an advanced age. I was then residing at Aleppo for the purpose of pursuing my studies, and it was there we received intelligence of his death.—His father Abd al-Ghani died at Baghdad on the 4th of the latter Jumâda, A. H. 583 (August, A. D. 1187), and was interred near the mosque of his (*quarter*). His frugality and disinterestedness rendered him celebrated. — Abû Ali Ibn Abi 's-Shibl died A. H. 473 (A. D. 1080-1). The *kâtib* Imad ad-Dîn speaks of him in the *Kharîda*.

(1) See vol. I. Introduction, p. xxii.

IBN AD-DUBAITHI.

Abû Abd Allah Muhammad Ibn Abi 'l-Maâli Saîd Ibn Abi Tâlib Yahya Ibn Abi 'l-Hasan Ali Ibn al-Hajjâj Ibn Muhammad Ibn al-Hajjâj, generally known by the appellation of Ibn ad-Dubaithi, was a native of Wâsit, a historian, and a doctor of the sect of as-Shâfi. He received a great quantity of Traditions by oral transmission,

and made some collections of useful notes (*taâlîk*). His memory was stocked with pieces of great beauty, and these he often cited in conversation. By his learning in the Traditions and his correct knowledge of the names of the traditionists and of history, he acquired the reputation of an able *hâfiz* and a genius of the first order. He composed a work which he designed as a continuation to Abû Saad Abd al-Karîm as-Samâni's (*vol. II. p.* 156) supplement to the Khatîb's (*vol. I. p.* 75) History of Baghdad, and in it he gives notices on the persons whom as-Samâni had not mentioned and on those who lived subsequently to that writer. It fills three volumes and possesses considerable merit (1). He wrote also a history of Wâsit and other works. Ibn al-Mustaufi (*vol. I. p.* 556) mentions of him in the History of Arbela and says : "He entered our city in the month of Zû 'l-Kaada, A. H. 611 (March, "A. D. 1215). He was a fine looking old man." He then adds that Ibn ad-Dubaithi recited to him the following piece as of his own composition :

I put mankind to the test, but found not a true friend, a helper in adversity. I showed them the sincerest friendship, but received a troubled and insincere attachment in return. Never, when I chose from among them a companion who pleased me, had I cause to praise his conduct in the end.

Ibn ad-Dubaithi continued to study and take notes up to the moment of his death. His birth took place at Wâsit on Monday, the 26th of Rajab, A. D. 558 (June, A. D. 1163); he died at Baghdad on Monday, the 8th of the latter Rabî, 637 (7th November, A. D. 1239). The next day, he was interred in the Wardiya cemetery. *Dubaithi* means *belonging to Dubaithâ*, a village in the neighbourhood of Wâsit. His ancestors belonged to Kanjah (*in the province of Arrân*), and his grand-father removed from Dubaithâ to Wâsit, where the family multiplied. — His father Abû 'l-Maâli Saîd died at Wâsit on the eve of the Festival of the Sacrifice, A. H. 585 (19th January, A. D. 1190); he was born in that place on the 27th of Safar, A. H. 527 (7th January, A. D. 1133).

(1) The second volume of this work is in the *Bibliothèque impériale*, ancien fonds, No. 745. It begins with the *Ahmeds* and finishes with the *ha*, the sixth letter of the Arabic alphabet.



IBN ZAFAR AS-SAKALLI.

Abû Abd Allah Muhammad Ibn Abi Muhammad Ibn Muhammad Ibn Zafar as-Sakalli (*native of Sicily*), surnamed Hujja tad-Dîn (*proof of religion*), was an accomplished scholar, versed in the belles lettres, and author of some instructive works. One of these, the *Sulwân al-Mutáa fi Odwân al-Atbâa* (*consolation for the master who suffers from the enmity of his servants*), he composed in the year 554 (A. D. 1159), for one of the chiefs (*who were*) in Sicily (1). His other works are : the *Khair al-Bashr bi-Khair il-Bashar* (*excellent news concerning the best of mankind*) (2), a large commentary on the Korân, entitled *al-Yanbûa* (*the source*), the *Kitâb Nujabâ'l-Abnâ* (*history of clever children*) (3), a *Hâshía*, or appendix to al-Harîri's *Durra tal-Ghawwâs* (*vol. II. p.* 492), and two commentaries on the same author's *Makâmas*,— one ample, the other concise. He left also some other elegant productions. I read, towards the beginning of his commentary on the *Makâmas*, that he had been taught that work by the *hâfiz* Abû Tâhir as-Silafi (*vol. I. p.* 86), who declared that he had learned them from the author, al-Harîri : people say, however, that when as-Silafi saw al-Harîri in the mosque of Basra, teaching his *Makâmas* to a circle of students, he asked who he was, and receiving for answer : "That man has fabricated a set of "lying stories, and is now dictating them to the public," he turned away from him in disdain. God best knows which of these statements is true. The following anecdote has been handed down as a relation made by the *shaikh* Taj ad-Dîn al-Kindi (*vol. I. p.* 546) : "Having obtained a draught on the government financial office "(*diwân*) in Hamat for a gratuity, I went to receive the amount, and, after my ar-"rival, I met with Ibn Zafar at an assembly. We then engaged in a grammatical "and philological discussion, during which I proposed to him some questions on "the former subject and brought him to a stand. His skill in philology appeared "nearly as limited, and, when the assembly was about to break up, he said : 'The "'*shaikh* Taj ad-Dîn surpasses me in grammar, but I excel him in philology;' on "which I answered : 'Thy first assertion is granted and thy second denied.' We "then separated." Ibn Zafar was of a short stature, and a puny figure, but his

countenance was handsome. Some poetry is ascribed to him, and I found the following verses in a compilation which goes under his name :

I bear thee in my heart; dost thou not then know that thou art borne about even when thou remainest at home? Is not that person highly prized by me whom I long to meet and who dwells within my bosom?

Imâd ad-Dîn al-Ispahâni has inserted, in his *Kharîda*, a number of pieces composed by Ibn Zafar, and, amongst others, the following :

A man's misfortunes correspond to his merit; and, by his patience in adversity, his share of merit may be known. He who has but little firmness in facing what he apprehends, will have but little chance of gaining what he hopes for.

Ibn Zafar was born in Sicily and brought up at Mekka; he kept removing from one country to another, and, at length, settled at Hamât where he died, A. H. 565 (A. D. 1169-70). The whole period of his life was passed in struggling against poverty : it is even related that, in Hamât, want and misery forced him to marry his daughter to a person much beneath her; the bridegroom then left the city with his wife, and sold her as a slave in another country (4). — *Zafar* is the noun of action bolonging to a verb which, taking *zafira* in the preterite and *yazfaru* in the aorist, means *to obtain a thing.* (*It is here employed as a proper name.*) Having already spoken of *Sakalliya* (*Sicily*) (*vol. II. p.* 161), we need not repeat our observations here.

(1) Sicily was, at that time, under the domination of William the Bad, the second Norman king. This circumstance induced me to examine Ibn Zafar's work in the hopes of finding some information respecting the state of that country, but was unable to discover any thing of the kind. It is a collection of apologues and historical anecdotes. This work, of which three or four copies are preserved in the *Bibliothèque impériale*, is highly esteemed in the East, and has been translated into Persian and Turkish. An English translation of it, accompanied with a very instructive preface, was published in London, by Mr. M. Amari, in the year 1852.

(2) A copy of this work is perserved in the *Bibliothèque impériale*. It is divided into four chapters : the first on the passages in the books of God (*the Pentateuch, the Psalms, and the Gospel*) which foretell the mission of Muhammad. The second contains the ancient popular traditions relative to this event; the third, the predictions on the same subject made by the *Kâhins* (*Arabian diviners*); and the fourth, such information respecting the coming of Muhammad as was derived from the *Jinn* (*genii*).

(3) A copy of this work is in the *Bibliothèque impériale*. As the title indicates, it contains anecdotes of

children remarkable for precocious talent. The historian and the philologer will find in it much curious information.

(4) This act was contrary to law.

AL-OTBI *THE POET.*

Abû Abd ar-Rahmân Muhammad Ibn Obaid Allah Ibn Amr Ibn Moawîa Ibn Amr Ibn Otba Ibn Abi Sofyân Sakhr Ibn Harb Ibn Omaiya Ibn Abd Shams, surnamed at-Otbi, was a member of the tribe of Koraish and of the family of Omaiya, a native of Basra and a poet of great celebrity. This accomplished scholar and clever poet delivered orally historical Traditions and the narrations of the combats which took place between the Arabs of the desert; he composed also some elegies on the death of his sons. The authorities which he cited for his information were Sofyân Ibn Oyaina (*vol. I. p.* 578), Lût Ibn Mikhnaf, and his own father; amongst those who delivered traditional information on his authority were : Abû Hâtim as-Sijistâni (*vol. I. p.* 603), Abû 'l-Fadl ar-Riâshi (*vol. II. p.* 10), and Ishak Ibn Muhammad an-Nakhâi. Having proceeded to Baghdad, he taught Traditions to the people of that city, but he was more generally noted for drinking wine and composing love-verses on Otba. He and his father held a high rank and bore the reputation of accomplished scholars and elegant speakers. Amongst the works which he compiled were : a Book of Horses, a collection of poems composed by the Arabs of the desert, a collection of poems composed by females whose love had turned to hatred, the *Kitâb ad-Dabâh* (*victims for sacrifice*), and the *Kitâb al-Akhlâk* (*de moribus*), etc. Ibn Kutaiba (*vol. II. p.* 22) mentions him in the *Kitâb al-Maârif*, and Ibn al-Munajjim (1) in the *Kitâb al-Bârî*. He relates that he heard a wild Arab of the desert say to another man : " If such a fellow smile upon thee, his scorpions (*the emblems of* " *treachery*) will glide towards thee ; if thou dost not treat him openly as an enemy, " do not (*at least*) treat him in private as a friend." The latter writer gives the following verses as al-Otbi's :

When the maidens remarked the tinge of grey appearing on my cheeks, they turned away

from me their faces radiant with beauty. When they saw or heard me, they ran off to the tops of the sand-hills at al-Mahâjir (2). But though they turn their eyes away from me, they cast (*towards me*) furtive glances like those of the fawn and the gazelle; for I belong to a family of high renown, whose feet were formed to tread the pulpit (3); khalifs in Islamic times; mighty chiefs in the times of idolatry; to them belonged every glory, and such an ancestry might form the boaster's proudest vaunt.

A collection of pieces in my own hand-writing contains some verses of the *sharîf* ar-Rida's (4), in which a similar thought is expressed. — (*Ibn al-Munajjim*) quotes also these verses as his :

When Sulaima saw me turn my eyes away—and I turn my glances away from all who resemble her—she said : " I once saw thee mad (*with love*); " and I replied : " Youth is a " madness of which old age is the cure. "

This verse has now acquired the force of a proverb. Al-Mubarrad (*page* 31 *of this vol.*) cites, in his *Kâmil*, two verses in which al-Otbi deplores the death of one of his sons; they are as follows :

Tears have furrowed my cheeks through grief for thy loss, and wounds have covered my heart. Resignation meets with approval in every case, but in thine it merits blame.

This verse also has obtained great currency. The poetical pieces of al-Otbi are numerous and good; he was one of the best poets of Islamic times. He died A. H. 228 (A. D. 842-3).—The surname of *al-Otbi* was borne by him because he drew his descent from Otba, the son of Abû Sofyân. *Otbi* signifies also *descended from Otba Ibn Ghazwân*, one of the Prophet's companions. It is possible also that our poet may have received this surname on account of the poems which he composed in praise of his beloved *Otba*.

(1) His life will be found in this work.

(2) This is merely a conjectural translation of the verse.

(3) Literally : " For whose feet the tops of the pulpits were formed." In the first ages of Islamism, the khalif in person pronounced the *khotba* from the pulpit. The poet here alludes to his descent from the Omaiyides.

(4) His life will be found in this volume.

ABU BAKR AL-KHOWAREZMI.

Abû Bakr Muhammad Ibn al-Abbâs al-Khowârezmi, surnamed also at-Tabarkhazi, (because, says as-Samâni (*vol. II. p.* 156), his father belonged to Khowârezm and his mother to Tabaristân, and these two denominations combined into one, were given to the son,) was, as we have already said in the life of Ibn Jarîr at-Tabari (*vol. II. p.* 597), a sister's son to that historian. Abû Bakr ranked among the greatest and the most renowned of the poets; he was considered a first-rate authority in philology and genealogy. He resided for some time in Syria, in the neighbourhood of Aleppo, and was highly distinguished by his contemporaries. It is related that having gone to see the *Sâhib* Ibn Abbâd (*vol. I. p.* 212), who was then holding his court at Arrajân, he requested one of the chamberlains to announce to him that a literary man desired permission to enter. The chamberlain took in the message, and his master replied: "Tell him that I have bound myself not to receive any literary man unless "he know by heart twenty thousand verses composed by the Arabs of the desert." The chamberlain returned back with this answer, and Abû Bakr said: "Go back "and ask him if he means twenty thousand verses composed by men, or twenty "thousand composed by women?" This question was repeated to the *Sâhib*, who immediately exclaimed: "That must be Abû Bakr al-Khowârezmi! let him come in." Abû Bakr then entered, and being recognised by the *Sâhib*, he met with a most favorable reception. Abû Bakr left a collection (*diwân*) of epistles and another of poetry. Ath-Taâlibi (*vol. II. p.* 129) mentions him in the *Yatîma* and quotes a passage from his prose-writings, to which he subjoins some extracts from his poems. Amongst the pieces given there are the following:

I see that you, when wealthy, pitch your tent close to us, and that, when you are in want, you visit us seldom. 'Tis with you as with the moon: when her light is diminishing, she delays her visits, but when it increases, she remains with us long.

O thou who longest for draughts of pure wine, but who, occur what may, wilt never break the seal of the paper (*in which thy money is rolled up*); know that the purse and the goblet cannot be full at the same time; empty then thy purse, that thou mayest fill thy goblet.



Abû Saîd Ahmad Ibn Shuhaib, a native of Khowârezm, composed the following verses on Abû Bakr:

> Abû Bakr possesses learning and talent, but he does not adhere to his engagements. The attachment which he shows for a friend lasts from morning to night (*and no longer*).

The anecdotes told of Abû Bakr are very numerous. On his return from Syria, he settled at Naisâpûr, and died in that city on the 15th of Ramadân, A. H. 383 (4th November, A. D. 993), but, in the historical work of our master Ibn al-Athîr (*vol. II. p.* 288), his death is placed ten years later. God best knows which is right. Abû Bakr, being dissatisfied with the *Sâhib* Ibn Abbâd, composed the following lines on leaving him:

> Praise not Ibn Abbâd even when his hands shower forth beneficence so abundant as to shame the rain-cloud. Such acts are merely the suggestions of his fancy; he grants, but not from liberality, and he refuses, but not from avarice.

Ibn Abbâd was told of this, and, on receiving intelligence of the poet's death, he said:

> I said to the caravan returning from Khorâsân: "Is your Khowârezmite dead?" and they answered: "Yes." On this, I said: "Inscribe these words upon his tomb: *May the curse "of the Almighty light upon the ungrateful!*"

I thought that the verses directed against the *Sâhib* Ibn Abbâd were composed by Abû Bakr al-Khowârezmi, a number of literary men having made that statement in their compilations and in conversation; but happening since to examine al-Marzubâni's (*page* 67 *of this vol.*) *Mojâm as-Shuarâ*, I met the following lines in the life of Moawîa Ibn Sofyân, surnamed Abû 'l-Kâsim al-Aama (*the blind*), a poet and one of the persons who, at Baghdad, repeated from memory the compositions of former authors; he had been a pupil of al-Kisâi's (*vol. II. p.* 237), and was employed by al-Hasan Ibn Sahl (*vol. I. p.* 408) to instruct his children. Having incurred Ibn Sahl's reprehension for something which he had done, he pronounced these satirical lines:

> Praise not Hasan for generosity, though his hands shower gifts in abundance; blame him not, if he withhold his favours. It is not through parcimony that he refuses, neither is it in hopes of fame that he bestows. Such acts are merely the suggestion of his fancy; he grants, but not from liberality, and he refuses, but not from avarice.



God best knows the truth in this matter.—We have already spoken of the word *Khowârezmi* (1).

(1) This, I believe, is an error; in the part of his work which precedes, the author has said nothing on the subject. In Arabic, the word is pronounced *Khuwârezmi*, and means *native of Khowârezm*. The Persian pronunciation of the word is *Khârizm*.

AS-SALAMI *THE POET.*

Abû 'l-Hasan Muhammad Ibn Abd Allah (1) Ibn Muhammad Ibn Muhammad Ibn Yahya Ibn Khulais Ibn Abd Allah Ibn Yahya Ibn Abd Allah Ibn al-Hârith Ibn Abd Allah Ibn al-Walîd Ibn al-Walîd Ibn al-Mughîra Ibn Abd Allah Ibn Omar Ibn Makhzûm Ibn Yakza Ibn Murra Ibn Kaab Ibn Luwaî Ibn Ghâlib Ibn Fihr Ibn Mâlik Ibn an-Nadr Ibn Kinâna Ibn Khuzaima Ibn Mudrika Ibn al-Yâs Ibn Modar Ibn Nizâr Ibn Maadd Ibn Adnân al-Makhzûmi as-Salâmi, a celebrated poet, drew his descent from al-Walîd, the son of al-Walîd Ibn al-Mughîra al-Makhzûmi and the brother of Khalîd Ibn al-Walîd (*the first Moslim conqueror of Syria*). Ath-Thaâlibi (*vol. II. p.* 129) speaks of him in these terms (2) : "He was incontrovertibly the best poet of "Irâk, and his right to that rank is sufficiently evinced by his merit. The opinion "which we have expressed concerning him is supported by a sure testimony, that "of his poems; and the beauties of his compositions which we have here inserted "are a delight for the eye, a charm for the heart, and a satisfaction for the mind. "He began to utter verses at the age of ten years, and the first piece he ever pro- "nounced was the following, recited by him one day at school :

> "The charms of beauty (*which we remark*) in him are various; the eyes of mankind are fixed "on him with one accord. The arrow of his glances is sharp, and his glance never misses its aim. "Beauty has inscribed upon his cheek: *This is a beauteous being; as true as his creator exists*"

"He passed his early youth at Baghdad, and removed to Mosul when yet a boy. "He there met some poets of the highest eminence, such as Abû Othmân al-Khâ-

" lidi (one of the two Khâlidites) (3), Abû 'l-Faraj al-Babbaghâ (*vol. II. p.* 147),
" Abû 'l-Hasan at-Tallâfari, and others. When they saw him, they were astonished
" that such talents could exist in a boy so young, and they suspected that the verses
" which he repeated were not his own. Al-Khâlidi then said that he would under-
" take to put him to the test, and having prepared a banquet, he invited these poets
" and as-Salâmi. When in the midst of their potations, they proceeded to make a
" trial of his talents, and a heavy shower of hail having very soon after covered the
" face of the earth, al-Khâlidi took an orange and threw it upon the hail : ' Now,'
" said he to his companions, ' let us try and describe that object.' Upon this as-
" Salâmi delivered extemporaneously the following lines :

" How admirable the talent of al-Khâlidi, a genius unrivalled, noble and grand! To the
" frozen water of the cloud he made a present of an ardent fire (4), and when the generous
" hearts of (*his companions*) addressed reproaches to him, the hands of joys offered him this
" excuse drawn from my mind : *Blame him not; he has only given the cheeks as a present to*
" *the mouth* (5).

" When they saw him capable of producing such verses as these, they let him
" alone; all praised his talents and acknowledged his merit and acuteness, with the
" exception of at-Tallâfari, who persisted in his former opinion. In this he was so
" obstinate, that as-Salâmi, at length, attacked him in these lines :

" At-Tallâfari aspired to my friendship, but the soul of a dog would despise such friendship
" as his. His character is repugnant to mine, and my actions scorn to be joined with his.
" Ars mea nobilis in linguâ sita est, ars ejus vilis in tergo. Homo non est ille mihi versus fa-
" cienti conveniens; homo non sum ad illum pertundendum aptus.

" He composed also many more satires on the same person. Having gone one
" day to see Abû Taghlib,"—Abû Taghlib al-Hamdâni (6) I suppose is meant,—the
" latter, who had a coat of mail lying before him, desired the poet to describe it in
" verse. As-Salâmi immediately extemporised these lines :

" How often has an ample (*coat of mail*) rendered me service and I requited it with evil, yet
" no one reproached me : from morn to night it preserved me from death, and yet I exposed
" it to the strokes of every sword. "

This idea is borrowed from a piece already quoted, in which Abd Allah Ibn al-Motazz speaks of boiled wine (*vol. II. p.* 46. *n.* 9); he there says :

It has suffered in fire, to preserve me from the fires of hell, and that, we must allow, is a great service.

As-Salâmi proceeded to the court of as-Sâhib Ibn Abbâd (*vol. I. p.* 212) at Ispahân, and recited to him the poem rhyming in *b*, which contains this verse :

We abandoned ourselves to sin, when we found that forgiveness was the fruit of crime.

This verse, which is one of his finest, contains a allusion to the idea expressed by Abû Nuwâs al-Hasan Ibn Hâni (*vol. I. p.* 391) in a poem the subject of which is self-mortification; he says :

You shall gnaw your hands with regret, for the pleasures which you avoided through fear of hell.

It approaches also to the thought which (*the khalif*) al-Mâmûn thus expressed : "If criminals knew what pleasure I take in pardoning, they would strive to gain my "favour by committing crimes." — " (7) Whilst as-Salâmi remained with the "*Sâhib*, he enjoyed favours in profusion, ample honours and untroubled pleasure. "At length, he resolved on visiting the court of Adud ad-Dawlat Ibn Buwaih (*vol. II.* "*p.* 481) at Shîrâz, and the *Sâhib* not only provided him with a conveyance for his "journey, but gave him a letter of recommandation adressed to the *kâtib* Abû 'l-"Kâsim Abd al-Azîz Ibn Yûsuf, an eloquent writer and one of the persons employed "by Adud ad-Dawlat in the capacity of vizir. Here is a copy of the letter : 'Your "'lordship knows that the traders in poetry (*shîr*) are more numerous than the hairs "'of the head (*shâr*), and that those persons are much less so whose jewels, when "'offered (*as presents*), can be confidently taken as the workmanship of their own "'genius, and whose embroidered tissues, when presented (*to a patron*), can be "'considered as wrought on the loom of their own imagination. Now, amongst the "'persons whom I have put to the test and approved, whom I have tried and "'chosen, is Abû 'l-Hasan Muhammad as-Salâmi, the originality of whose talent "'surpasses expectation and hastens on in the career of excellence, tempting the "'ear to hearken with attention to his compositions and the eye to peruse them. "'Mounted on the steed of hope, he is induced to visit Your Excellence, in the ex-"'pectation of being admitted into the band of his fellow-poets and attracting "'notice by sharing their good fortune. I have, therefore, dispatched (*to you*), in

" ' his person, the *emir of poets*, escorted by the train of his (*accomplishments*), and
" ' I have adorned that vigorous courser of eloquence with the harness which
" ' becomes him. This, my letter, serves him as a guide towards the (*regions*
" ' *watered by the*) showers (*of liberality*), or rather as a conductor towards the
" ' ocean (*of beneficence*); therefore, if your lordship judge proper to take into con-
" ' sideration these words of mine in his favour, and to let them be the means of
" ' procuring your consent to his wishes, you will, I hope, execute what you re-
" ' solve.' When Abû 'l-Kâsim received the poet's visit, he took him under his
" charge and treated him with special favour. He then presented him to Adud ad-
" Dawlat, that he might recite to that prince the *kasîda* which contains this passage:

" To reach thee, a man who made the sight of thy palace the term of his camel's journey,
" crossed the wide-extended desert. I and my courage in the depths of darkness, and my
" sword, were three companions (*united*) like (*the stars of the constellation of*) the eagle.
" I encouraged my hopes with the sight of a king who (*for me*) would replace mankind, of a
" palace which (*for me*) would be the world, and of a day (*of meeting*) which (*for me*) would
" be worth an eternity."

We have already mentioned these verses in the life of Adud ad-Dawlat (*vol. II. p.* 482). " Adud ad-Dawlat then took him under the wing of his favour, and handed
" him the key which opened (*the door*) to the advantages he expected; sojourning
" or journeying, he kept him attached to his person, and raised him to ample
" fortune by his donations. 'When I see as-Salâmi,' said he, ' at my levees, it
" ' seems to me as if the planet Mercury (8) had descended from its sphere to stand
" ' before me.' On the death of this prince, as-Salâmi returned to his usual habits,
" and his means underwent diminution; sometimes they rose, sometimes they fell,
" and so they continued till the moment of his death." He composed a number of highly beautiful *kasîdas* on Adud ad-Dawlat, and it is in one of those pieces that we find the following passage:

I roused my boon companions as the dog-star passed above us, and the moon in the expanse of heaven seemed like a pond in the midst of a meadow. " Awake!" (*said I,*) " hasten to
" drink of generous wine, for this world is a mere illusion! the spy now sleeps from fatigue,
" and pleasure has awaked!" Satan prompted us (*to sin*), and we all declared him an excellent counsellor! (*We lay*) prostrate on that battle-field (*of pleasure*) which is shunned by vultures and beasts of prey (9). The blooming flowers of our meadow were female cheeks, and female waists were its pliant shrubs. The enjoyments of life are always best hidden when the veils (*in which false modesty shrouds us*) are rent away. The cup-bearers passed the goblet around, and

offered it to the guests, as the falcon offers the game to the sportsman. The virgin liquor comes disguised by the admixture of water, concealed in it as the soul is concealed in the body. The red surface crowned with bubbles seems like a cheek receiving a kiss (10). We, at length, sunk in prostration, but we had then before us for *imâm* (*to direct our devotions*) the cords of the lute (11).

In another piece of verse, he says of Adud ad-Dawlat :

Thy bounty visits the needy, thy sword the rebel, and are received, that by hands, and this by necks. Each day adds to the edifice of thy glory, whilst it diminishes the wealth of thy treasury.

He said also of the same prince :

For bravery and generosity his eulogists compared him to persons who, had they seen this prince, would have become the humblest of his servants. Why! in his army he has fifty thousand Antars braver than Antar, and in his treasurers a thousand Hâtims (12).

In one of his pieces, he says :

If (*our*) lips be pressed to thy cheek, they are entangled in the chains of thy ringlets (13).

And from this verse Ibn at-Tallâfari took the idea expressed in the following line :

Suppose that a cheek be pressed to thine, how could thy ringlets, then imprisoned, roam freely (14).

As-Salâmi had in fact recited to Ibn at-Tallâfari the piece to which this verse belongs. The latter's names were as-Shihâb (*Shihâb ad-Dîn*) Muhammad Ibn Yûsuf Ibn Masûd as-Shaibâni (15). We may sum up as-Salâmi's merit by saying that the greater part of his poems are exquisite. He was born in Karkh, the suburb of Baghdad, on Friday evening, the 6th of Rajab, A. H. 336 (January, A. D. 948), and he died on Thursday, the 4th of the first Jumâda, A. H. 393 (March, A. D. 1003). —*Salâmi* means *belonging to Dar as-Salâm* (*the abode of welfare*), that is, Baghdad. This remark we have already made in the life of the *hâfiz* Muhammad Ibn Nâsir (*vol. III. p.* 10).

(1) In the MS. of the *Yatîma*, No. 1370, as-Salâmi's names are written : Abû Husain Muhammad Ibn Obaid Allah.

(2) See *Yatîma*, MS. of the *Bibliothèque impériale*, ancien fonds, No. 1370, fol. 194 v.

(3) See vol. II. page 263.

(4) The poet thus designates the orange on account of its colour.

(5) That is : He permitted the mouth to kiss the cheeks.—The teeth are often compared to hail-stones, and the red-skinned orange is compared to the cheek of the beloved.

(6) For the history of Abû Taghlib al-Ghadanfer al-Hamdâni, see vol. I. pages 405, 406, and Abû 'l-Fedâ's *Annals*, years 358, 359, 367, 369.

(7) Ibn Khallikân here resumes his extract from the *Yatîma*. See MS. No. 1370, fol. 196 v.

(8) See vol. II. p. 562, note (8).

(9) The poet here imitates a verse of Amr 'l-Kais, where he says : *Et pernoctavimus, feris à nobis retrocedentibus, humi jacentes ac si duo occisi essemus.* — (*Diwân d'Amro 'l-Kais*, p. 72.)

(10) The mouth, or rather the teeth, are compared to white objects, such as flowers, hail-stones, bubbles on water, etc.

(11) Literally : There we had for *imâm* the *imâm* and the *zir*. The treble cord of the lute is called the *zir*; the base was designated by the term *imâm*.

(12) The bravery of Antar and the generosity of Hâtim are well known.

(13) See vol. I. p. xxxvi.

(14) The verb راح here rendered by *roam freely*, bears also the signification of *to smell sweetly*. The poet plays upon this double meaning.

(15) Ibn Khallikân has committed an error here : The author of the *Yatîma* informs us that at-Tallâfari's names were Abû 'l-Husain Ali Ibn Ahmad. As for the poet and philologer Shihâb ad-Dîn Muhammad Ibn Yûsuf Ibn Masûd as-Shaibâni at-Tallâfari, we learn from the *Nujûm* that he was born at Mosul, A. H. 592 (A. D. 1196-7), and died at Hamât in the month of Shawwâl, A. H. 675 (March-April, A. D. 1277).

IBN SUKKARA AL-HASHIMI.

Abû 'l-Hasan Muhammad Ibn Abd Allah Ibn Muhammad, a celebrated poet of Baghdad and generally known by the appellation of Ibn Sukkara al-Hâshimi, drew his descent from Ali, the son of al-Mahdi, the son of Abû Jaafar al-Mansûr, the Abbâside khalif. Ath-Thaâlibi has an article on him, in which he says (1): "This poet had a "great command over all the beauties of composition; in the expression of novel and "witty allusions he surpassed the ablest poets, even those who took the lead, directing, "as he pleased, his course through the hippodrome of humour and licentiousness. "It was currently said at Baghdad that an epoch which bestowed upon the world such "men as Ibn Sukkara and Ibn Hajjâj (*vol. I. p.* 448) was extremely bountiful, and

"that these two were for that age what Jarîr (*vol. I. p.* 294) and al-Farazdak were "for theirs." It is said that the *diwân* of Ibn Sukkara's works contains upwards of fifty thousand verses. A charming comparison of his is that expressed in the following lines, composed on a boy bearing in his hand a branch tipped with flowers :

> A branch of willow (*a slender-waisted youth*) appeared, and in his hand a branch bearing a string of pearls. I stood irresolute between the two ; one bore a rising moon (*a handsome face*), and the other, stars (*flowers*) (2).

In another of his pieces, he says :

> By Allah ! I perish ! I despair of my life, unless I see that waist which laid waste my heart (3).

Abû 'l-Hasan Ali Ibn Muhammad Ibn al-Fath, a poet of Baghdad and generally known by the surname of Ibn Abi 'l-Asb—or Ibn al-Asb—al-Ushnâni al-Milhi (4) relates as follows : "Ibn Sukkara al-Hâshimi wrote to me these lines :

> "O friend whom fortune has bestowed upon me ! fortune so avaricious in bestowing true "friends ! We are now far asunder, and cannot meet except in dreams (5). One single cause "has placed a distance between us : I am *sukkar* (*sugar*) and thou art *milh* (*salt*).

"To this I wrote in reply :

> "Shall our brethren say to a friend the sincerity of whose attachment is tainted with sarcasm : "'There is *sugar* between us, spoil it not !' or shall they say : 'Wretch that thou art ! there "'is salt between us ; (*prove not a traitor to it*) (6).'"

In a satire directed against a man in power, Ibn Sukkara said :

> You treat us with haughtiness, yet you are not a khalif or a khalif's heir. Be insolent, even more than you are (*I care not*) ! I have neither pension nor place to lose. Say not : "I am fault-"less ;" the chastest maiden is exposed to the strokes of slander. Poetry is fire without smoke, and rhymes possess a subtle magic. How many the powerful, the aspiring, whom a few words have hurled from their elevation. Musk, though worthy of all praise, is converted by satire into carrion (7).

Another of his pieces is the following :

> I was asked what I had prepared against the cold which had just set in with intensity ; and I replied : A waistcoat of nakedness, and underneath it a shirt of trembling.



He is also the author the two following verses, quoted by al-Harîri in his *Makâma* entitled *al-Karajiya* (8) :

> The winter set in, and I provided myself with seven things necessary when the rain prevents us from pursuing our usual occupations. (*These things are*:) A shelter, a purse, a stove, a cup of wine preceded by a bit of meat, a tender maid, and a cloak (9).

Ibn at-Taâwîzi, a poet whose life we shall give, composed the following lines on the same model :

> When seven things are collected together in the drinking-room, it is not reasonable to stay away. These are : Roast meat, a melon, honey, a young girl, wax-lights, a singer to delight us, and wine (10).

And Abû 'l-Thanâ Mahmûd Ibn Nêma Ibn Arslân, the grammarian, composed these verses on the same subject :

> They say that the *k*'s of winter are numerous, and yet none can doubt that there is only one : If you possess the *k* of *kîs* (*purse*), you possess all the rest; in the flesh of the onager is found the taste of every species of game (11).

Speaking of youth, Ibn Sukkara said :

> Youth has departed! that youth which once was full of sap, covered with fruit and shady foliage. It was a portion of thyself, but it has perished; known that when a portion of thyself has perished, all of thee has perished.

The poetical compositions of Ibn Sukkara abound in beauties. He died on Wednesday, the 11th of the latter Rabî, A. H. 385 (16th May, A. D. 995). — The birth of Ibn Abi 'l-Asb took place in the year 285 (A. D. 898), and, in the year 374 (A. D. 984–5), al-Hasan Ibn Ali al-Jauhari heard him repeat the verses quoted above. — Abû 'th-Thanâ Mahmûd Ibn Nêma died at Damascus, A. H. 565 (A. D. 1169-70). The *kâtib* Imâd ad-Dîn speaks of him in the *Kharîda,* and mentions that, in the year 563, he met him at Damascus and heard him repeat numerous fragments of his poetical compositions.—*Sukkara* (*a grain of sugar*) : this word is so well-known that it requires no explanation.

(1) *Yatîma*, MS. No. 1370, fol. 207.

(2) Here follow, in the original, two other pieces, each containing tw verses. As they evidently refer to an unnatural passion, they have not been translated.



(3) In the original is a play upon the words *kâmat, akâmat,* and *kiâmat*, all deriving from the same root.

(4) *Ushnâni* means *belonging to Ushnân*, a place near Baghdad. *Milhi* signifies *a seller of salt*.

(5) Literally : Unless the *khiâl* (*image of the friend*, or *of the beloved, seen in a dream*) kindly effect (*our*) meeting.

(6) These words appear to mean : Friendship still subsists between us; spoil it not! Friendship cemented by conviviality subsists between us, but thou art about to ruin it.

(7) Musk may be considered as carrion, because it is animal substance.

(8) See de Sacy's *Harîri*, page ٢٦٢.

(9) In the Arabic, the names of these seven things commence with the letter *k*; for which reason they are designated as *the seven k's*. By *the sixth k* (*al-Kâf as-Sâdisa*) is meant the female sexual organ. Ibn Arabshâh relates, in his history of Tîmûr, that Shâh Mansûr, on being advised by his principal officers to avoid a battle with so powerful a chief, held up his mace and exclaimed : " هذا الالف فى الكاف السادسة من ام من يفر من تيمور " may this (*mace, as strait as the letter*) alif be stuck into the *sixth kâf* of the mother " of him who flies from Tîmûr! " — Manger, the editor of the text and Latin translation of that work, has, as usual, completely misunderstood the passage.

(10) Here, the seven words begin by an *sh*.

(11) This is a common proverbial expression. See Freytag's *Meidanii proverbia*, tome II, p. 316.

THE SHARIF AR-RIDA.

The *Sharîf* ar-Rida (*the favorably accepted descendant of Muhammad*) (1) Abû 'l-Hasan Muhammad, surnamed al-Mûsawi (*the descendant of Mûsa*), was the son of at-Tâhir Zû 'l-Manâkib, the son of Abû Ahmad al-Husain, the son of Mûsa, the son of Muhammad, the son of Mûsa, the son of Ibrahîm, the son of Mûsa al-Kâzim (2), the son of Jaafar as-Sâdik (*vol. I. p.* 300), the son of Muhammad al-Bâkir (*vol. II. p.* 579), the son of Ali Zain al-Aâbidîn (*vol. II. p.* 209), the son of al-Husain, the son of Ali, the son of Abû Tâlib; God's blessing on them all! The *Sharîf* ar-Rida is the author of a *diwân* of poems, and ath-Thaâlibi (*vol. II. p.* 129) has an article on him in the *Yatîma*. " He began," says this writer (3), " to utter verses soon after he " had passed his tenth year, and he is, at this day, the most remarkable person that " the age has produced, and the most illustrious of the descendants of Muhammad " who inhabit Irâk. To his noble origin and exalted hereditary glory, he joins the

"ornaments of brilliant literary information, splendid talents, and a copious portion
"of every fair endowment. He is moreover the ablest poet of all the descendants
"of Ali Ibn Abi Tâlib, past or present, though many of them were eminent in that
"art; were I even to declare him the best poet ever produced by the tribe of Kuraish,
"I should not be far from the truth. My words will be fully confirmed by a fair
"testimony, that of his high-aiming verses which defy the severest criticism and
"combine ease with majesty, facility with the perfection of art, and contain
"thoughts easy of comprehension and profound in meaning. His father had, in
"former days, exercised the functions of chief president, established as judge over
"them all; he was also the chief-justice of the descendants of Ali (*nikâba nukabâ it-*
"*Tâlibiyîn*), first magistrate of the empire (*an-Nazar fi 'l-Mazâlim*) and commander
"of the pilgrim caravan; these offices then devolved on his son ar-Rida, in the year
"388 (A. D. 998), his father being still alive." One of his most brilliant *kasîdas* is that which he addressed in the form of a letter to the *imâm* (*khalif*) al-Kâdir billah Abû 'l-Abbâs Ahmad, the son of Ishâk, the son of al-Muktadir, and in which we find the following passage :

I crave indulgence, Commander of the faithful! we are not borne on different branches of the tree of glory! On whatever day we may vaunt our honours, no difference shall appear between us : we are both firmly rooted in our illustrious rank. The khalifate alone makes a distinction between us; you wear that noble collar, I do not.

He is the author of these fine lines :

I aspired to honours, but they repelled my advances; the beloved always repelled the lover. I waited with patience till I attained them, and I never said, in dudgeon : For an untoward wife, repudiation is the cure.

In one of his pieces, he says :

O my two friends! stop and satisfy my wishes : give me news of the land of Najd (4). Is the enclosure of al-Wâsâ (*the sandy grounds*) covered with flowers? Have the rains refreshed *Khamila tal-Talh* (*the acacia groves*), where flourish the willow and the laurel? Must a dwelling between this and Kâzima be my place of repose to-night? Shall I pass this evening in conversation with the people of that tribe? When they approach, the perfumes of Najd breathe from their garments, so lately was it that they departed from that home.

His poetical works fill a large *diwân* of four volumes. This collection is so frequently to be met with that it is needless to speak more of it. The grammarian

Abû 'l-Fath Ibn Jinni (*vol. II. p.* 191) relates, in one of his compilations, that the *Sharîf* ar-Rida, when a mere boy, under ten years of age, went to take lessons from the grammarian Ibn as-Sîrâfi (*vol. I. p.* 377), and one day, as he was sitting in the circle of scholars, his master questioned him on some points of syntax, according to the usual mode of instruction : " When we say," said he, " *râitu Omara* (*I saw* " *Omar*), by what mark is it known that *Omara* is in the accusative case (5)?" To this the *Sharîf* made answer : " By his hatred for Ali." As-Sîrâfi and all the other persons present were struck with his acuteness of mind. — It is said that he commenced learning by heart the Korân at an advanced age, and completed the task in a very short time. He composed a work on the rhetorical figures of the Korân (*Maâni 'l-Kurân*), to which it would be difficult to find one equal in merit; it indicates the author's vast information in grammar and philology. He drew up also a treatise on the metaphors of the Korân (*Majâzât al-Kurân*), one of the most remarkable works on the subject. Different persons have essayed to collect the poetical works of the *Sharîf* ar-Rida, but the best edition is that of Abû Hakîm al-Khabri (6). I was told by a literary man that he read the following anecdote in a certain compilation : " One of the *literati* happened to pass by the house of the *Sharîf* ar-Rida at " Sarr-man-râa (*Samarra*); he was not aware of the circumstance, but, being struck " by the ravages it had sustained from time, by its decayed magnificence, its moulder- " ing walls, and the shattered ruins which still testified its former splendour and " beauty, he stopped to contemplate it, and reflect upon the vicissitudes of fortune " and the sudden strokes of adversity. He then recited the following lines, com- " posed by the *Sharîf* ar-Rida, applying them by an appropriate allusion to the objects " before his eyes :

" I stopped at the vernal habitations of my friends, but the hand of ruin had devastated their " walls. And I wept till my weary camel grew impatient and my fellow-travellers rebuked my " delay. I then turned my eyes away from those mouldering remains : yet, when hidden " from my sight, my heart still turned towards them.

" A person who passed by and heard him recite these verses, asked him if he knew " to whom that house had belonged? He answered that he did not. 'Well,' said " the man, 'it belonged to the author of these verses—to the *Sharîf* ar-Rida.' The " other was much surprised at this singular coincidence." This reminds me of an anecdote somewhat similar which is related by al-Harîri (*vol. II. p.* 492) in his

Durra tal-Ghawwâs. Abîd Ibn Sharya al-Jurhumi lived three hundred years (7); he attained the epoch of the promulgation of Islamism and became a convert to that faith. Having entered into the presence of Moawîa Ibn Abi Sofyân, who was then in Syria and established in the khalifate, that prince said to him : "Relate to me "the strangest thing you ever saw." Abîd replied : "I passed one day near some "people who were committing to the tomb the body of a relative. Having gone up "to them, my eyes overflowed with tears and I recited these verses of a poet as ap- "plicable to the spectacle which I there beheld :

"O my heart! thou hast been seduced by (*the charms of*) Asmâ; reflect (*upon thy state*); "but can admonition now be of avail? Thou hast revealed thy love; thou concealest it from "none; nay, thy rapid (*tears*) flow unrestrained. Thou knewest not, neither dost thou know, "whether the prompt fulfilment of thy wishes will be more favourable to thy welfare than their "tardy accomplishment. Let God dispose for thy good, and be resigned to his will; in the "depth of misfortune happiness may arrive. Whilst man yet enjoys the pleasures of existence, "he is turned into dust, and the winds efface even the marks of his tomb. The stranger who "knew him not then weepeth over him, whilst his relations in the tents of the tribe are rejoi- "cing.

"One of these people then asked me if I knew who was the author of these "verses. I replied that I did not, on which he said : 'Him who first uttered them "'we have just buried; thou art the stranger who weepeth over him without know- "'ing him, and that person who now cometh out from the tomb is his nearest "'relation and the man who most rejoiced in his death.'" — "Truly," said Moawîa, "you saw a thing to wonder at; who was the dead man?" Abîd answer- ed : "He bore the name of Ithyar Ibn Labîd al-Ozri (8)." Let us return to the *Sharîf*. The Khatîb (*vol. I. p.* 75) says, in his History of Baghdad, that, being in the presence of Abû 'l-Husain Ibn Mahfûz, who held a high rank in the service of the empire, he heard the *kâtib* Abû Abd Allah Muhammad Ibn Abd Allah say that some literary men had declared, in his hearing, that the *Sharîf* was the best poet ever produced by the tribe of Koraish. On this Ibn Mahfûz said : "That is perfectly "true; some poets there were among them who expressed themselves well, but "their composition were not numerous; none of them shone by the excellence "and the quantity of his works but ar-Rida." The *Sharîf* ar-Rida was born at Baghdad, A. H. 359 (A. D. 969-70); he died there on Sunday morning, the 6th of Muharram, A. H. 406 (27th June, A. D. 1015), — some say, of Safar — and was interred at his residence situated in that part of the suburb of al-Karkh which is

called the quarter of the Anbarite mosque (*khutt masjid il-Anbâriyîn*). The house in which he resided fell into ruin, and all traces of his tomb disappeared. When the burial was about to take place, his brother Abû 'l-Kâsim al-Murtada withdrew to the mausoleum of Mûsa Ibn Jaafar (9), feeling his inability to support the sight of the bier and the interment; it was, therefore, the vizir Fakhr al-Mulk who recited the funeral prayer in the house of the deceased, before a large assembly. — His father at-Tâhir Zû 'l-Manâkib Abu Ahmad al-Husain was born A. H. 307 (A. D. 919-20); he died at Baghdad in the month of the first Jumâda, A. H. 400 (Dec.-Jan., A. D. 1009-10)— some say, 403 — and was interred in the funeral chapel of the Koraish cemetery, near the Fig gate (*Bâb at-Tîn*). His son ar-Rida composed an elegy on his death, and Abû 'l-Alâ al-Maarri (*vol. I. p.* 94) deplored his loss in a *kasîda* which begins thus :

> O that misfortune would cease to afflict us! the man is dead whose wealth was for the impoverished and whose amber (*bounty*) for those who were desirous of perfumes (*gifts*).

It is a long poem and displays the highest excellence.—We have already spoken of his brother the *Sharîf* al-Murtada Abû 'l-Kâsim Ali (*vol. II. p.* 256). — Pronounce عبيد *Abîd* and شرية *Sharya*. —*Jurhumi* means *descended from Jurhum*, the son of Kahtân and the progenitor of a large and celebrated Yemenite tribe. —*Ithyar*, in its primitive acceptation, means *dust*, but it has been employed as a proper name for men.—Of *al-Ozri* we have already spoken (*vol. I. p.* 331).

(1) This person must not be confounded with Ali ar-Rida, another member of the same family. See vol. II. p. 212.

(2) His life is given by our author.

(3) See *Yatîma*, MS. of the *Bibliothèque impériale*, No. 1370, fol. 251.

(4) See vol. II. page 453, note (18).

(5) *Omar* is pronounced *Omaru*, in the nominative, and *Omara*, in the dative and the accusative; there is nothing by which these two cases can be distinguished, except the part of speech by which one or the other is governed. The accusative case, in Arabic, is called *nasb*, and the same word signifies *malevolence*. The *Sharîf* took it in the latter meaning, alluding to the manner in which his ancestor Ali was treated by Omar. One of the parties opposed to Ali was called *Ahl an-Nasb* (*the malevolents*).

(6) This name is pointed in different manners: it may be read *Khabri*, *Khairi*, and *Khobri*. I can find no information respecting the person who bore it.

(7) Arabic writers are singularly credulous respecting the longevity of certain Arabs who flourished towards he time of Muhammad. According to them, Labîd the poet lived one hundred and fifty years; Abîd al-Jur-

humi, three hundred; and Abd al-Masîh, three hundred and fifty; but they died permaturely, compared with the two celebrated diviners Shikk and Satîh, who attained the advanced age of six hundred years.

(8) The editions of Gottingen and Boulac introduce here another anecdote of the same kind, containing some philological observations. As my manuscripts do not give it, I abstain from inserting it here.

(9) The life of Mûsa Ibn Jaafar al-Kâzim is given by Ibn Khallikân.

IBN HANI *THE POET.*

Abû 'l-Kâsim, surnamed also Abû 'l-Hasan, Muhammad Ibn Hâni, a member of the tribe of Azd, a native of Spain, and a celebrated poet, is said to have drawn his descent from Yazîd Ibn Hâtim Ibn Kabîsa Ibn al-Muhallab Ibn Abî Sufra al-Azdi, or from Rûh Ibn Hâtim (*vol. I. p.* 529), Yazîd's brother. His father Hâni belonged to a village in the territory of al-Mahdiya, a city in Ifrîkiya, and displayed considerable talents as a poet and a philologer. Having passed into Spain, he there became the father of Muhammad, who was born at Seville and passed his early youth in that city. Muhammad Ibn Hâni acquired, in the course of his studies, an ample stock of literary information, and displayed a superior talent for poetry. He knew by heart (*a great number of*) poems composed by the Arabs of the desert and numerous facts relating to the history of that people. Having gained the favour of the prince who governed Seville, he plunged into dissipation and incurred the suspicion of holding the doctrines of the philosophers (*materialism*). This report acquired, at length, such consistence, that it drew on him the hatred of the people; they murmured also against his patron, whom they imagined to hold the same impious opinions. The prince recommended him to retire from the city and remain absent till his conduct was forgotten; and Ibn Hâni left the place, being then twenty-seven years of age (1). His subsequent adventures would afford matter for a long narration, but we shall only state, in a summary manner, that he crossed over to Maghrib, where he met and eulogized in verse the Kâid Jawhar (*vol. I. p.* 340), *mawla* to al-Mansûr (*the Fatemide*) and the same general who (*afterwards*) marched into Egypt and conquered that country for al-Moizz. He then went to visit Jaafar and Yahya, the

sons of Ali (*vol. I. p.* 326), who were at that time governors of al-Masîla, the capital of the province of az-Zâb (2). They treated him with the utmost honour and kindness, but his reputation having reached al-Moizz Abû Tâmîm Maadd al-Obaidi, the son of al-Mansûr, that prince, whose life we shall give under the letter *M*, sent for him, and received him, on his arrival, with the highest marks of faʌour. Al-Moizz having then set out for Egypt, as we shall relate in his life, Ibn Hâni accompanied him to some distance and then returned to Maghrib with the intention of taking his family and rejoining the prince Having set out with them, he arrived at Barka, where he was hospitably received by one of the inhabitants, and passed some days with him in friendly intercourse. He there lost his life, in a drunken squable, it is said. But some persons relate that he went out of his host's dwelling in a state of intoxication, and, having fallen asleep on the road, he was found dead the next morning, but the cause of his death could not be ascertained. According to a third account, he was found strangled in the waistband of his trowsers in one of the gardens (3) of Barka. This event occurred on Wednesday morning, the 23rd of Rajab, A. H. 362 (30th April, A. D. 973). He had then attained his thirty-sixth year; some say, his forty-second. Such is the information furnished by the author of the History of Kairawân (4), but he gives us to understand that the poet was (*travelling*) with al-Moizz (*when he lost his life*), which is in contradiction with the statement we have just made, namely : that he accompanied al-Moizz to some distance and then returned to take his family. Al-Moizz had arrived in Egypt when he heard of Ibn Hâni's death. He expressed great grief at his loss and said : " We hoped to " have placed this man in competition with the poets of the East, but that pleasure " was refused us. " Ibn Hâni composed some brilliant and exquisite poems on al-Moizz. In one of them, which is the *kasîda* rhyming in *n*, he begins thus (5) :

Has Yabrîn then become one of the valleys of Aâlij? or, rather, do the large-eyed gazelles (*maidens*) whom the camels bear along in covered litters belong to both these regions (9). To whom were we indebted for the nights which, from the time we first enjoyed them, never excited our complaints? from the time (*these fair ones*) were sources of affliction (*by their cruelty*); (*maidens,*) brilliant as stars, graceful as the (*pliant willow-*) branch, whose clear complexion (*spead radiance around*) even before the first smiles of the dawn; and yet they were dark with the musk (*blackness*) of the fringe which adorns handsome females (*the hair*). For them the coral ensanguined the surface of its cheek, and (*their teeth*) made the pearls weep (*with envy*) in their shell. My lamentations for their departure aided the mournful cry of the turtle-dove, and served as an accompaniment to its monotonous melody. They departed rapidly and, as they saw (*our grief*), sighs proceeded from their litters, and plaintive cries were

uttered even by their camels. Their (*red*) tents seemed to have given a tint to the morning (7); or rather, (*the evil influence of jealous*) eyelids had cast a yellow hue over its cheek. Why should the robe of anemony (*the carnation complexion*) with which these maidens clothed their cheeks be not revealed to sight? Now that they have departed, I let the meadows (*where they sported*) be parched with drought, and no copious tears of mine shall water (*the thirsty soil*). Shall I permit my eyes to borrow a stolen glance at the splendid aspect of their beauty, and thus deceive (*their modest coyness*)? No! I should then be disloyal. (*For me*) the land is no longer a brilliant land, even though arrayed in flowers! (*For me*) the water of the spring is no longer pure! Let (*these fair ones*) not depart! the soil of this land is amber, its woods are the (*graceful*) willows, and the sun its humble slave. (*O for*) the days when (*our horses'*) trappings displayed in that land their alternate stripes, and the fine tissues (*which formed our dress in times of peace*) were folded up and laid by — when the lances were couched, the swords glittering, and the steeds ready to start! (*I dwell with pleasure on*) the recollection of (*my beloved*) Zamyâ; her people were not jealous, neither was (*their*) warfare stubborn (?). (*Hers*) is the land which I regret, and yet it was (*a land of*) lances, and the coverts where its fawns took shelter were dens of lions. Can a sleek and rapid steed, well-girthed and mettlesome, bear me thither? (*My companion shall be*) a sword, the watered blade of which shows on its surface traces like the paths of the emmet, and which waits in ambush behind the point of my spear; its sharp edge is without a defect, and the souls (*of foes*) dwell upon its point; death was the water in which its steel was tempered, and its blade was not forged by (*human*) workmen. Before it descends, the victim seems already struck by the might of al-Moizz or by (*the terror of*) his cherished name.

In the same piece, he gives the following description of horses :

And neighing (*steeds*), for whom, on the day of inroad, the hills were not hills, neither was the rugged ground rugged; they were recognised the instant they passed all rivals, but not by the fact that the eye could have followed them in their career on the day of trial. All that the lightning knows of them is, that they were borne along on its wings, and that their speed was equal to that of thought. The copious rains may serve (*O prince!*) as an emblem of thy liberality; thy right hand seems to have touched the constellations which shed their humid influence upon the earth (8).

Were this high-sounding poem not so long, I should insert it all here; but what we give suffices to prove how highly the author ranked as a poet and to exhibit the peculiar beauty of his manner. His poetical works form a large volume, and were it not that he carries his eulogiums to an excess bordering on impiety, the *diwân* of his verses would be one of the finest which exists. The people of the Western countries never possessed his equal either in ancient or modern times; he is incontestibly their best poet, and they esteem him as highly as the people of the East prize al-Mutanabbi (*vol. I. p.* 102) : both were contemporaries, but some difference of opinion subsists relative to the superiority of the latter to Abû Tammâm



(*vol. I. p.* 348). To discover the date of Ibn Hâni's death, I never ceased consulting historical works and other sources where that information might be expected to be found; I questioned a great number of masters in this branch of science, but all my pains were useless, till, meeting with a little volume composed by Abû 'l-Hasan Ibn Rashîk al-Kairawâni (*vol. I. p.* 384), andentitled *Kurâda tad-Dahab,* I discovered in it what I sought. From another quarter I learned the age at which he died. I found in a notice composed on the life of Ibn Hâni by an author of talent and prefixed to the *diwân* of his poems, that he lived to the age here mentioned; but the date of his death is not given, the writer not having been able to meet with it. It is said that, when Abû 'l-Alâ al-Maarri (*vol. I. p.* 94) heard any of Ibn Hâni's verses recited, he used to say: "I can only compare that to a mill grinding horns;" alluding to the harshness of the poet's phraseology; he pretended also that, under these rugged terms no real meaning existed. This opinion I am obliged to declare injust, but he was led into it by his partiality for al-Mutanabbi. To sum up in a word Ibn Hâni's merits, we cannot but pronounce him to have been one of the great poets.

(1) Th s must have taken place in A. H. 347 or in 353. The prince Omaiyide Abd ar-Rahmân an-Nâsir was at the former epoch sovereign of Spain and held his court at Cordova. It was probably his son al-Hakam al-Mustansir who then governed Seville and protected Ibn Hâni.

(2) See my translation of Ibn Khaldûn's *Histoire des Berbers,* tome II. page 553, and Dozy's *Histoire des Musulmans d'Espagne,* tome III, page 316.

(3) The word *sawâni,* the plural of *sâniya,* means *irrigated gardens.* In its primitive acceptation, it designates the camels and wheels employed to draw up water from wells for agricultural purposes.

(4) Seven or eight authors have composed works containing biographical notices on the eminent men of Kairawân. I know not which of them our author had in view here.

(5) This piece, which is extremely obscure and very incorrectly given in all the copies, does not admit of a literal translation. I have given, however, all the ideas, and followed, as closely as I could, the text which I found in Ibn Hâni's *Diwân,* MS. of the *Bibliothèque impériale,* Supplement ar., No. 1056, fol. 168, but it was necessary to paraphrase most of the verses.

(6) Yabrîn and Aâlij are the names of two places in Arabia. The meaning of the verse appears to be this: "Has the territory of Yabrîn been removed to the neighbourhood of Aâlij, so that the numerous gazelles "(*nymphs*) of both regions have been collected together? Or rather, do not these gazelles of Maghrib come "from Yabrîn and Aâlij?" The *Diwân* reads أعقة خالج (*the valleys of Khâlij*).

(7) Red tents were used only by persons of the highest rank.]

(8) In the *Diwân of Ibn Hâni,* MS. of the *Bibliothèque impériale,* Supplement, this poem is preceded by the following short introduction: "It is said that this was the first *kasîda* which he recited at Kairawân, and "that al-Moizz ordered him the present of a carpet (?) (*dast*) valued at six thousand dinars, and the poet said: "'Commander of the faithful! I have no place large enough to hold it, if it be spread out.' On this, the

" prince ordered a palace to be built for him at the expense of six thousand dinars and sent to it three thou- " sand dinars' worth of furniture to match (*the beauty of*) the palace and the carpet." The *Diwân* of Ibn Hâni contains a great number of remarkable pieces; unfortunately the copy in the *Bibliothèque impériale* has neither gloss nor comment.

IBN AMMAR ZU 'L-WIZARATAIN.

Zû 'l-Wizâratain (1) Abû Bakr Muhammad Ibn Ammâr al-Mahri al-Andalusi as-Shilbi (*native of Silves in Portugal*) was a celebrated poet, the rival of Ibn Zaidûn al-Kortubi (*vol. I. p.* 123), and nurtured, like him, in the various branches of literary composition; they were, in fact, the two great poets of that age. The princes of Spain dreaded Ibn Ammâr for the acrimony ol his tongue and his talent (*as a satirist*), and more particularly when al-Motamid ala 'llah Ibn Abbâd, the sovereign of the west of Spain (2),—his life will be found (*in this volume*) under the letter *M*, —took him into favour, made him his intimate companion, and raised him to the rank of vizir and privy counsellor. Al-Motamid then confided to him the seal of the empire and dispatched him as emir (*to lead his armies*). And yet the time had been when Ibn Ammâr was a person of no importance; but now, he marched in pomp, followed by tents, steeds, led-horses, troops and squadrons, drums beating behind him, banners and colours flying over his head. Having taken possession of the city of Todmîr (3), he became one of those who mount the pulpit and the throne (4), notwith-standing his incapacity as a statesman and his inability as a ruler. He then rose against the sovereign who had every right to his gratitude, and hastened to disobey his orders and infringe his rights. But al-Motamid had recourse to stratagem and directed against him the arrows of wily artifice, till he deprived him of all means of escape and got him into his power. He then slew him, by night, in the palace, with his own hand, and ordered the corpse to be buried. This occurred at Seville in the year 477 (A. D. 1084-5). Ibn Ammâr was born A. H. 422 (A. D. 1031 (5). His friend Abû Muhammad Abd al-Jalîl Ibn Wahbûn al-Mursi (*vol. I. p.* 108 *n.*) composed an elegy on his death, in which he said :

> 'Tis strange ! I shed floods of tears for his loss, and yet I must exclaim : May the right hand of him who slew him be never blasted !



Abû Nasr al-Fath Ibn Khâkân (*vol. II. p.* 455) says, in his ***Kalâid al-Ikiyân*** : "Some years later, I saw the bones of Ibn Ammâr's legs taken out of an excavation "which was making close to the palace; the ***bracelets*** were still closed around them, "having never been taken off or undone. O that they were still closely filled (6)! "The people looked on at this moral lesson, and the most incredulous then believed "the history of his death."—By *bracelets* (*asâwir*) the writer means *fetters*.—One of Ibn Ammâr's most celebrated ***kasîdas*** is that in which he says :

Pass round the glass! the zephyrs are come, and the Pleiades rein in (*their steeds*) and cease their nocturnal journey. The morning has bestowed upon us its camphor (*brightness*), now that the night has taken from us its amber (*darkness*).

In the eulogistic part of that poem, he says of al-Motamid Ibn Abbâd :

When princes crowd towards the fountain (*of glory*) and he approaches, they advance not to it until he has quenched his thirst and retired. (*His presence is*) more soothing to the heart than the dew-drop, and more grateful to the eyes than balmy sleep. It is he who striketh sparks from (*the steel of*) glory; he never leaves the fire of war, but he lights the fire of hospitality.

It is a long and excellent poem (7). Another of his good pieces is that rhyming in *m*, and composed also in honour of al-Motamid Ibn Abbâd. It begins thus :

If not for me, for whom do the clouds shed their tears? If not for me, for whom do the doves utter their plaintive cry?

He gives in it the following description of his native place :

May the rains clothe it in a mantle of youth, for there it was that puberty delivered me from the amulets of the childhood. (*Standing*) there, I recalled to mind the days of love, and that recollection awoke the flames of passion in my bosom. (*I thought of*) those nights when I heeded not the advice of reproving friends, and turned not away from the delusive path of the lover; when the eyes of slumbering maidens kept me awake, and their graceful figures kept me in torment. (*I thought of*) the night we passed at Suddatain, where the meandering river glided on like a serpent; (*where the breezes*) flitted to and fro, like envious tale-bearers passing between us. We remained that night, unseen by treacherous spies, in a spot as retired as that in which the secrets of the bosom lie concealed.

In the eulogistic part of the same poem, he says :

—Princes at whose abodes glory took its station,—palaces, the dwellings renown. Their

noble house, founded by the sword, is supported by the spear. When terror arrests the step (*of the warriors*), these (*princes*) lead them on, with long lances in the outstretched arm. Their hands scorn to return (*from combat*) till they succeed in cutting off (*a prisoner's*) forelock or a foeman's head. (*Constant*) guests (*at the banquet*) of war, they pass the death-cup around, as their swords, with redoubled strokes, cleave the skulls. With them we see the lance couched in support of honour, and the spear brandished in execution of noble designs.

In the same piece, he says (*of the prince*) :

See him, when they take to horse, the first to strike the foe; behold him, when they dismount, the last to partake of food.

This is also a long and magnificent piece.—One of the crimes imputed to him by al-Motamid Ibn Abbâd was his having composed two satirical lines on his father al-Motadid and himself. These lines, which we here give, were the principal cause of his death :

What makes me dislike conversing of Spain, is to hear of a Motadid's being there and a Motamid; two royal names out of their places (8); it reminds me of the cat which strives, by swelling, to attain the size of the lion.

His poetry abounds in beauties.—*Mahri* means *descended from Mahra* Ibn Haidân Ibn al-Hâf Ibn Kudâa, (*the progenitor of*) a great tribe from which many persons derive their surname.— *Shilbi* means *belonging to Shilb* (*Silves*), a maritime city in the Spanish peninsula.—*Todmîr* is the same city as Murcia (9); al-Motamid Ibn Abbâd sent Abû Bakr Ibn Ammâr to Todmîr as his lieutenant; Ibn Ammâr revolted there, and al-Motamid never discontinued his efforts to circumvent him till he got him into his power and put him to death, as we have already said. This event is so well known, that we need not enter into details.—The *kâtib* Imâd ad-Dîn al-Ispahâni says, in his *Kharîda*, when giving a notice on Ibn Ammâr and a account of his death : " One of the principal circumstances which conduced to his death was his " composing a satirical poem on ar-Rumaikiya, the concubine by whom al-Motamid " had his children; in one passage he says :

" You chose her from among the daughters of an ignoble stock, that Rumaikiya, a woman " who (*if slain*) would not be worth the prince of her blood. She brought (*into the world*) a " puny race, doubly vile by their paternal and maternal descent. "

I must here observe that ar-Rumaikiya, the concubine of al-Motamid, was purchased by him, in his father's lifetime, from (*one*) Rumaik Ibn Hajjâj, and that she

was surnamed after her former master. Al-Motamid displayed an extreme attachment to her and allowed her to acquire a great ascendancy over him. Her real name was Itimâd (*support*), and this induced him to assume the corresponding surname of *al-Motamid* (*the supported*). She died at Aghmât (*in Morocco*) subsequently to al-Motamid. After his death, she neither shed a tear nor uttered a sigh, but expired of grief. It was she who excited al-Motamid's anger against Ibn Ammâr, being incensed at the satire which that poet had directed against her. It is said, however, that he was not the author of the piece, but that his enemies passed it under his name with the intention of turning al-Motamid's heart against him.

(1) *Zû 'l-wizdratain* signifies *holder of the two vizirships*, namely, that of the sword and that of the pen; this fficer was generalissimo and secretary of state. But, " (*in Spain*,) the title of *vizir* was common to all who " were admitted into the intimacy of the sovereign and were attached to his personal service. The vizir who " acted as his lieutenant bore the title of *Zû 'l-wizdratain*."—(See *Makkari*, Arabic text, vol. I. page 321.)

(2) The Abbadite dynasty, of which al-Motamid was the third sovereign, reigned at Seville.

(3) See note (9).

(4) That is, he pronounced the *khotba* from the pulpit as representative of the sovereign, and he sat on the throne as governor of the province.

(5) For a full account of Ibn Ammâr's life and adventures, see the fourth volume of Dozy's *Histoire de l'Espagne musulmane*.

(6) By this he expresses his wish to see Ibn Ammâr again among the living. A fetter is closely filled when the prisoner is alive, and holds loosely when the flesh has mouldered away in the tomb. I read وليتهما مشتفة.

(7) Ibn Khâkân gives it in the *Kalâid*.

(8) These names were first borne by Abbaside khalifs.

(9) The city and territory of *Todmir* were so called after Theodomir, a Gothic general who encountered the Arabs on their first invasion. He continued his resistance for some time after the defeat and death of king Roderic, but finally made peace with Abd al-Azîz, the son of Mûsa Ibn Nasir, and obtained for himself a principality which included the provinces of Valencia and Murcia.

IBN AS-SAIGH IBN BAJJA (*AVEMPACE*).

Abû Bakr Muhammad Ibn Bâjja at-Tujîbi al-Andalusi as-Sarakosti (*native of Saragossa in Spain*) and generally known by the appellation of Ibn as-Sâigh (*the son of*

the goldsmith) the philosopher, was a poet of considerable celebrity. Al-Fath Ibn Khâkân (*vol. II. p.* 455) mentions him in the *Kalâid al-Ikiyân* and represents him as an infidel and an atheist, professing the doctrines held by the (*ancient*) sages and philosophers. The same author says of him, in his *Matmah al-Anfus* (1) : "He "studid these doctrines (2) and directed his mind towards the dimensions of the "spheres and the boundaries of the climates; he rejected the book of God the all- "wise, and haughtily *cast it behind his back* (3); he wished to prove false that "revelation which *falsehood never does nor can attain* (4), and applied himself "exclusively to astronomy. He denied that we should return unto God, and he "declared his belief in the governing influence of the stars; boldly insulting the "majesty of the intelligent and all-knowing God, he hearkened with audacious "indifference to his threats and prohibitions, laughing to scorn these words of "His: *He who hath placed thee under the rule of the Korân will surely bring thee "again before him* (5); he believed time to be a revolution (*of vicissitudes*), and con- "sidered man as a plant or a flower for which death was the ripening, and for "which the snatching out (*of existence*) was the gathering of the fruit. Faith dis- "appeared from his heart and left not a trace behind; his tongue forgot (*the praises "of*) the Merciful, neither did (*the holy*) name cross his lips." But I must say that Ibn Khâkân's statement is exaggerated, and that he passes all bounds in accusing him of doctrines so perverse (6). God, however, knows best what his principles were. The same writer quotes the following amongst other pieces of Ibn as-Sâigh's poetry :

Inhabitants of Nomân al-Arâk (7), know that in my bosom also you possess an abode! Continue to preserve (*for me*) your friendship; alas! how long have I suffered from the perfidy of men in whom I placed my trust. Ask the nights which I have passed, if slumber ever imbued my eyelids since you pitched your tents in a distant land! Ask your skies if ever the swords of their lightnings were drawn without their finding sheaths in my eyes (8).

When I was in Aleppo, a learned Maghribin *shaikh* recited to me these lines as having been composed by Ibn as-Sâigh, but, some time after, I met with them in the *diwân* containing the works of Abû 'l-Fityân Muhammad Ibn Haiyûs, a poet whose life shall be given (*in this volume*). This led me to doubt the exactitude of the *shaikh's* statement, and I said (*to myself*) that he was probably mistaken, but I then found the piece in (*Ibn Khâkân's*) *Matmah*, where it is given as Ibn as-Sâigh's.

God best knows by which of the two it was composed. The following piece is also by Ibn as-Sâigh :

(*The travellers*) encamped amidst the flowers of the meadow, where the fluttering zephyr breathed perfumes around. I sent my heart to accompany their heavy-laden camels, and, bleeding from its wounds, it followed in the path of the caravan. Why didst thou not ask their captive (*lover*) if they had not among them a prisoner to be set free (*from the bonds of love*)? thou mightst have asked him, jealous (*though he was*). I swear by Him who made their (*slight and*) graceful figures like the (*slender*) twigs (*of the willow*), and their teeth like the (*white*) anthemis flowers, that, when the zephyr fleeted by me after their departure, I never inhaled it without breathing it forth in an ardent flame.

When his death drew near, he would frequently repeat the lines :

I said to my soul when death stood before it, and when, impelled by terror, it fled to the right and to the left : " Stand and support the evil thou abhorrest; how long wert thou accus-" tomed to seek for death as a refuge (*against affliction*)? "

He died at Fez in the year 533 (A. D. 1138-9), from eating a poisoned ***bâdinjân*** (9). By another account, his death is placed in 525. — *Bâjja* is the name of *silver* in the language of the western Franks (10) —*Tujîbi,* pronounced also *Tajîbi,* means *descended from Tujîb,* the mother of Adi and Saad, the sons of Ashras Ibn as-Sukûn. She herself was the daughter of Thaubân Ibn Sulaim Ibn Madhidj, and her sons were surnamed after her.—*Sarakosti* means *belonging to Sarakosta* (*Saragossa*), a city of Spain which produced a number of learned men. It was taken by the Franks in the month of Ramadân, A. H. 512 (January, A. D. 1119 (11).

(1) This passage is also to be found in the *Kalâid.* For an account of the *Matmah*, see Dozy's *Historia Abbadidarum*, page 10.

(2) I suspect that the word *tadlîm,* here rendered by *doctrines,* means *the mathematics.*

(3) Korân, sûrat 3, verse 184.

(4) Korân, sûrat 41, verse 42.

(5) Korân, sûrat 28, verse 85.

(6) Through the diffuse and pretentious phraseology of Ibn Khâkân, in his *Kalâid,* we perceive that Ibn Bâjja was vizir to the emir Abû Bakr Ibn Ibrahîm (*governor of Murcia*), and that he removed to Valencia on perceiving the progress made by the Christians. He then proceeded to Saragossa, and, after the capture of that city by king Alphonso, he went to Xativa, where he was imprisoned by Abû Ishak Ibrahîm, the emir of that place, and returned to Islamism that he might save his life. It appears also that, during his vizirate, he had offended Imâd ad-Dawlat Ibn Hûd, sovereign of Saragossa, and, at a later period, that prince was on the point of putting him to death. Ibn Khâkân informs us also that Ibn Bâjaj was a skilful musician.

(7) *Nomán al-Arák* (*Nomán of the acacia trees*) is the name of a valley near Mekka. It is frequently mentioned by the Arabic poets, because the manners of its inhabitants presented a perfect image of pastoral life.

(8) The poet's meaning is, that he kept his eyes always open and turned in the direction of their abodes. He plays also upon the words *jufûn* (*sheaths of the eye, eyelids*) and *ojfân* (*scabbards*).

(9) The *bâdinjân* is the egg-plant, or *solanum melongena* of Linnæus.

(10) I know of no European word bearing a resemblance to *bâjja* and signifying *silver*, except the Italian *baiocco*, the coin so called; the word *pajola* existed in the old Italian, but, according to the cardinal Zurla (in a treatise cited by the viscount de Santarem, in his *Recherches sur la découverte des pays situés sur la côte occidentale de l'Afrique*), it signifies gold. It is, perhaps, an alteration of the Spanish word *plata*.

(11) It was taken by Alphonso I., king of Arragon. — M. de Gayangos has given a translation of Ibn Abi Osaibiya's life of Ibn Bâjja in the appendix to the first volume of his *Muhammedan Dynasties in Spain*.

IBN AR-RAFFA AR-RUSAFI.

Abû Abd Allah Muhammad Ibn Ghâlib ar-Raffâ al-Andalusi ar-Rusâfi (*a native of ar-Rusâfa in Spain and*) a well-known poet, is the author of some charming verses in which he displays an elegant talent for versification. His poems are widely circulated throughout all (*Moslim*) countries. One of his most celebrated pieces is that composed on a young *girl* who followed the trade of weaving :

(*My friends*) made me long reproaches for loving her, and they said : " Wert thou enamou-
" red with any but a vile and worthless creature (*we should excuse you*)." I replied : " Had I
" power to control my passion, I should hearken to (*your advice*), but I have not that power.
" I love her for her pearly teeth, the perfume of her mouth, the sweetness of her lips, the magic
" of her eyes and glances ; (*I love*) that gazelle (*ghozaiyal*) in whose fingers the thread (*ghazl*)
" ever revolves, like the mind (*of the poet*) when composing sonnets (*ghazal*) on his mistress.
" Gaily her hand drives the shuttle across the warp, playing it as fortune plays with the hopes
" of man ; pulling with her hand, striking with her foot, she seems like the deer entangled in
" the toils of the hunter."

Another exquisite piece of his is that which he composed on a young *girl*, who pretended to weep and moistened her eyes with saliva :

Let me be excused for loving that wanton (*maid*) who weeps (*as if*) in sadness and yet whose bosom is free from the (*sorrow*) she affects. She moistens her eyes with saliva to imitate tears,

though she smiles like the (*opening*) flower. She would make us think that moisture to be the drops of her eyelids; but when was wine (*saliva*) extracted from the narcissus (*the eye*) (1)?

In another piece, he says :

A maid who resembled the willow-branch by her slender waist, but not by her aspect, for that troubled every heart, was sleeping during the noon-tide heats, her cheek crowned with perspiration; and I said; " Behold the rose moist with its own sap."

This poet died at Malaga in the month of Ramadân, A. H. 572 (March, A. D. 1177).—*Rusâfi* means *belonging to ar-Rusâfa,* a small town in Spain, near Valencia. There is another village of the same name near Cordova; this one was built by Abd ar-Rahmân Ibn Moawîa Ibn Hishâm Ibd Abd al-Malik, the first Omaiyide sovereign of Spain; he was called *ad-Dâkhil* (*the enterer, the new comer*), because he *entered* into Spain on leaving Syria, whence he had fled through fear of the Abbaside (*khalif*), Abû Jaafar al-Mansûr. He adventures are well known. On entering Spain, he obtained possession of the country and was proclaimed sovereign at Cordova on the day of the Festival of the Sacrifice, A. H. 138 (May, A. D. 756), at the age of twenty-five years. He built this place and named it after the celebrated village in Syria, founded by his grandfather Hishâm Ibn Abd al-Malik. Such are Yâkût al-Hamawi's words, in his *Mushtarik* (2); he indicates nine places bearing this name, but these I abstain from mentioning, to avoid lengthening the present article. He does not, however, notice the Rusâfa of Valencia; that would have made up ten places of the name.

(1) See Introduction to vol. I. page xxxvi.
(2) The life of this geographer is given by Ibn Khallikân.

IBN ZUHR (*AVENZOAR*).

Abû Bakr Muhammad al-Iyâdi, the son of Abû Marwân Abd al-Malik, the son of Abû 'l-Alâ Zuhr, the son of Abû Marwân Abd al-Malik, the son of Abû Bakr Muham-



mad, the son of Marwân, the son of Zuhr, a native of Seville in Spain, belonged to a family of which all the members were (*either*) men of learning (*in the law*), chiefs (*in the civil administration*), physicians, or vizirs (1); they obtained the first offices in the state, enjoyed the favour of sovereigns and exercised great authority. The *hâfiz* Abû 'l-Khattâb Ibn Dihya (*vol. II. p.* 384) says, in his work entitled *al-Mutrib min Ashaâr Ahl il-Maghrib* (*the charming* [portion] *of the poems composed by people of the West*) : " Our *shaikh* Abû Bakr," meaning Ibn Zuhr, " occupied a " firm station in philology, and drew his knowledge of medicine from the purest " sources; he knew by heart the poems of Zû 'r-Rumma (*vol. II. p.* 447), (and they " form the third part of the language spoken by the desert Arabs,) to which he " joined a full acquaintance with all the doctrines held by the physicians; he en- " joyed high favour under the sovereigns of the West; his family was ancient, his " wealth great, and his possessions ample. I attended his (*lessons*) during a long " period, and derived from him a copious share of literary information."—He then gives the following verses as Ibn Zuhr's :

Whilst the fair ones lay reclining, their cheek pillowed on the arm, a hostile inroad of the dawn took us by surprise. I had passed the night in filling up their cups and drinking what they left; till inebriation overcame me, and my lot was also theirs. The wine well knows how to avenge a wrong; I turned the goblet up, and that liquor turned me down.

After quoting this passage, he adds : " I asked him the year of his birth, and he " replied, in 507 (A. D. 1113-4); towards the close of A. H. 595 (October, A. D. " 1199) I received news of his death."— In these verses, Ibn Zuhr comes near the idea expressed by the *râis* Abû Ghâlib Obaid Allah Ibn Hibat Allah al-Asbâghi (2) in the following lines:

I filled them out cool draughts of a liquor which, did it keep peace towards those who drink it, had not been named *ukâr* (3). It called to mind the wrongs it suffered of old when it lay prostrate (*in the vintage-vat*) and the pressers trod it under foot. It then yielded to them, but when they drank to intoxication, it got them in its power and cried : " Now is the time for " vengeance ! "

It is said that he is the author of the following lines on one of the most esteemed and voluminous works studied by physicians, namely, Galen's *Hîla tal-Baré* (4) :

The *Hila tal-Baré* was composed to keep the sick in hopes of life or to divert their fears; but, when death comes, it says : The *Hila tal-Baré* is not a *means of cure* (5).

In one of his poems, Ibn Zuhr expressed the ardent desire which he felt for the sight of his child (*from whom he happened to be separated*); in this piece he says:

I have a little one, a tender nestling (6), with whom I have left my heart. I dwell far from him; how desolate I feel in the absence of that little person and that little face. He longs for me, and I long for him; for me he weeps, and I weep for him. (*Our*) affectionate wishes are weary with passing from him to me, from me to him.

When his hair turned grey with age, he composed these lines:

I looked into the polished mirror and my eyes know not the object they beheld. I saw a little old man whom I did not recognise, although I had formerly seen him a youth. "Where," I exclaimed, "is the person who was here yesterday? when, when did he depart?" The mirror smiled and answered with surprise: "He is here, but thy eyes recognise him not. "The fair Sulaima used to call thee *brother*, but now she calls thee *papa*."

This last verse is a reminiscence of the idea expressed by the celebrated poet al-Akhtal (7) in the following lines:

When the girls call thee *uncle*, that title serves only to increase thy vexation; but when they call thee *dear brother*, it indicates a feeling nearer to love and attachment.

He gave directions that when he died, the following lines should be inscribed upon his tomb; they contain an allusion to his medical occupations:

Stand and reflect! behold the place to which we are all impelled. The earth of the tomb covers my cheek, as if I had never trod upon its surface. I treated people to save them from death; yet here I am, brought to it myself.

These verses, which I received from the lips of some learned men, are attributed to Ibn Zuhr, but God best knows whether they are genuine or not; we have nothing in support of their authenticity but the word of those who transmitted them. Ibn Dihya speaks of him in these terms: "And a species of composition for which "our master was specially distinguished and wherein his imagination swayed his "genius, so that persons of the highest talent became his humble followers, was "that of *muwashshahât* (8), compositions which are the cream, the quintessence, "the substance, the pure extract of poetry, and an art, by the practice of which the "people of the West surpassed those of the East, and wherein they shone like the "rising sun and the brightness which illuminates." He then gives a *muwashshaha*

of the poet's which is very fine. Speaking of Abû 'l-Alâ Zuhr, Ibn Zuhr's grandfather, the same writer says : "He was the vizir of that epoch and its grandee, the "philosopher of that age and its physician. He died at Cordova, A. H. 525 (A. D. "1130-1), from the sufferings caused by an ulcer which broke out between his "shoulders."—Of his great-grandfather, Abd al-Malik, he says : "He travelled to "the East, where he long practised as a physician, and became head of the faculty "in Baghdad; he then removed to Egypt and afterwards to Kairawân. At a later "period, he took up his residence at Denia, whence his reputation spread over all "the regions of Spain and Maghrib. His pre-eminence in the art of medicine was "so conspicuously displayed that he outshone all his contemporaries. He died at "Denia." Of Muhammad Ibn Marwân, the grandfather of Ibn Zuhr's grandfather, Ibn Dihya writes as follows : "He was learned in speculation (9), a *hâfiz* in litera- "ture (10), and a jurisconsult singularly acute in his *fatwas* (*opinions*); he held a "high rank in the general council (*of his native place*) (11), he was versed in various "sciences, remarkable for his handsome mien and talents, a transmitter of tradi- "tional literature, and, moreover, a man of extensive information. He died at Tala- "bîra (*Talavera*), A. H. 422 (A. D. 1031), aged eighty-six years. A great number "of learned Spaniards delivered traditional information on his authority, and they "spoke highly of his piety, merit, generosity, and beneficence."—We have already explained the words *Iyâdi* (*vol. I. p.* 72) and *Talabîra* (12); this dispenses us from repeating our observations here.—*Zuhr* is to be pronounced with an *u* after the *z*, then an *h*, without a vowel, followed by an *r*.—The *kâtib* Imâd ad-Dîn says, in his *Kharîda*, that the following lines were composed on a member of this family, called Abû Zaid Ibn Zuhr, by Abû 't-Taiyib Ibn al-Bazzâr :

Tell the plague and Ibn Zuhr that they have passed all bounds in working deeds of woe.
Say to them : Spare mankind a little ! one of you is quite enough.

I have since found these verses attributed to Abû Bakr Ahmad Ibn Muhammad al-Abyad, a person who is stated to have died in the year 544 (A. D. 1149-50) (13).

(1) The Avenzoars belonged to the Arabian tribe of Iyâd Ibn Nizâr.

(2) Abû Ghâlib al-Asbâghi, surnamed Tâj ar-Ruwasâ (*crown of the râises*, most probably because he held under the empire a high rank as a *râis*, or chief in the civil administration,) was sub-director of the register and general account office (ناب عن ديوان الزمام) in the reign of the khalif al-Muktadi. Under

the reign of al-Mustazhir, he acted for a time as secretary of state. He composed a work as a guide for secretaries (علم الكتابة), and the *kâtibs* of Irak drew up the public accounts after the system introduced by him (يكتبون الحساب على طريقته). He embraced Islamism in the month of Safar, A. H. 484 (March-April, A. D. 1091), one day before the conversion of Ibn al-Mûsalâyâ (*see vol. II. p. 415*), in consequence of an edict emanating from the khalif himself (التوقيع الشريف), ordering the *zimmis*, that is, the Christians, Jews, and Sabeans, to wear certain marks by which they might be distinguished from the Muslims.—(*Kharîda*, MS. No. 1447, fol. 7.)—This Abû Ghâlib was probably the son of the Hibat Allah mentioned in the life of Ibn al-Môsalâyâ.

(3) The word عقار, signifying *wine*, is derived from a root which means *to wound, to hamstring.*

(4) *Hîla tal-Bârê* (*the means of cure*) is the title given to the Arabic translation of Galen's work *De methodo medendi* (θεραπευτικὴ μέθοδος).

(5) The last verse may also be translated thus : But when death comes, the *Hîla tal-Barê* says : " There " is no means of cure. "

(6) Literally : Like *a young kata*. The *kata* is a species of grouse.

(7) The life of al-Akhtal, an anteislamic poet, has been given by Caussin de Perceval in the *Journal Asiatique* for April, 1834.

(8) See Introduction to vol. I. p. xxxv.

(9) *Speculation*, in Arabic *rái*. He perhaps means Hanifite jurisprudence. See vol. I. pages xxvi, 534.

(10) That is, he knew by heart a great number of literary pieces preserved by tradition.

(11) Seville became a republic towards the year 1023.

(12) The author has not yet spoken of *Talabira*.

(13) In the appendix to Makkari's *Muhammedan Dynasties in Spain*, by M. de Gayangos, will be found a translation of the lives of Abd al-Malik Ibn Zuhr and Abû Bakr Muhammad Ibn Zuhr, from the Arabic of Ibn Abi Osaibia.

IBN HAIYUS.

Abû 'l-Fityân Muhammad Ibn Sultân Ibn Muhammad Ibn Haiyûs Ibn Muhammad Ibn al-Murtada Ibn Muhammad Ibn al-Haitham Ibn Othmân al-Ghanawi (1), surnamed Mustafa 'd-Dawlat (*the chosen of the empire*), and styled al-Amîr (*the emir*) because his father was emir over the Arabs of the desert, ranks amongs the ablest poets of Syria. The collection of his poetical works forms a large *diwân*. He met a number of princes and great men, by whom he was amply rewarded for the poems which he composed in their praise, but he attached himself more particularly

to the Banû Mirdâs, a family which then reigned at Aleppo. Al-Jauhari says, in (*his lexicon*) the *Sahâh*, under the root *r d s*: "*Mirdâs* signifies a stone which is "thrown into a well for the purpose of discovering if there be water in it or not. "It is used also as a proper name for men." Ibn Haiyûs composed in their honour some beautiful *kasîdas*, and his adventure with Jalâl ad-Dawlat Samsâm ad-Dawlat (2) Abû 'l-Muzaffar Nasr Ibn Mahmûd Ibn Shibl ad-Dawlat Nasr Ibn Sâlih Ibn Mirdâs al-Kilâbi, the sovereign of Aleppo, is well known. The circumstances of it were these: Having celebrated the praises of Mahmûd Ibn Nasr, that prince rewarded him with the gift of one thousand dinars. On the death of Mahmûd, he went to his son and successor (*Jalâl ad-Dawlat*) Nasr and recited to him his poem rhyming in *r*, in which he extolled the qualities of the new sovereign and condoled with him on the loss of his father. It began thus:

The rank which fortune has bestowed upon thee is a sufficient glory for religion; those who (*like me*) have made a vow (*for thy accession*) must now engage in its fulfilment.

In one passage of it, he says:

(*In thee*) eight (*qualities*) are combined, which never were nor never will be separated as long as the eyelash protects the eye: firm belief and piety, beneficence and wealth, eloquence and depth of thought, resolution and success.

Alluding to Nasr's accession on the death of his father, he says:

We bore with patience the sentence pronounced by tyrant time; but, without thee, patience had not been possible. (*Time*) overwhelmed us with a misfortune which surpassed (*our deepest feelings of*) affliction, and was equalled only by those favours (*which thy father granted and*) for which (*our utmost*) gratitude was insufficient.

In another passage, he says:

I left thee through constraint, not through self-mortification; I went to find thee, when evil fortune overtook me, and (*with thee*) I found a secure shelter to which no obstacle debarred access, and a door of glory to which no curtain impeded our approach. Long did I dwell in the bondage of thy beneficence; thy noble acts ceased not, neither did my bondage cease. Thus the Lord of the heavens fulfilled his generous promise, that adversity should be followed by prosperity. The son of Nasr bestowed upon me one thousand pieces taken from the stock (*of his treasures*), and I well know that his son Nasr will repeat the gift. I was told to expect as much; and why should I not, since command and prohibition depend upon thy will? I need not press and insist; the merchandise is known and the price is fixed. I have pitched near thee the tent

of my hopes, and how many are the mortals who sojourn whilst their hopes range through the world! In thy hands is the object for which I express my wishes in polished phrase; the least of thy favours would enslave even a freeman's heart.

When he had finished the recitation of this piece, the emir Nasr exclaimed: "By Allah! had he said, *Nasr will redouble the gift many fold,* in place of *Nasr* "*will repeat the gift*, I should have done so." He then bestowed on him one thousand dinars in a silver tray.—A number of poets had assembled at the court of the emir Nasr and celebrated his praises, but the recompense which they expected did not appear. They, therefore, proceeded to the house of Baulos (*Paul*) the Christian, where the emir used to drop in occasionally and make up a social party. Amongst these poets was Abû 'l-Husain Ahmad Ibn Muhammad Ibn ad-Duwaida al-Maarri (*native of Maarra tan-Nomân*) (3), who, having written on a sheet of paper the following verses, in the composition of which they all had a share, sent them in to the emir. (Some say, however, that the lines here spoken of were composed by Ibn ad-Duwaida:)

At your well-guarded door is a band of the indigent; turn your attention towards the state of the indigent. The whole troop would be satisfied with the tenth of what you gave to Ibn Haiyûs. Our talents do not differ from his in that proportion (4); but the lucky man cannot be placed in comparison with him who is unlucky.

When the emir Nasr read these verses, he ordered them one hundred dinars, declaring at the same time that, if they had said, *with as much as you gave to Ibn Haiyûs*, he would have given it to them. The *kâtib* Imâd ad-Dîn quotes these verses in the *Kharîda* and ascribes them to Abû Sâlim Abd Allah Ibn Abi 'l-Husain Ahmad Ibn Muhammand Ibn ad-Duwaida, the son of the poet named above, and who was generally known by the surname of al-Kâf; God knows best!— The emir Nasr, a prince distinguished for his generosity and liberality, became sovereign of Aleppo in A. H. 467 (A. D. 1074-5), on the death of his father Mahmûd. He had not been long on the throne when some of his own troops attacked and slew him on the 2nd of Shawwâl, A. H. 468 (9th May, A. D. 1076). We have already spoken of his great-grandfather Sâlih Ibn Mirdas (*vol. I. p.* 631).— Ibn Haiyûs arrived at Aleppo in the month of Shawwâl, A. H. 464 (June-July, A. D. 1072), and the house in which he there resided is now known as the House of the emir Alam ad-Dîn Sulaimân Ibn Haidara. One of Ibn Haiyûs's finest pieces is the *kâsida* rhyming in *l*

(*lâmiya*), wherein he praises Abû 'l-Fadâil Sâbik Ibn Mahmûd, the brother of the emir Nasr. In the eulogistic portion of that poem, he says:

Whenever I was asked about you, I replied, (my object always being to direct him who goes astray): " If you wish to know them well, meet them in the midst of their beneficence, or on " the day of battle; you will find them white (*brilliant*) in honour, black with the dust of the " combat, their shoulders green (*stained with the friction of their armour*), and red the points " of their spears."

How beautiful this enumeration! it seems to have occurred to him quite naturally and bears some resemblance to a passage in a magnificent *kasîda* composed by the celebrated poet Abû Saîd Muhammad ar-Rustami (*vol. I. p.* 217), and containing the eulogium of the *Sâhib* Ibn Abbâd (*vol. I. p.* 212). The verses to which we allude are these:

A band illustrious in peace and war, a family crowned with noble deeds and formed to wield the spear. When they encamp, the soil turns green (*receives fresh verdure*); when they encounter the foe, their spears turn red.

There, by Allah! is poetry in all its purity, unmixed with superfluous words.—Ibn Haiyûs acquired great wealth by the favour of the Mirdâs family, and he built a house at Aleppo, on the door of which he inscribed the following lines of his own composing:

We built this abode and in it we resided, enjoying the bounty of the Mirdasides, a family which delivered us from adversity and the tyranny of fortune. Say to the sons of earth: " Let " men act thus towards their fellow-men."

—Some persons ascribe these verses to the grand emir (*al-Amîr al-Jalîl*) Abû 'l-Fath al-Hasan Ibn Abd Allah Ibn Abd al-Jabbâr, a native of Aleppo and generally known by the name of Ibn Abi Hasîna. In this, they are quite right. — A splendid and well-known *kasîda* of Ibn Haiyûs's is that which commences thus:

Here was the vernal abode of the fair Malikian maid; let us halt and ask of the summer rains where lay the dwelling of which they have effaced the trace. Invoke the flashing clouds to water the neglected vestiges of her tribe's presence in these their reserved grounds, and excuse the insufficience of my tears, now exhausted (*in weeping*) before one (*a mistress*) who, though near, repelled me, and after one (*a friend*) who resolutely journeyed to a distant land. If travellers speak of me, they tell of eyes that are in tears and of a heart in pain. Restore to us the days (*we passed in loving converse*) at the sand-hill, days which we may hope for whenever we dare hope that thou (*dear maid!*) mayest grant us thy affection. Hadst thou known even the slightest of my sufferings, thou hadst restored to us the possession of thyself, that utmost object

of our wishes. Nay, did the external aspect of my passion offer thee sufficient proof of the ardent flame concealed within my bosom, thou hadst relented after thy reproaches, loved after thy hatred, and granted after thy refusal. Were I just to myself, I should save my heart from (*the pain of*) becoming like him who seeketh and findeth not.

This poem contains the following passage :

I invoked the favours of the generous, but succeeded not; yet now, I return thanks for favours granted though unasked. Strange it is, yet wonders are not rare, that speedy favours should find but tardy gratitude.

In one of his pieces, he says :

Stop in the midst of thy hatred and let thy reproaches go no farther; be not like him who, when raised to power, plays the tyrant. I see you justify the falsest lovers, whilst near thee true love meets its death. If you followed justice in your decisions, why do you not still follow the same path? In former times, men bent the bow to gain a livelihood, and that spear of mine (*my stature now bent*) was once straight and erect. The greyness which approached my locks has wronged me not, if it permit that my lot be still (*a mistress with*) dark (*hair*) and rosy lips (5). A closely-guarded maiden of rare beauty and seldom rivalled, chaste and fair as a statue; for her I burned with a passion which no reproach (*of the censorious*) could control, and respecting whom I questioned the ruined dwellings in the desert, but obtained no reply. Ask what are the feelings of her lover; his tears will give thee the surest information! but ask not whither roams his heart. For a time, it enabled me to endure my pains with patience, but it departed from me on the day in which the tribe (*of my beloved*) departed from the plain in which they fed their flocks. (*That was*) a departure which deprived me of consolation; and ever since, my patience journeyed towards the province of Najd, whilst I myself advanced into that of Tihama (6). (*Therein was*) a torture of separation, dreadful as the strokes of Mâlik (*the angel who guards hell*), but under which, to my disgrace, I did not perish. O my two friends! if you help me not to support my affliction, you are no longer mine and I am no longer yours. You counselled me to be indifferent and to forget (*her*), but you mentioned not the way to indifference and forgetfulness. May the (*spot where I passed my*) days of love be watered by gushing clouds, rising in the horizon each time the rain clears off. (*And yet we enjoyed*) a life of which we stole the pleasures in despite of the jealous spy who, fatigued with waking, sunk the head to slumber.

The poem to which this passage belongs is of a considerable length. The *hâfiz* Ibn Asâkir (*vol. II. p.* 252) states, in his History of Damascus, that, in the year 507 (A. D. 1113-4), the following observation was repeated to him by Abû 'l-Kâsim Ali Ibn Ibrahîm al-Alawi : "The emir Abû 'l-Fityân Ibn Haiyûs took me "by the hand when we were at Aleppo and said : 'You may give this verse as mine "'and say that it was composed on Sharaf ad-Dawlat Muslim Ibn Kuraish (7) :

"'Thou art he for whom eulogium is always ready (8), and whose veins flowed with ge- "'nerosity before they flowed with blood!'"



This verse is the acme of eulogium. In the life of Abû Bakr Ibn as-Sâigh (*p.* 130 *of this vol.*) we have given some verses rhyming in *n*, and mentioned that they are attributed to him, but they exist also in the collected poetical works of Ibn Haiyûs : God best knows the truth in this matter.—In the year 472 (A. D. 1079-80), the poet Abû Abd Allah Ahmad Ibn Muhammad Ibn al-Khaiyât (*vol. I. p.* 128) arrived at Aleppo and wrote the following lines to Abû 'l-Fityân (*Ibn Haiyûs*) who was then in that city :

> All I possess would not sell for a dirhem, and from my looks you may judge of my state. But I have still some honour left (9); that I never offered for sale, and where, where could I have found a purchaser?

On this it was observed that, had he said, *and thou art surely the purchaser*, it had been better. Ibn Haiyûs was born at Damascus on Saturday, the 29th of Safar, A. H. 394 (27th December, A. D. 1003), and he died at Aleppo in the month of Shaabân, A. H. 473 (Jan.-Feb. A. D. 1081). He was the *shaikh* (*preceptor*) of the Ibn al-Khaiyât just mentioned. — The name حيوس must be pronounced *Haiyûs;* among the poets of the West is an Ibn Habbûs (حبوس) whose name is nearly similar, except that, instead of an *i* (ي) it is written with a *b* (ب) I mention this, because these names have been often confounded, and I have frequently met with persons who supposed that the western poet's name was Ibn Haiyûs also, which is a mistake.

(1) *Ghanawi* signifies *descended from Ghani* Ibn Aasur, the progenitor of a family which formed a branch of the Kais Aylân Arabs.

(2) This double title signifies : *magnificence and sword of the empire.* In Ibn al-Adîm's History of Aleppo, the titles of Nasr Ibn Mahmûd are not given.

(3) Imâd ad-Dîn quotes a few extracts from the poems composed by different members of the Duwaida family, but furnishes no information respecting them. — (See *Kharîda*, MS. 1414, fol. 129.)

(4) Literally : All that difference does not subsist between us.

(5) I suspect that the text of this verse is corrupted.

(6) That is : My patience went one way and I went another. The expressions منجد and متهم frequently occur in poetry.

(7) Abû 'l-Mukârim Muslim, the son of Koraish, the son of Badrân, the son of al-Mukallad, the son of al-Musaiyab, hereditary chief of the Okail Arabs, lord of Mosul, Nasîbîn, Anbâr, Takrît, and other cities, had established his authority over the greater part of Syria, when he fell A. H. 478 (A. D. 1085) in combating the troops of Sulaimân Ibn Kutulmish the Seljûkide. See Abû 'l-Fedâ's *Annals*, years 453, 458, 472, 477.—The *kâtib* Imâd ad-Dîn says, in his *Kharîda*, that Abû 'l-Makârim Muslim Ibn Kuraish Ibn (*Akhî*) Kirwâsh, king of Syria, styled Sharaf ad-Dawlat (*nobleness of the empire*), Majd ad-Dîn (*glory of religion*), the sultan of emirs

and the sword of the commander of the faithful, was extremely generous and that he granted the city of Mosul in fief to Ibn Haiyûs as a recompense for the eulogiums which that poet had bestowed upon him in his poems. Ibn Haiyûs survived this favour only six months. Sharaf ad-Dawlat himself displayed great talents as a poet. — (MS. No. 1414, fol. 129.)

(8) Literally: In whose market eulogium stations.

(9) Literally: Except some water of the face. See vol. I. page 180, note (2).

AL-ABIWARDI *THE POET.*

Abû 'l-Muzaffar Muhammad Ibn Abi 'l-Abbâs Ahmad Ibn Muhammad Ibn Abi 'l-Abbâs Ahmad Ibn Ishak Ibn Abi 'l-Abbâs *al-imâm* Muhammad Ibn Abi 'l-Fityân Ishak Ibn al-Hasan Ibn Abi Marfûa Mansûr Ibn Moawîa al-Asghar (1) Ibn Muhammad Ibn Abi 'l-Abbâs Othmân Ibn Anbasa al-Asghar Ibn Otba Ibn al-Ashraf Ibn Othmân Ibn Anbasa (2) Ibn Abi Sofyân Sakhr Ibn Harb Ibn Omaiya Ibn Abd Shams Ibn Abd Manâf was a member of the Omaiyide family and of the tribe of Kuraish. This descendant of Moawîa (*the less* [al-Moâwi]) was a native of Abîward (*al-Abîwardi*), a poet of great celebrity, a distinguished scholar, a transmitter of traditional information und a genealogist. The collected works of this elegant poet are classed under various heads, such as the *Irâkiyât* (*pieces relative to Irâk*), the *Najdiyât* (*pieces relative to Najd, pastoral pieces*), the *Wajdiyât* (*amatory pieces*), etc. His learning as a genealogist was unsurpassed, and his authority is cited by the most exact and the most trustworthy *hâfizes*. The *hâfiz* Abû Fadl Muhammad Ibn Tâhir al-Makdisi quotes his words more than once in his *Ansâb* (*p. 6 of this vol.*). In that work, he says of him, under the article AL-MOAWI: "He was the paragon of the age in various "sciences, and we have quoted, in different parts of this book, a number of obser- "vations made by him. He wrote himself down as a descendant of Moawîa, and this "verse of Abû 'l-Alâ al-Maarri might be applied to him with the utmost propriety:

"Though I came the last in time, I am able to produce what the ancients could not furnish."

Before this line, al-Makdisi had just mentioned some verses in which the poet

vaunted his own renown, but these it is not necessary to insert. Abû Zakariyâ Ibn Manda (3) mentions him in the history of Ispahân, and says: "He was an honour "to the *raîses*, the most excellent of the empire (4), orthodox in his belief, exemplary in his conduct, and versed in a number of sciences; well acquainted with "the genealogies of the Arabs, elegant in his language, skilled in the composition "of books, filled with intelligence, perfect in talents, the pearl of the epoch, the "paragon of the age; but elated with vanity, pride and arrogance: when he prayed, "he used to say: 'Almighty God! make me king over the eastern countries of the "'earth and the western thereof.'" The *hâfiz* Ibn as-Samâni (*vol. II. p.* 156) takes notice of him in the *Ansâb*, under the word *al-Moâwi*, and mentions him also in the *Zail* (*supplement*); he says: "(*Al-Abîwardi*) was surnamed after Moawîa al-"Asghar (*the less*)"—the same whose name is given in the genealogical list (*at the head of this notice*).—"He once addressed a memorial to the Commander of the faith-"ful, al-Mustazhir billah, and headed it with these words: *Al-Khâdim al-Moâwi* "(*your humble servant, the descendant of Moawîa*). The khalif, who disliked the "use of a patronymic which indicated that the bearer of it drew his descent from "Omaiya, scratched out the *m* of *al-Moawî* and sent back the memorial with the "superscription changed into *al-Khâdim al-Aâwi* (*your humble servant, the howler*)." As specimens of the beauties with which his poetry abounds, we may indicate the following passages:

We ruled over the kingdoms of the earth, and to us their grandees submitted, some willingly, some through constraint (5). But, when the days of our prosperity reached their term, adversity seized us and seldom relaxed its hold. In our days of joy, (*these kingdoms*) smiled with pleasure at our happiness; in our days of sorrow, they wept with sympathy. We met our misfortunes with faces of ingenuous dignity, radiant with honour (6); and, when we thought of disclosing the wrongs which fortune made us suffer, our modesty withheld us.

Fortune knew not my worth and was not aware that I was proud of soul and despised the strokes of adversity; whilst it showed me how calamities could assault (*their victim*), I let her see what patience was.

That maiden with the slender waist! I hearken not to him who blames me for loving her, and, when he depreciates her, I only love her the more. When she appears, I turn one eye towards her, and, with the other, I watch her jealous guardian. The delator is thus deceived, and knows not that my sight has got its full share of (*the fair*) Sulaima.

He composed the following lines on Abû 'n-Najîb Abd ar-Rahmân Ibn Abd al-

Jabbâr al-Marâghi, a person who, by his talents, was one of the most eminent men of the time. This Abû 'n-Najîb resided in the fortress of Hîra (7), and often employed, in his poetical compositions, the figure called *luzûm ma la yalzum* (*the submitting to unnecessary obligations*) (8):

The verses of al-Marâghi, may God preserve you from them! are like his mind: the best parts of them are bad. In composing, he submits to unnecessary obligations, but he neglects those which are necessary.

It was al-Abîwardi who composed the following piece:

O beloved Omaima! if thou refusest me thy visits, grant that thy image come at night and visit me in my dreams. By Allah! neither calumny (9) nor absence can efface from the soul of thy adorer the impress of thy love.

I may here observe that *Sibt* Ibn at-Taâwizi, a poet of whom notice shall be taken in this work, borrowed from the first of these verses the thought which he has thus expressed in one of his *kasîdas*:

If thou refusest, when awake, to grant me a salutation, order thy image to fleet by me and salute me in my slumbers. Promise to visit me in my dreams; then, perhaps, my eyes may yield to sleep, in the hopes of seeing thee.

In one of his *Najdiyâts*, he says:

We halted at Nomân al-Arâk (10); the dew-drops moistened our garments, and I passed the night enduring the pains of love whilst my fellow-travellers were sunk in sleep; the fatigues of the night-journey and of the desert had overcome us all. I thought of that charming maiden now so far away; and my flowing tears answered to the summons of love. Her abode is still in the recesses of that valley; my heart knows it, though my eyes perceive it not; I stopped near that dwelling, and my tears were mostly blood; my eyelids seemed to flow with blood (*nomân*) instead of my nose (11).

A novel thought of his is that contained in a piece of verse descriptive of wine; he says:

Joy is its essence, and, therefore, the bubbles dance (*upon its surface*).

In one of his *kasîdas*, he says:

The age is corrupt, and all whom I chose for friends were either hypocrites who hoped for



favours or flatterers who feared to offend. When I put them to the test, I found in them a sullen heart and a smiling countenance.

This thought he took from a *kasîda* of Abû Tammâm's (*vol. I. p.* 348), in which that poet elegantly says:

> If you wish to conceive the worst opinion of mankind, examine that multitude of human beings; he is not a friend who offers thee a smiling countenance and conceals a sullen heart.

These digressions have led us away from our subject. — Al-Abîwardi composed a great number of works, such as History of Abîward and Nasa, a *mukhtalif and mutâlif* (*dictionary of synonyms and homonyms*), a *tabakât*, or synoptical view, of all the sciences, a treatise on the synonyms and homonyms occurring in the genealogies of the Arabs, and various philological works drawn up on an original plan. His life was virtuous and his conduct exemplary. He died from poison at Ispahân on the afternoon of Thursday, the 20th of the first Rabî, A. H. 507 (4th Sept., A. D. 1113), and the funeral prayer was said over him in the *Jâmî 'l-Atîk* (*the old mosque*) of that city.—*Abîwardi* means *native of Abîward*, called also *Abâward* and *Bâward*, a village in Khorâsân, which had produced many learned and eminent men. As-Samâni says, in his *Ansâb*, under the word AL-KUFANI: "This relative "adjective signifies *belonging to Kûfan*, a small village of Khorâsân, at six parasangs "from Abîward. It was built by Abd Allah Ibn Tâhir (*vol. II. p.* 49), and has pro- "duced a number of Traditionists and other eminent men, one of whom was the "philologer Abû 'l-Muzaffar Muhammad Ibn Ahmad al-Kûfani, better known by the "appellation of al-Abîwardi the philologer."

(1) From this genealogy we learn that there were two Moawias in the Omaiyide family; one of them was styled *al-Asghar* (*the less*), to distinguish him from the khalif of the same name. It has been already observed (*vol. II. p.* 372), that there were also two Omaiyas in the same family.

(2) This Anbasa must have been brother to the khalif Moawia.

(3) The life of Abû Zakariyâ Yahya Ibn Manda will be found in this work.

(4) This writer means to say that al-Abîwardi was one of the most distinguished amongst the persons employed in the civil service, (*ruwasâ*, plural of *rais*,) and that he bore the title of *Afdal ad-Dawla* (*the most excellent of the empire*.)

(5) In these verses he speaks as a member of the Omaiyide family.

(6) *Radiant with honour;* literally: the water of which (*faces*) had nearly fallen in drops. See the meaning of the expression *water of the face* explained in vol. I. page 108. The same line offers another example of



the various significations which the expression رقيق الحواشي can assume; it is here rendered by *ingenuous dignity*.

(7) The name of this place is written variously in the MSS. They give the following readings: حمره, خبره, بجيره, and نجيره. It is perhaps the Hîra of Naisâpûr; see vol. II. page 674.

(8) See vol. I. page 97, note.

(9) Literally: *calumniators*.

(10) Nomân al-Arâk is the name of a valley or glen between Mekka and Tâif.

(11) This idea, so burlesque in the translation, does not present the same ludicrous image in the original text; the quibble on the word *bi-nomân* (which signifies also *at the place called Nomân*,) diverting the attention of the reader from its absurdity.

IBN ABI 'S-SAKR.

Abû 'l-Hasan Muhammad Ibn Ali Ibn al-Hasan Ibn Omar, surnamed Ibn Abi 's-Sakr, was a native of Wâsit and a doctor of the Shafite sect. He studied jurisprudence under the *shaikh* Abû Ishak as-Shîrâzi (*vol. I. p.* 537), but, yielding to his predominant passion for the cultivation of literature and poetry, he became principally known as a amateur of the belles-lettres. I saw, at Damascus, in the *Ashrafiya* library, the *diwân* of his poetical works, which collection is preserved in the *turba* (*or mausoleum*) erected over the tomb of al-Malik al-Ashraf. It is situated to the north of the (*edifice erected as an*) addition to the Great Mosque (*al-Jâmî 'l-Kabîr*) and called al-Kallâsa. This *diwân* forms one volume. The author was extremely partial to the Shafite sect, and manifested this sentiment in a number of *kâsîdas* generally known by the title of *as-Shâfiya* (*the Shafian*); he composed also some elegies on the death of the *shaikh* Abû Ishak. In the elegant precision of his style, the beauty of his penmanship, and the excellence of his poetry, he displayed talents of the very highest order. Abû 'l-Maâli 'l-Hazîri (*vol. I. p.* 563) mentions him in the *Zîna tad-Dahr*, and quotes the following piece of his amongst others:

Every favour which you may expect from men always encounters some obstacle; and I shall say, may God pardon me (*for doing so*)! but my words are figurative, not serious: "I approve "of nothing in the conduct of Satan, except his refusing to worship a created being (1)."



He gives also these verses, which are still currently known :

By the sacredness of love! no person can replace you (*in my heart*); never shall I turn my affections towards any other object! I long for your presence, and your image is sent to (*visit my slumbers and thus*) effect our meeting; but, alas! I cannot close my eyes. I proposed to my companions this condition — that you, not they, should have my heart, and they agreed (*to it*). I spoke of you so often, that they said : " He is unwell;" and I replied : " May that malady " never leave me!"

Having attained an advanced age and being obliged to sustain his feeble steps with a staff, he said :

In every thing which you examine, you will perceive something remarkable; when strong, I went on two legs, but now, being weak, I go on three.

To the idea expressed in the last verse, I have myself alluded in the following lines :

O thou who askest how I am, receive this summary answer : After possessing strength enough to split a rock, I now walk on three legs, and the best of them it the staff.

To excuse himself for not rising to receive his friends, he composed these verses :

An indisposition called *eighty years* hinders me from rising to receive my friends; but when they reach an advanced age, they will understand and accept my excuse.

The following piece also was written by him on his great age :

When I approached towards the unities of ninety, an age which none of my fathers ever reached, I knew full well that I should soon have other neighbours and another home (*the dead and the tomb*); so I turned towards God, repenting of my past life; God will never cast into the fire him who turns towards him.

Having gone to pay a visit of consolation to a family which were mourning the death of a little child, the persons present nodded to each other, as if to say : " How " strange that a man trembling with old age should survive, whilst this child could " not escape death!" Perceiving their thoughts, he pronounced these lines :

An aged *shaikh* entered where the youths were met to mourn the death of a little child, and you saw an objection against God's justice, because the infant died and the old man lived. But you may say to him who has lived one month and to him who has lived one thousand or an intermediate number : We must all come to this!



The following piece is by him :

> **Meditatus est Ibn Abi 's-Sakr dixitque, ætate jam provecta : " Per Deum, nisi me lotium " quotidiè mane exureret, oblitus essem mihi mentulam inter femora esse. "**

His poems abound in fine passages. He was born on the eve of Monday, the 13th of Zû 'l-Kaada, A. H. 409 (23rd March, A. D. 1019), and he died at Wâsit on Thursday, the 14th of the first Jumâda, A. H. 498 (1st February, A. D. 1105).

(1) " And (*remember*) when we said unto the angels : Worship Adam; and they all worshipped him, except " Satan (*Iblîs*), who said : Shall I worship him whom thou hast created of clay? "—(*Korân*, sûrat 17, v. 63.)

IBN AL-HABBARIYA.

The *sharîf* Abû Yala Muhammad Ibn Sâlih Ibn Hamza Ibn Muhammad Ibn Isa Ibn Muhammad Ibn Abd Allah Ibn Muhammad Ibn Dâwûd Ibn Isa Ibn Mûsa Ibn Muhammad Ibn Ali Ibn Abd Allah Ibn al-Abbâs al-Hâshimi (*a member of the Hâshim family*), al-Abbâsi (*descended from Ibn Abbâs* [*vol. I. p.* 89]), generally known by the appellation of Ibn al-Habbâriya and surnamed Nizâm ad-Dîn (*the maintainer of religion*), was a native of Baghdad, and a poet of great talent and celebrity. Though animated with the best intentions, he had an evil tongue and so strong an inclination for satire that he hardly spared a single person. The *kâtib* Imâd ad-Dîn mentions him in the *Kharîda* and says : " (*He was one*) of Nizâm al-" Mulk's (*vol. I. p.* 413) poets, and his predominant styles of composition were the " satirical, the humorous, and the obscene. Cast (*as it were*) in the same mould as " Ibn Hajjâj (*vol. I. p.* 448), he trod in the same path and surpassed him in licen-" tiousness, but those pieces of his in which decency is respected are highly beauti-" ful (1). " Attached to the service of Nizâm al-Mulk Abû Ali al-Hasan Ibn Ali Ibn Ishâk, the vizir of the sultan Alp Arslân and of Malak Shâh, that prince's son, he was treated by him with the utmost kindness and unceasing beneficence. A spirit



of hatred and jealousy having sprung up between Nizâm al-Mulk and Tâj al-Mulk Abû 'l-Ghanâim Ibn Dârest (2), a thing which frequently happens with men high in office, the latter told Ibn al-Habbâriya to compose a satire on Nizâm al-Mulk, promising the poet his favour and an ample recompense in case he consented. "But how," said Ibn al-Habbâriya, "can I attack a man to whose kindness I am indebted for "every object I see in my house?" — "I insist on your compliance," said Tâj al-Mulk; and the poet composed the following piece :

> Wonder not that Ibn Ishak rules and that fate assists him; (*wonder not that*) prosperity flows pure for him and turbid for Abû 'l-Ghanâim. Fortune is like the wheel for raising water, it cannot be turned but by oxen.

When these verses were communicated to Nizâm al-Mulk, who was a native of Tûs, he merely observed that they contained an allusion to a common proverb : *The people of Tûs are oxen* (3), and not only abstained from punishing the poet, but overlooked his conduct and treated him with greater kindness than ever (4). This is cited as an instance of Nizâm al-Mulk's noble conduct and of his extreme indulgence. Notwithstanding the extraordinary degree of favour shown to him by this vizir, Ibn al-Habbâriya had much to suffer from the malice of his patron's pages and followers, (*who detested him*) for what they knew of his evil tongue. Their petulance became, at length, so excessive that he wrote the following lines to Nizâm al-Mulk (5) :

> Take refuge with Nizâm al-Hadratain ar-Rida when people of this age detest thee. Let his aspect cleanse thy eyes from the dust which makes them smart when worthless people overcome thee. Bear with the wild humours of his pages; every rose must have its thorn.

Imâd ad-Dîn al-Ispahâni says, in the *Kharîda*, that the poet sent his son with these verses to the Nakîb an-Nukabâ Ali Ibn Tirâd az-Zainabi, surnamed Nizâm al-Hadratain Abû 'l-Hasan (6).— By the same :

> My contenance is too modest for asking favours, and my means are yet more modest. My real merits are but slight, and the emoluments they gain me are yet slighter.

An original idea of his is that of a piece in which he refutes those who pretend that a man can obtain the satifaction of his wants by travelling abroad; he says :

> They said : "You remain at home and cannot procure a livelihood, yet the man of prudence "can always gain wealth by travelling." I replied : "It is not every journey which prospers;



"profit resuls from good fortune, not from the fatigues of travel. How often has one journey "been productive, whilst another, under the same circonstances, has been injurious; thus the "covetous man sometimes gains and sometimes loses. It is thus that the moon, in journeying, "reaches to her full, and that, deprived of her prosperity, she wanes away."

By the same :

Leave off the details of *(your)* misery and sum them up *(in these words)* : There is not in the world a man *(worthy of the name)*. When the pawn on the chess-board becomes a queen, it seems just that the qneen should become a pawn (7).

As a specimen of his humorous poetry, we may give the following passages :

When Abû Saîd perceived that, for a whole year, I abstained from wine, he said: "Tell me who was the *shaikh* by whom you were converted;" and I replied: "Thatt *shaikh* was poverty."

I dreamt that my wife held me by the ear, and that she wielded in her hand an object of leather, crooked in shape, black in colour, but marked with spots, and shaped beneath like a foot (8). I awoke with the frighi, and the nape of my neck was already quite red; had my dream lasted, I, a learned *shaikh*, should have lost my eyes.

By the same :

The Tâjian eourt (9) is a garden; mny its beauty last for ever! In that garden, an humble *(poet)* is the ring-dove; its cooings are eulogies, and its collar rewards.

By the same :

Let *her* do as *she* pleases; it is indifferent to me whether *she* shum *(me)* or accept *(me)*. How often have we seen darker *locks* than *her's* turn grey (10).

Ibn al-Habbâriya's poetry abounds in beauties : he turned the work called *Kalîla wa Dimna* into verse and gave it under the title of *Natâij al-Fitna* (*offspring of the intellect*). In the life of al-Bârî ad-Dabbâs (*vol. I. p.* 459), we have mentioned a piece of Ibn al-Habbâriya's, rhyming in *d*, with al-Bârî's answer and an account of what passed between them; in our article on the vizir Fakhr ad-Dawlat Muhammad Ibn Jahîr we shall mention an amusing adventure of the poet as-Sâbik al-Maarri (11) with Ibn al-Habbâriya. His poetical works are very numerous and their *diwân* (*collection*) forms from three to four volumes. One of his most original pieces of versification is a work drawn up on the plan of *Kalîla wa Dimna* and entitled *as-Sâdih wa 'l-Bâghim* (*the loud speaker and the murmurer*). The composition of this

book, which contains two thousand verses in the *rajaz* measure, occupied the author ten years. It is an excellent production (12). He sent his son with it to the emir Abû 'l-Hasan Sadaka Ibn Mansûr Ibn Dubais al-Asadi, lord of al-Hilla (*vol. I. p.* 634). It concludes with the following lines :

> Here is a fine book which astounds the intelligence; on it I spent ten years, from the time I first heard thy name I composed it for thy sake; the number of its verses is two thousand, all of them replete with meaning. Were any poet, versifier, or prose-writer to pass a life as long as that of Noah's in composing a single verse like those contained in it, he would not be able to accomplish the task, for it is not every one who can make verses. I send it with my son, or rather with my heart's blood and liver; for, in my opinion, thou art worthy of every favour. Confiding in thy kindness, he hastens towards thee, encountering great fatigues and a long journey. Had I been permitted, I should have gone myself with speed and delayed not, for honour and glory are exclusively thy heritage.

Sadaka granted him an ample recompense in return for his work. According to Imâd ad-Dîn al-Ispahâni, in his *Kharîda,* Ibn al-Habbâriya died at Kirmân, A. H. 504 (A. D. 1110-1), where he had passed the latter days of his life, after having resided for a time at Ispahân. Ibn as-Samâni (*vol. II. p.* 156) says that he died subsequently to the year 490.—*Habbâriya* means *a female descended from Habbâr;* this Habbâr was Ibn al-Habbâriya's grandfather by the mother's side.—*Kirmân,* pronounced sometimes *Karmân,* is a large province (*wilâya*) containing a number of cities and towns. It has produced many eminent men. One side of it is bounded by the sea, and the other by Khorâsân.

(1) The extracts which Imâd ad-Dîn gives of his poetry justify, to a certain degree, this eulogium.

(2) Tâj al-Mulk Abû 'l-Ghanâim al-Kummi was secretary and privy counsellor to Turkân Khâtûn, the wife of Malak Shâh and the mother of the sultan Mahmûd. He succeeded to the vizirate on the death of Nizâm al-Mulk. In Mirkhond's History of the Seljukides (*ed. Vullers, Giessen,* 1838) will be found an account of Nizâm al-Mulk's fall and of the enmity which prevailed between him and Turkân Khâtûn (*princess of the Turks*), the daughter of the khan of Turkestân. — (See also Abû 'l-Fedâ's *Annals,* year 485, and vol. I. p. 415 of this work.)

(3) In English we should say : *are asses.*

(4) Imâd ad-Dîn says, in his *Kharîda,* that, on this occasion, Nizâm al-Mulk clothed the poet in a robe of honour and bestowed on him five hundred pieces of gold.

(5) It appears, by what follows, that it was not of the pages of Nizâm al-Mulk that the poet had to complain, but of those in the service of Nizâm al-Hadratain, a person noticed lower down.

(6) The title of *Sharîf* was given not only to the descendants of Ali by Fâtima, the daughter of Muhammad, and by al-Hanafiya, but to the descendants of Hâshim, Muhammad's great-grandfather. The *sharîfs* of each

province were placed under the control of a *nakîb* (*ruler or magistrate*), chosen by the government from among their own body. The *Nakîb an-Nukabâ*, or *chief nakîb*, resided at Baghdad. Ali Ibn Tirâd was appointed to this office A. H. 491 (A. D. 1097-8), on the death of his father. They drew their descent from Zainab, the daughter of Sulaiman Ibn Ali Ibn Abd Allah Ibn al-Abbâs (*vol. I. p.* 257), and for that reason they bore the surname of az-Zainabi. It appears, from the verses given by Ibn Khallikân and the observation made by Imâd ad-Dîn, that Ali Ibn Tirâd bore the surname of ar-Rida and Nizâm al-Hadratain. *Sibt* Ibn al-Jauzi informs us, in his *Mirât az-Zamân*, that Tirâd, the father of Ali, was surnamed Zû 'l-Sharafain (*possessor of the double nobility*) Shihâb al-Hadratain (*flambeau of the two courts*), which latter title may have been given him on account of his diplomatic services when employed the by khalif as his agent at the court of the Seljûk sultan. This conjecture receives some degree of probability from the statement of the author of the *Mirât*, who says that Tirâd was frequently sent by the khalif as ambassador to different sovereigns, and that he distinguished himself by his talents and probity. The title of *Nizâm al-Hadratain* (*bond of union between the two residences*) seems to have been given to his son for a similar reason. That of *ar-Rida*, by which Ali Ibn Tirâd is designated in the verses mentioned by Ibn Khallikân, was borne by a number of *sharîfs*, and is the epuivalent of *Rida ad-Dîn* (*accepted for piety*). From the *Kharîda* (MS. 1447, fol. 12, 15, 29), it would appear that Ali Ibn Tirâd held at one time the post of vizir, as we find there some poems addressed to him in that quality by the poets Hais Bais (*vol. I. p.* 559) and Abû Ali 'l-Faraj Ibn Muhammad Ibn al-Ukhwa al-Muwaddib. In the same work, fol. 35, under the article Abû Abd Allah al-Bârî ad-Dabbâs, a grammarian whose life is given by Ibn Khallikân, vol. I. p. 459, we find a long extract from a poem addressed by al-Bârî to Sharaf ad-Dîn Ali Ibn Tirâd.

After this note was writen, I found a notice on Ali Ibn Tirâd in the *Dual al-Islâmiya*, MS. No. 895, fol. 280. It is there stated that Abû 'l-Kâsim Ali Ibn Tirâd al-Abbâsi was the first person to whom the khalif al-Muktafi (*li amr illah*) confided the post of vizir. After some time, a coolness took place between them, and Ibn Tirâd fled for protection to the court of the sultan (*Masûd the Seljukide*). By distributing the greater part of his fortune in presents to the sultan's wives and principal officers, he succeeded in obtaining Masûd's mediation in his favour, and the khalif allowed him to return to Baghdad. During the rest of his life, he remained unemployed, and being reduced to the utmost poverty, he died, recommending his children to the khalif's benevolence. Al-Muktafi fulfilled his desire and raised them to wealth. Ibn Tirâd spent large sums in presentsto the officers of the state, the men of learning, the strangers who arrived at Baghdad, and the *sharîfs* descended from Ali Ibn Abi Tâlib.—The text of the *Dual as-Islâmiya* has been published at Gotha, A. D. 1860, under the title of *Elfachri*, by Mr. Ahlwardt.

(7) The application of this last verse is by no means manifest. In the *Kharîda* and one of the MSS. of Ibn Khallikân, it is placed before the other.

(8) He dreamt that his wife was striking him on the nape of the neck with an embroidered slipper; a mode of correction employed, it is said, by moslim ladies on their female servants and sometimes on their husbands.

(9) He means the court of Tâj al-Mulk Abû 'l-Ghanâim.

(10) In the original piece, of which a translation slightly disguised is here given, the affix in قبلها might embarrass the Arabic scholar. It must be referred to the word لحية understood. I may also observe that أسود, as a comparative form, is not good Arabic; it should be أشد سوادا.

(11) Of this poet, who was a native of Maarra tan-Nomân, as his surname implies, Imâd ad-Dîn says, in his *Kharîda* (MS. No. 1414, fol. 144), that Abû 'l-Yumn Sâbik Ibn Abi Mahzûl went to Irâk during the admi-



nistration of (*the vizir*) Ibn Jahîr and there met Ibn al-Habbâriya. He then gives some short extracts from his poetry without furnishing any further information respecting him.

(12) There are several copies of this work in the *Bibliothèque impériale*, ancien fonds and Supplement. Like *Kalila and Dimna*, it consists of apologues, fables, and moral maxims. In d'Herbelot's *Bibliothèque orientale*, under the word *Hareba*, will be found a passage in which that orientalist gives a description of the *as-Sâdih wa 'l-Bâghim*, from which may be perceived that he knew nothing of it except the title, and even that imperfectly. *Hareba* is also a false reading of the Arabic هبّارية *Habbâriya*. He read it as if it had been written هاربة —In noticing this article of d'Herbelot's, I by no means wish to cast an imputation on his talents or deny the services he rendered to oriental literature; the *Bibliothèque orientale* is a useful book, yet truth obliges me to state that not one of the indications given in it merits entire confidence unless it can be verified from other sources. A part of these errors he would probably have corrected, had he lived to superintend the printing of his work.

IBN AL-KAISARANI *THE POET*.

Abû Abd Allah Muhammad Ibn Nasr Ibn Saghîr Ibn Dâghir Ibn Nasr Ibn Dâghir Ibn Muhammad Ibn Khâlid Ibn Nasr Ibn Dâghir Ibn Abd ar-Rahmân Ibn al-Muhâjir Ibn Khâlid Ibn al-Walîd al-Makhzûmi al-Khâlidi al-Halabi (*descended from Khâlid of the family of Makhzûm and native of Aleppo*), surnamed Sharaf al-Maâli (*glory of high deeds*) Odda tad-Dîn (*maintenance of religion*), and generally known by the appellation of Ibn al-Kaisarâni, was not only a poet of great talent and celebrity, but a philologer of extensive learning. His genealogy, as here given, was dictated to me by one of his descendants. In the belles-lettres, he had for masters Taufîk Ibn Muhammad and Abû Abd Allah Ibn al-Khaiyât, the poet whose life we have already given (*vol. I. p.* 128). He displayed great acquirements in philology and astronomy. At Aleppo, he studied under the *khatîb* Abû Tâhir Hâshim Ibn Ahmad al-Halabi and other masters. He himself gave lessons to the *hâfiz* Abû 'l-Kâsim Ibn Asâkir (*vol. II. p.* 252) and the *hâfiz* Abû Saad Ibn as-Samâni (*vol. II. p.* 156), both of whom mention him in their respective works. Abû 'l-Maâli 'l-Hazîri (*vol. I. p.* 563), who also received lessons from him, speaks of him in his work, the *Mulah*. Ibn al-Kaisarâni and Ibn Munîr (*vol. I. p.* 138) were the two principal poets of Syria at that epoch, and their encounters gave rise to many curious and amusing anecdotes.

The latter was accused of attacking the character of Muhammad's companions and of being inclined to the Shîite doctrines; this induced Ibn al-Kaisarâni, who was told that Ibn Munîr had directed his satirical talent against him, to write him the following lines:

> Ibn Munîr! in reviling me, you have insulted a man of worth whose rectitude of judgment was beneficial to mankind. But my heart is not oppressed for that; I have before me an example in the Companions (1).

A fine passage of his poetry is the following:

> How many nights dtd I pass sipping intoxicating draughts from the wine-cup and her lips; thus mingling one delicious liquor with another! She defended not her mouth from my kisses; it was like a fortress without a guard (2).

When in Aleppo, I found the *diwân* of his poetical works, all in his own handwriting; and I extracted from it some passages, one of which was the following in praise of a preacher:

> The bosom of the pulpit expands with pleasure to receive you. Tell me; is it a preacher which it contains, or has it been anointed with some sweet perfume.

This alliteration is really excellent (3). I have since found these verses attributed to Abû 'l-Kâsim Zaid Ibn Abi 'l-Fath Ahmad Ibn Obaid Ibn Fassâl al-Mawâzîni, a native of Aleppo whose father was generally known by the appellation of al-Mâhir (*the skilful*). It is there said that Ibn al-Kaisarâni recited them to the *khatîb* Ibn Hâshim on the latter's appointment to the office of preacher at Aleppo, and that they were attributed to him for this reason. Having met with a differend reading of the first verse, I give it here:

> The pulpit was proud of his honours, when you mounted it as a preacher.

The following is a piece of his in the amatory style (*ghazal*):

> At the foot of mount Lebanon I possess a moon (*a beauty*) whose stations are (*not in the zodiac but*) in the hearts of men. The north wind bears me her salutation, and the south wind bears mine to her. Her qualities are unrivalled and rare; for beauty, in this world, is a rarity. I have not torgotten the night when she said, on seeing my body worn away: "I pray thee, "tell me, youth, who caused thy sickness?" and I replied: "The person who can cure it (4)."



A charming *kasîda* of Ibn al-Kaisarâni's contains the following original idea :

Here is the person who ravished sleep from her lovers; dost thou not see her eyes filled with (*the stolen*) languor (5)?

In composing this verse, he had in mind the eulogium addressed by al-Mutanabbi (*vol. I. p.* 102) to Saif ad-Dawlat Ibn Hamdân; that poet said :

Thou hast taken the lives of so many (*enemies*) that, couldst thou add their days to thine, thou wouldst acquire immortality and rejoice the world.

Ibn al-Kaisarâni frequently expressed himself highly satisfied with the following verse from one of his own *kasîdas* :

I love a person before whom the moon fell prostrate in adoration; seest thou not, on her face (*disk*) the marks left by the dust.

Being present at a concert of (*religious*) music where there was an excellent singer, he composed these lines on seeing the audience overcome with a thrill of ecstatic delight :

By Allah! if lovers knew the just value of their souls, they would sacrifice them for thine, though they were dear to them and preciously guarded. When thou singest in their assemblies, thou art really the breath of the zephyr and they are the branches (*which it agitates*).

My friend al-Fakhr (*Fakhr ad-Dîn*) Ishak Ibn al-Mukhtass al-Irbili (*native of Arbela*) recited to me a stanza of four verses (*dubait*), composed by himself, on seeng the cushions fall off the sofas at a concert of (*religious*) music, when the audience, some of whom were (*sûfis*) far advanced in the practices of mysticism (6), fell into an ecstasy of delight :

The herald of song entered unawares, at midnight, into the assembly (7) of lovers who longed for the sight of God, and he was auswered by sobs and burning sighs. Had the rocks heard his strains, they had fallen prostrate with delight; why then should cotton and tattered (*cushions*) not do the same?

Ibn al-Kaisarâni was born at Akka (*Acre*) in the year 478 (A. D. 1085-6), and he died at Damascus on the eve of Wednesday, the 21st of Shaabân, A. H. 548 (11th November, A. D. 1153). The next morning, he was interred in the cemetery at the Farâdîs gate.—*Khâlidi* means *descended from Khâlid* Ibn al-Walîd al-Makh-

zûmi (8); so say the people of Ibn al-Kaisarâni's family, but the majority of historians and the learned in genealogy declare that the posterity of this Khâlid is now extinct. God best knows the truth! — *Kaisarâni* means *belonging to Kaisariya* (*Cæsaræa*), a village on the coast of Syria.

(1) These verses occur also in the life of Ibn Munir, but not recollecting the circumstance from which they took rise, I gave an erroneous explanation of the second line.

(2) In Arabic, *thughr* signifies both *mouth* and *fortress*; the poet quibbles on this double meaning.

(3) The alliteration to which our author alludes is the perfect consonance which exists between the last words of the two hemistichs of the last verse: *dhamma khatiban* and *dhammakha tiban*.

(4) I omit here a couplet not fit to be translated.

(5) The Arabic word *wasan*, here rendered by *languor*, signifies also *drowsiness*.

(6) Literally: *were owners of hearts*.

(7) Literally: *the circle of desire*.

(8) He means the celebrated Khâlid who commanded the Moslims on their first entrance into Syria.

IBN AL-KIZANI.

Abû Abd Allah Muhammad Ibn Ibrahim Ibn Thâbit Ibn Faraj al-Kinâni, a professor of the Korân-*readings*, a philologer, a follower of the sect of as-Shâfi, a native of Egypt, surnamed also al-Khâmi (*the dealer in raw hides*) and generally known by the appellation of Ibn al-Kîzâni, was a poet of considerable reputation and a pious devotee. There is an order (*of dervishes*) in Egypt called Kîzânites after him, and they place implicit faith in his sayings. He left a *diwân* of poems, most of which inculcate self-mortification; I have never seen the book, but I heard one verse of his which pleased me much; it is the following:

Since passion befits the lover, so should kindness befit the beloved.

His poetry contains some very fine passages. He died at Old-Cairo, on the eve of Tuesday, the 9th of the first Rabî—some say in the month of Muharram—A. H. 562 (3rd January, A. D. 1167), and he was interred in the Lesser Karâfa, near the

mausoleum of the *imâm* as-Shâfi (*vol. II. p.* 569). His body was afterwards removed to the declivity of mount Mukattam, and deposited near the cistern which bears the name of Omm Maudûd. The monument erected over him is a well-known object of pilgrimage; I have visited it myself more than once. — *Kîzâni* means *a maker* or *seller of pitchers* (*kîzân*); one of his ancestors followed that trade.

AL-ABLAH *THE POET.*

Abû Abd Allah Muhammad Ibn Bakhtyâr Ibn Abd Allah al-Muwallad, surnamed al-Ablah, was a native of Baghdad and a celebrated poet, one of the best who flourished in later times. In his compositions he united tenderness (*of sentiment*) to artifice (*of style and expression*), and the *diwân* of his poetical works is often to be found in the hands of readers. The *kâtib* Imâd ad-Dîn mentions him in the *Kharîda* and says: " He is an ingenious youth and wears the military dress. His poetry is " written in a strain of tender sentiment; it delights by the artifice of its compo- " sition, ravishes by its excellence, and pleases by the sweetness of its style; in " tenderness it surpasses the morning zephyr, and in beauty the flowered silks of " Tustur (1). His poetical essays, though few in number, have got into wide circu- " lation, and the musicians sing his charming verses set to old airs; they rush as " eagerly to obtain his delightful poems as the bird, in its circling flight, rushes " down to the pure fountain." He then adds that, in the year 555 (A. D. 1160), al-Ablah recited to him, at Baghdad, the following passage of a *kasîda* as his own composition :

She whose visits give me life came to me when the evening had (*assumed*) the tint of her hair. When she turned her head (*she seemed*) a moon; and wrapped in the folds of her (*green*) mantle (*she seemed*) a willow branch. I passed the night unsealing (2) the wine (*of her lips*), whilst I deceived the vigilance of spies and took her unawares. O how sweet that visit! though short, it ended for ever (*the pains I suffered from*) her protracted cruelty. I sigh for that slender waist and for the refreshing coolness of those lips. I sigh for her who in beauty is a statue and who has us all in the pagan troop of her adorers.

A well-known verse of his is the following, taken from a brilliant *kasîda :*

None know what amorous passion is except him who suffers its torments; none know what love is except him who feels its pains.

The following sentimental verses are taken from a passage of a *kasîda* in which he praises his mistress :

Leave me to my sufferings; let me undergo the pains of love! O how wide the difference between him whose heart is free and him whom beauty has made its captive! I swear that I shall heed not the reproaches (*of my friends*); they have only excited my impatience from the time that passion first held my rein. (*I swear that the counsels of*) censorious females shall not amend (*me*) as long as I see gardens of beauty in the cheeks of the fair! In me (*the feelings of*) consolation are (*vainly*) sought; love always lives (*within me*), but consolation is dead. O thunder-cloud! if thou art unkind to the valley (*where my beloved resided and refusest it thy refreshing showers*), know, that often the clouds of my eyes have supplied it with the rains refused by thee. No! never shall I forget the hill where I met thee (*my belôved!*), nor the time I stationed at a spot which I envy to its jealous possessor. And that maid with the slender waist and languishing eyes; how long have I preserved my love for her, yet it was lost upon her! How long have I obeyed her, yet she never yielded to my wishes (3)! She wounds the hearts of lovers with glances (*which pierce*) like the point of the spear. Her movements are full of grace; I went astray in the darkness which her hair shed around, on the day of our separation, and was directed again by the brightness of her teeth (4). When she stands up, in her fair proportion, and gracefully bends her waist, the pliant branch of the willow blushes (*to be vanquished*). Dwellers in the valley of Nomân! it was after your cheeks, and not after the king an-Nómân, that the anemonies were called *shakâik an-Nomân* (5). Taper lances in skilful hands wound not the heart so deeply as the bitterness of (*her*) disdain.

This passage is taken from a long *kasîda* of which the eulogistic part is excellent. All his poetry is of the same cast, and his transitions from the description of the mistress to the praises of the patron are beautifully managed and have been rarely equalled. As an example of this, we may cite the *kasîda* which begins thus :

I gathered crops of roses off those cheeks, and in clasping that waist, I embraced a willow branch.

On coming to the transition, he says :

And if I ever permit the dispraise of (*my beloved*) Hind to ring in my ears, may I never resent the dispraise of Hind! may my eyes never find a way to shed tears of love! may I never pass the night in the bondage of love and passion! may I reveal the favours I have received, and may I return home manifesting ingratitude and coldness for the bounties of Majd ad-Dîn.



Again, in another *kasîda*, he says :

There is no real love but mine for Laila; there is no glory but that of Ibn ad-Dawâmi (6).

And again, in another :

I swear that in love I stand alone, and that Kamâl ad-Dîn stands alone in beneficence!

To these might be added other examples. Ibn al-Jauzi (*vol. II. p.* 96) says, in his History, that al-Ablah died at Baghdad in the month of the latter Jumâda, A. H. 579 (Sept.-Oct. A. D. 1183). Others place his death a year later. He was interred at the Abzer gate, opposite to the (*edifice called*) *at-Tâjiya*. — *Ablah* (*simpleton*) is a word so well known that it is unnecessary to mark its pronunciation. He was called by this name because there was a shade of simplicity in his character, or, according to some, because he was extremely shrewd : *ablah* being one of those words which bear two opposite significations. It is thus that they call a negro *Kâfûr* (*camphor*) (7). — Having conceived a friendship for a youth of Baghdad, he passed one day by his house, and taking advantage of a moment when no person was present, he wrote on the door the following lines (the *kâtib* Imâd ad-Dîn says that they were repeated to him by the author) :

Thy dwelling, O full moon of the darkness! is a paradise which alone can give delight to my soul. And in a tradition it is said that the greater part of the people of Paradise are the *simple*.

Ibn at-Taâwîzi, a poet whose life we shall give next, satirized al-Ablah in the grossest terms, but though the piece is well versified, I shall abstain from inserting it.

(1) " On fabrique à Tuster de belles étoffes de soie. C'était des ateliers de cette ville que sortait l'étoffe destinée à couvrir la Ka'aba. "—(*Géographie d'Édrisi*, tome I. page 383.)

(2) Literally : Manifesting.

(3) Literally : I preserved her, and she destroyed me; I obeyed her, and she disobeyed me.

(4) In this verse, I have developed the poet's idea to render it intelligible. He employs a rhetorical figure which, in Arabic, is called *laff wa nashr* (*folding and unfolding*). See de Sacy's *Chrestomathie arabe*, vol. III. page 148, 2nd ed.

(5) See vol. II. page 57.

(6) One of the manuscripts gives the reading *ad-Dawâi*.

(7) With the Arabs *camphor* is synonymous with *whiteness*.

SIBT IBN AT-TAAWIZI.

Abû 'l-Fath Muhammad Ibn Obaid Allah the *kâtib*, surnamed Ibn at-Taâwîzi, was a celebrated poet. His father, who was a *mawla* to the al-Muzaffar family (1), bore the name of Nûshtikîn, but the son changed it into Obaid Allah. The mother of Abû 'l-Fath Muhammad was daughter to the holy ascetic Abû Muhammad al-Mubârak Ibn al-Mubârak Ibn Ali Ibn Nasr as-Sarrâj al-Jauhari, generally known by the surname of Ibn at-Taâwîzi and by the title of Jamâl ad-Dîn (*beauty of religion*) (2). Having been brought up from his childhood by his maternal grandfather, and having passed his youth under his care, he also was surnamed Ibn at-Taâwîzi. As a poet, Abû 'l-Fath stood, in his days, without a rival; in his verses he combined correctness and sweetness of expression with tenderness and subtilty of thought. His pieces are charming and beautiful in the highest degree; I do not think that, for two hundred years before, any poet existed at all like him; and let not the reader of this article blame me when I say this, for opinions vary according to the inclinations of him who pronounces them, and it has been well said by a poet: *Men's tastes differ as to what they love.* Ibn at-Taâwîzi was a *kâtib* (*clerk*) in the fief office (*Diwân al-Makâtiât*) at Baghdad. In the year 579 (A. D. 1183-4), towards the close of his life, he lost his sight, and in many of his poems he laments that privation and regrets the days of his active youth. Before he became blind, he collected his own works into a *diwân*, drawn up in four sections and preceded by an ingenious introduction (*khotba*).—The pieces which he composed afterwards, he entitled *az-Zîâdât* (*additions*), and it therefore happens that these additions are wanting in some copies of his *diwân*. When he lost his sight he was a pensioner of the *Diwân* (*the board of public service*), and then obtained that his own name should be replaced on the register by those of his sons; but, when that was done, he wrote the following lines to the *imâm* (*khalif*) an-Nâsir li-Dîn Illah, requesting a new pension for himself, to be continued as long as he lived:

> Khalif of God! you sustain the weight of religion, the world, and islamism; you follow closely the regulations prescribed by the ancient imâms, those land-marks of sure guidance. Under thy reign, poverty and injustice have disappeared; sedition and heresy are seen no longer, and



all the people tread in the paths of good policy, beneficence, and justice. Mighty prince! you at whose prohibition fortune ceases her tyranny—you who have bestowed on us favours double and fourfold! my land is struck with sterility, and you alone can restore the impoverished possessor to plenty. I have a family, alas too numerous! which have consumed my means, and their appetite is yet unsated; when they saw me in opulence, they assembled around me, and sat and hearkened to my wishes, but, long since, they broke every tie and turned away on finding me penniless (3). They roam about me on every side, and, like scorpions, wherever they pass they sting. Among them are children, boys, infants at the breast just able to creep, aged men, aud youths full grown. From none of them, young or old, can I hope to derive advantage; they have throats leading to stomachs which receive a greater load tham they can carry. Their paunches are wide and empty; their consuming appetite cannot be satisfied. With them, chewing is useless; the morsel which enters their mouth is swallowed without that ceremony. The story which I now relate concerns myself, and will amuse him who is well disposed and lends his ear. I foolishly made over my pension to sons, of whom, as long as I live, I shall get no good. I had in view their advantage, but I had not the talent of drawing any profit from them. I said to them: "When I die, this shall be yours;" but they obeyed me not, neither did they hearken to my wishes. They juggled me out of my money, before I could cast my eye upon it, or touch it with my hand. By Allah! I did wrong and harmed myself, and they also have done wrong. But, if you wish to end our contestations, grant me a new pension, wherewith to encounter and amplify my straitened means; and if you say that I have been made a dupe, know that the generous man is often duped. God forefend that my old pension should be erased from the registers of your office and cut off. Sign your consent to my demand, for my hopes are excited and those hopes are firm. Defer not your answer, for I am not to be put off, even though you pushed me away with your own hands; put it in my power to swear that, to transfer my pension to another, I shall never raise my hand nor put it (*to paper*).

With what ingenuity he adduces, in these verses, the motives which should tend to the fulfilment of his desire! were the piece recited to a rock, it would soften and bend it! So, the Commander of the faithful gave orders that he should receive the pension. Having then obtained (*as an equivalent for his monthly pay*) a quantity of bad unbolted flour, he addressed a versified complaint to the storekeeper Fakhr ad-Dîn; it begins thus:

My lord Fakhr ad-Dîn! thou art prompt to deeds of generosity, when other men are averse and slow. God forbid that you should consent to my receiving an allowance like that of common door-porters and torch-bearers (4). (*They have given me*) a substance black as night, worth from a farting to a *kirât* (*four pence*) a bushel, altered by age and spoiled to an excessive degree. My offended senses are troubled (*by it*), my health impaired, and the humours of my constitution corrupted. Take charge of my cure; I submit to an able Hippocrates the malady of which I complain.

Sharaf ad-Dîn Abû Jaafar Ahmad Ibn Muhammad Ibn Saîd Ibn Ibrahîm at-Tamîm, generally known by the appellation of Ibn al-Baladi (5), was vizir to the *imâm* (*khalif*)



al-Mustanjid billah and president of the council of state (*wazîr ad-Diwân il-Azîz*). He once removed the directors of all the government offices from their places and committed them to prison; having then examined their accounts, he inflicted on them heavy fines, personal chastisements, and tortures. This occurrence induced Sibt (6) Ibn at-Taâwîzi to compose the following lines :

> Traveller to Baghdad! avoid a city owerflowed by the swollen waves of tyranny. If you go to request a favour, return, for all the doors are shut against him who hopes. That place is no longer what it lately was when its hotels (7) were filled with solicitors, and when the heads of noble families, eminent scholars, and distinguished *kâtibs* resided within its walls. Time was then in its newness, and fortune in the bloom of its youth; talent and learning were richly rewarded by generous protectors. (*That city*) is now ruined and so are its inhabitants; their mansions have been desolated by the existence of our lord the vizir. Baghdad offers nought to the living but the grave, with stones and earth to be cast upon their corpses. Some are condemned to perpetual imprisonment, where tortures ever renewed are heaped upon them. From thence no hopes of return; can we hope for the return of those who inhabit the tomb! The people are in desolation; ties of blood and ties of friendship hold no longer. The father betrays the son, the wife the husband; relations and friends betray. The mediation of intercessors avails not; offenders obtain no respite to repent of their faults. They all see the day of judgment arrived; and those who doubted of the resurrection have now become believers : the crowd is not wanting, nor the balance, nor the books of men's acts presented to view, nor the volumes opened, nor the call to reckoning; the inexorable guards execute the sentence upon mankind; chains are there, clubs, and punishment, nay, all the threatened terrors of the day of judgment; but a merciful and beneficent being is not there.

He composed the following lines on the same vizir :

> O Lord! hearken to our affliction, for thou canst remove it; (*alas!*) have we not come to a time in which Abû Jaafar is vizir.

Muhibb ad-Dîn Ibn an-Najjâr (*vol. I. p.* 11) states, in his History of Baghdad, that on Monday, the 8th of the latter Rabî, A. H. 566 (19th December, A. D. 1170), the *imâm* al-Mustanjid billah died and was succeeded by his son the *imâm* al-Mustadi bi-amr illah. The next day, Tuesday, the new khalif held a sitting to receive the allegiance of his people. Immediately after, the mayor of the palace, (*Ustâd ad-Dâr*) Adud ad-Dîn Abû 'l-Faraj, a person of whom we shall again speak lower down, came forth with Ibn al-Basti (8), and said ; " The khalif has given orders that " the law of talion shall have its course against this man ;" pointing to the vizir. They instantly seized on Abû Jaafar and dragged him along the ground, after which they cut off his nose, one of his hands, one of his feet, and finally his head. The

trunk and the severed members were then placed in (*the concavity of*) a shield and cast into the Tigris. This vizir, when in power, had cut off the nose of Ibn al-Basti's mother, and the hand and the foot of his brother, but that day Ibn al-Basti took his revenge : God preserve us from the evil consequences of our own deeds! — Sibt Ibn at-Taâwîzi was the son of a *mawla;* his father being one of the clients of Adud ad-Dîn Abû 'l-Faraj Muhammad Ibn al-Muzaffar, the same who treated the vizir Ibn al-Baladi in this manner, and he once wrote to his patron the following piece, requesting (*an allowance of*) barley for his horse :

> O my patron! thou whose acts of kindness cannot be counted, and whose generosity is ample and abundant when the gifts bestowed by other men are rare! thou to whom we have recourse, and under whose shade we repose when fortune plays the tyrant! I have a long story to tell of my old bay horse : I bought him without necessity, and behold the consequence of indulging in superfluities : I thought he would have carried my travelling furniture, but all my fine hopes were disappointed, and I never imagined, O misery! that I should myself have to carry his heavy burden. A saddle is good to sit on, but it is a heavy object on my shoulders. His back is white like the owl's (9); his worth is neither great nor little; his qualities are not of the best, and his appearance far from handsome; he is a *harûn* (10) and slow in his movements; he is not a racer, nor obedient to the bit; neither does his crupper nor his neck awaken admiration in the beholder; when he steps out he stops short, but when they give him enough to eat, it is long before he steps. Straw and clean barley delight him, as also clover and green fodder, but thou wilt see his teeth water at the sight of *ikrish* (11); he has only one fair point—that of being a good feeder. Then give him to-day whatever is at hand, and count that (*slender present*) in the number of your usual donations. Say not : "That is too little;" a single straw is precious in his eye.

I give these pieces because they are greatly admired (12), but his *kasîdas* containing the praises of his mistress and his patrons are of the utmost beauty. He composed a book called *Kitâb al-Hajaba wa 'l-Hijâb* (*on chamberlains and door-curtains*) (13); it fills about fifteen quires (*three hundred pages*) and is a scarce work. The author treats the subject at great length. Imâd ad-Dîn al-Ispahâni mentions, in his *Kharîda*, that when he passed into Syria and was attached to the service of the sultan Salâh ad-Dîn, Ibn at-Taâwîzi, with whom he had been acquainted when in Irâk, addressed to him an epistle with a *kasîda* in which he requested from him a present of a furred pelisse. He gives a copy of the epistle, which ran as follows : " (*Thy*
" *humble servant*) imposes a task on your noble qualities which never felt bene-
" ficence to be a task (14), and he here offers thee his expectations as a present, and
" such a present! They consist in the obtaining of a Damascus furred pelisse,
" magnificent, spotless, soft to the touch, an ornament to the wearer, made with

"skins carefully dressed, sewn with care, long as thy longanimity, ample as thy "beneficence, fair as thy reputation, handsome as thy deeds, large as thy heart, "spotless as thy honour, excellent as thy merit, embroidered like thy poetry and "prose; its exterior (*pleasing*) like thy aspect, its interior (*sound*) like thy heart, "adorning the wearer, and embellishing the assemblies; to serve as a cloak to thy "humble servant and as a lustre to thy glory, which God protect! so that even he "who does not wear it may be grateful to thee, and he who does not put it on may "praise thee for it. The gloss of its fur may fade, but the impression of gratitude "which it produced will remain; the skins may wear out, but our thanks and "praises shall always be renewed. (*Thy servant*) has composed some verses in which "are combined every species of ornament, and, though the sending of them to "you is like the sending of dates to Hajar (15), yet he presents them in the some "manner as perfumes are offered to the perfumer and as clothes are placed in the "hands of the vender. (*Thy servant*) thus deposits his eulogium in its fitting "place, and he brings the merit (*of his production*) into conjunction with the "meritorious, by composing this (*kasîda*) in thy honour and confiding it to the "safeguard of thy generosity." Imâd ad-Dîn then gives the *kâsîda*, which begins thus :

I should sacrifice my father to preserve that person for whom, in my love, I pine with desire and passion.

This pieee is to be found in his (*Ibn at-Taâwizi's*) *diwân*. In reply to this *kâsida*, Imâd ad-Dîn wrote another, rhyming in the same syllabe; they are both of great length. Before mentioning the epistle and the *kasîda*, Imâd ad-Dîn speaks in these terms of the author : "A young man of talent, instruction, influence, discretion, "manliness, spirit, and honour, with whom I was united in the bonds of friendship by the sincerity of our mutual sentiments, and who possessed in perfection all the "means (*of pleasing*) which wit, ingenuity, and intelligence can bestow." He then inserts the epistle with the *kasîda* and its answer. I never saw any thing in the style of this letter except one of which I shall speak in the life of Bahâ ad-Dîn Ibn Shaddâd, to whom Ibn Kharûf al-Maghribi indited an epistle of great originality, in which he asked him for a pelisse of marten-skins.—Ibn at-Taâwîzi was born on Friday, the 10th of Rajab, A. H. 519 (12th August, A. D. 1125), and he died at Baghdad on the 2nd of Shawwâl, A. H. 584 (24th November, A. D. 1188); some

say, 583. He was interred at the Abrez gate. According to Ibn an-Najjâr, in his History, the birth of Ibn at-Taâwîzi took place on a Friday, and his death on Saturday, the 18th of Shawwâl.—*Taâwîzi* means *a writer of amulets; taâwîz* signifying *amulets*. It was under this surname that Abû Muhammad al-Mubârak Ibn al-Mubârak Ibn as-Sarrâj al-Baghdâdi, the pious and holy ascetic already named towards the beginning of this article, was generally known. Ibn as-Samâni (*vol. II. p.* 156), who mentions him in the *Zail* (*supplement*) and in the *Ansâb*, says: "Perhaps his "father dealt in charms and wrote amulets." Ibn as-Samâni received from him some traditional information; this writer says also: "I asked him where and when "he was born, to which he replied: 'At al-Karkh (*the suburb of Baghdad*), in the "'year 476 (A. D. 1083-4).' He died in the month of the first Jumâda, A. H. 553 "(June, A. D. 1158), and was interred in the Shûnîzi cemetery. He recited to me "the following lines as his own:

"Let one object only (*God*) engage your thoughts, and leave aside all other cares. You may "thus happily obtain such knowledge as may render human learning useless."

"He then informed me that these were the only verses he ever composed (16)." —*Nushtikîn* is a foreign name borne by white slaves (*mamlûks*). We have already stated, in the beginning of this article, that Nushtikîn was a mamlûk belonging to a descendant of al-Muzaffar, the son of the Raîs ar-Ruwasâ. Ibn at-Taâwîzi being one of their *mawlas*, and much indebted to their kindness, composed a number of brilliant poems in their praise, and these he assembled in one of the four chapters into which his *diwân* is divided.

(1) See page 165 of this volume.

(2) A short account of al-Mubârak Ibn at-Taâwîzi will be found at the end of this article.

(3) The word *kitâ*, the plural of *kitda*, signifies *segments, pieces cut off a coin, to serve as small change*.

(4) The word نفاط (*naffât*) means *a preparer of combustibles with naphtha*.

(5) An account of the rise and fall of the vizir Ibn al-Baladi is given in the *Dual al-Islâmiya*, by Ibn at-Tiktaka, page 365 of the edition published by Mr. Ahlwardt under the title of *El-Fakhri*. Ibn al-Athîr gives an account of his death in the *Kâmil*, year 565.

(6) *Sibt* (سبط) signifies *a daughter's son, a grandson by the female line*.

(7) The signification of the word *raba* has been explained in vol. I. page 347.

(8) None of the historians whose works I have consulted speak of this person. One of the MSS. of Ibn Khallikân reads *as-Sibti* (السبتى) instead of *al Basti* (البستى).

(9) This whiteness of the back resulted probably from its having been excoriated by the saddle.

(10) The word *harûn* has two meanings : when taken as a noun, it is the name of a famous race-horse (see vol. II. page 519, note (2)); and, when employed as an adjective, it means *a horse that suddenly stops short*. It may be perceived that the poet meant to play upon this double signification.

(11) *Ikrish* is the Arabic name of four or five different plants. Here it may perhaps designate *triticum repens*. See Sontheimer's *Heil-und Nahrungsmittel von Ebn Baitar*, p. II. s. 204.

(12) The easy graceful style in which this last piece is written has disappeared in the translation.

(13) The doorway leading into the saloon where a great man gives audience is closed by a curtain; a chamberlain (*hâjib*) posted there lifts up a corner of the curtain to let the visitor enter.—As the titles of Arabic books rarely indicate the subjects of which they treat, this work of Ibn at-Taâwîzi's may not perhaps have any reference to chamberlains : *Hajaba wa 'l-Hijâb* may signify *the keepers of secrets and the veils under which secrets are hidden.*

(14) In the Arabic text of this letter, the third person singular is employed in place of the second. This is customary form of respect.

(15) Hajar, a town of Arabia, in the province of Bahrain, was renowned for the abundance of its dates; whence the proverb : " Like him who carries dates to Hajar." It is equivalent to the English one of carrying coals to Newcastle.

(16) Imâd ad-Dîn, who met al-Mubârak Ibn at-Taâwîzi at Damascus subsequently to the year 540 (A. D. 1146), says that he was a holy and virtuous *shaikh*, of an engaging aspect, agreeable in his manners, and pleasing in his discourse.—(*Kharîda*, MS. No. 1447, fol. 72 v.)

IBN AL-MUALLIM *THE POET*.

Abû 'l-Ghanâim Muhammad Ibn Ali Ibn Fâris Ibn Ali Ibn Abd Allah Ibn al-Husain Ibn al-Kâsim al-Wâsiti (*native of Wâsit*) al-Hurthi, surnamed Najm ad-Dîn (*star of religion*), and generally known by the appellation of Ibn al-Muallim (*the son of the preceptor*), was a celebrated poet. His pieces are so replete with pathetic sentiment and natural delicacy of thought, that they seem to melt with tenderness. He was one of those whose poems got into wide circulation, whose name acquired popularity, and whose verses procured them public esteem, wealth, and influence. The composition of verses formed the occupation of his life, and the epoch in which he lived encouraged him to persevere. His poems are chiefly amatory, eulogistic, or miscellaneous : the style is easy and the thoughts are just. The greater part of his poetry is devoted to the description of love, desire, affection, and passion; his verses

seize the heart and possess a charm to which very few are insensible : people listen to them with pleasure and retain them in their mind; they communicate them one to another; preachers quote them in their exhortations, and the assemblies listen with delight. I heard some *shaikhs* of al-Batâih (1) say that Ibn al-Muallim's poetry derived its touching effect from a single circumstance, namely : that every *kasîda* which he composed was immediately committed to memory by the dervishes (*fakîrs* belonging to the order which is called the *Rifâite*, after its founder the *shaikh* Ahmad Ibn ar-Rifâi (*vol. I. p.* 152), and, as they sung these poems at their (*religious*) concerts for the purpose of exciting their souls to a state of mystic rapture, the blessed influence of their sighs passed into and pervaded his poetry. I found them all convinced of this as of a fact which left no doubt on their minds. (*Be this as it may, I shall only observe*), in a summary manner, that his poems resemble elegies, and that no man with the least spark of love in his bosom can hear them without yielding to their charm and feeling his passion revive. A mutual jealousy subsisted between Ibn al-Muallim and Ibn at-Taâwîzi (*p.* 162 *of this vol.*); this led the latter to satirize our poet in a piece of verse rhyming in *j*, which, though very fine, we need not insert. Ibn al-Muallim composed a long *kasîda* which opens thus :

Bring back the camels which have hastened off with their fair burdens; when the mansion is no longer inhabited, it ceases to be home. In that valley resided (*a maid*) from whose access you were debarred, and whose pliant waist laughed to scorn the willow-branch. She betrayed her inconstancy at (*our*) first assignation (*by staying away*); who now can engage that she will fulfil a second promise? How can we meet whilst (*warriors*) of her tribe, sons of combat and lions of battle, surround her? (*warriors*) who long have borne the spear, and whose hands, methinks, were only formed to wield the pliant lance. They have girded the bright swords, and nought is seen in the nomadic camp, but the Indian cimeter and the pike. If I turned away, 'twas to avoid the observation of foes and not from satiety or indifference. Inhabitants of Nomân (2)! where are the days we passed at Tuwaila? (*Tell me where!*) inhabitants of Nomân!

In another poem, he says :

How often did I say : " Beware (*the valley of*) al-Akîk, for its gazelles (*maidens*) are wont (3) " to make its lions (*warriors*) their prey." Yet you chose to chase the tender fawns of Hijâz, and fortune being adverse, you became their prey.

He says again, in another *kasîda :*

O neighbours! the tears which flowed (*from my eyes were once plentiful and*) worthless, but (*separated as we now are*) by the hands of absence, (*they are exhausted and*) precious. Let

us tarry at the valley (*where my beloved resided*); stop there for an instant short as that which is required to gird on a mantle or undo a camel's fetter. How often did I station there! Such moments I would cheaply purchase with my life; judge then if I would spare my wealth.

In another *kasîda*, he says :

(*I swore*) an oath by the intoxicating moisture enclosed within the lips (*of my beloved*) and encircled with hidden pearls, that, when the camel-driver reached the hill from which al-Ozaib (4) could be seen, I should breathe my last. But who now will help me to expiate my oath? Had I not seen in that valley the traces of my beloved Laila and (*objects to awaken my slumbering*) passion, I should not have returned here like one possessed (*by a demon*).

The motive which induced Ibn al-Muallim to compose the *kasîda* (*from which this last passage is extracted*) was, that he, al-Ablah (*p.* 159 *of this vol.*) and Ibn at-Taâwîzi (*p.* 162 *of this vol.*) having read the exquisite *kasîda* of Surr-Durr's (*vol. II. p.* 321) which begins with this verse : *Is it thus that the love of all* (my) *contemporaries is requited? Is such the general character of large-eyed gazelles* (maidens)? and of which we shall again speak in the life of Amîd al-Mulk Muhammad, they were filled with admiration, and Ibn al-Muallim composed this poem in the same prosodiac measure. Ibn at-Taâwîzi wrote, on the same occasion, a brilliant *kasîda* which he sent to the sultan Salâh ad-Dîn (*Saladin*), who was then in Syria. It contains the praises of this prince and begins thus :

If your habits, when in love, resemble mine, let us stop our camels at the two sand-hills of Yabrîn (5).

Al-Ablah also composed a *kasîda*, but Ibn at-Taâwîzi's is the best of the three. A story is handed down that Ibn al-Muallim related as follows : "When in "Baghdad, I passed one day by the place where the *shaikh* Abû 'l-Faraj Ibn al-"Jauzi (*vol. II. p.* 96) used to hold his sittings for the purpose of delivering pious "exhortations; and, seeing a dense crowd assembled, I asked a person there what "had brought them together? He replied : 'It is the preacher Ibn al-Jauzi who "'is holding a sitting.' Not being aware that he did so, I forced my way forward "till I could see and hear him. He was then preaching, and, in the midst of his "exhortations, he exclaimed : 'And it has been well said by Ibn al-Muallim :

"'The repetition of Thy name gives fresch pleasure to my ear; and he who repeats it is "charming to my sight.'"

"I was greatly struck with the coincidence of my presence and this citation of a "verse from one of my own poems, but neither Ibn al-Jauzi nor any person in the "assembly knew that I was there." The verse of which he speaks belongs to one of his most celebrated *kasîdas*. In another poem, Ibn al-Muallim says :

> My fortitude has been overcome by a person whom I dare not make known, and my heart's blood has been wantonly shed by one whom I dare not name. She was cruel, but my tongue had not power to reproach her; yet my heart had strength enough to suffer her tyranny.

On the day when the battle of the Camel was fought near Basra, the engagement had not yet begun, when (*the khalif*) Ali sent his cousin Abd Allah Ibn al-Abbâs with a letter to Talha and az-Zubair, in which he endeavoured to dissuade them from commencing hostilities. In giving Ibn al-Abbâs the letter, he said : "Do not have "any interview with Talha, for you will find him (*headstrong*) as the bull which "twists up its nose; he will mount an unruly camel and say it is perfectly broken (6); "but meet az-Zubair, for he is of a more tractable disposition, and say to him : "'Thy maternal cousin (7) sends thee this message : Thou hast known me in Hijâz "'and wilt not know me in Irâk; what has occurred to change thy former "'feelings (8)?'" Ali was the first person who employed this expression, and Ibn al-Muallim inserted it in the following verse :

> They offered him their salutations at al-Jazé (9), and they turned their backs on him at al-Ghaur (10); what has occurred to change their former feelings?

This verse is to be found in one of his long *kasîdas*; I took Ali's message from a work entitled *Nahj al-Balâgha* (*the highway of eloquence* (11). It is needless to expatiate on the beauties (12) of Ibn al-Muallim's poetry, as his *diwân* is well known and in general circulation. He was born on the eve of the 17th of the latter Jumâda, A. H. 501 (2nd February, A. D. 1108), and he died at al-Hurth on the 4th of Rajab, A. H. 592 (3rd June, A. D. 1196). — *Hurthi* means *belonging to al-Hurth*, which is a village in the district of Nahr Jaafar, at ten parasangs from Wâsit. It was his native place, and he continued to reside in it till his death.

(1) See vol. I. page 153.

(2) See page 133 of this volume.

(3) I suppose that the copyists have written, by mistake, ضربت for دربت.

(4) Al-Ozaib is the name borne by a number of springs situated in different parts of the Arabian desert.

(5) See page 126 of this volume.

(6) Or : " He will engage in difficulties and say that they are easily got over. "

(7) Safiya, the mother of az-Zubair, and Abû Tâlib, the father of Ali, were brother and sister.

(8) The Arabic words signify literally : What has passed away of that wich has appeared ? This proverbial expression is noticed by al-Maidâni, tome II. page 657 of Freytag's edition.

(9) *Al-Jazé* (*the valley*); some valley in Arabia is here meant.

(10) Al-Ghaur is the name given to the valley of the Jordan.

(11) *Nahj al-Balâgha* (*the highway of eloquence*). This work is stated by some writers to have been compiled by the *sharif* Abû 'l-Kâsim Ali al-Murtada)*vol. II. p.* 256), and that it consists of maxims and discourses uttered by Ali Ibn Abi Tâlib; but the general opinion is unfavorable to its authenticity. Some large commentaries have been composed to elucidate it.

(12) I read *fardid* with the edition of Boulac.

MUWAFFAK AD-DIN AL-IRBILI.

Abû Abd Allah Muhammad Ibn Yûsuf Ibn Muhammad Ibn Kâid al-Irbili (*native of Arbela*), surnamed Muwaffak ad-Dîn (*favoured in his religion*), was brought up at Arbela, the native place of his family, but he was born at Bahrain, (*whence his surname of al-Bahrâni*). This celebrated poet, who bore also the highest reputation by his knowledge of the (*pure*) Arabic language, displayed great talents in all the various species of poetry; he ranked with the most learned of the age in the sciences of prosody and rhyme; in poetical criticism he was one of the most acute; in distinguishing faults from beauties, one of the most skilful, and in testing poetical compositions, one of the most expert. Having acquired some knowledge of the sciences of the ancients (*the Greeks*), he drew up an explanation of (*the difficulties offered by*) the Book of Euclid. At Bahrain, when yet a boy, and before he had commenced his literary studies, he composed verses in imitation of the example offered by the Arabs of the desert. He was the master under whose tuition Abû 'l-Barakât Ibn al-Mustaufi (*vol. II. p.* 556), the author of the History of Arbela, studied the sciences connected with the art of poetry and finished his education.

This writer speaks of him in his work and says, after enumerating his merits : " Our *shaikh* Abû 'l-Haram Makki al-Mâkisîni the grammarian" — we shall give his life — " had recourse to him for the solution of numerous grammatical diffi- " culties, and obtained answers to all the questions which he proposed to him." Muwaffak ad-Dîn travelled to Shahrozûr and resided there for some time; he then removed to Damascus and celebrated, in a long *kasîda*, the praises of the sultan Salâh ad-Dîn. He left a *diwân* of good poetry and of elegant epistles. As a poet, he ranked with those of his contemporaries whom we have already noticed in this work. One of his productions is a *kasîda* composed in honour of Zain ad-Dîn Abû 'l-Muzaffar Yûsuf Ibn Zain ad-Dîn, the prince of Arbela of whom some mention has been made in the life of his brother Muzaffar ad-Dîn (*vol. II. p.* 536). This piece opens with the following lines :

The mansion at al-Ghada has long suffered from decay, and travellers stop to shed tears over its ruins. Its walls have mouldered away, and nought remains but the traces which time has only spared to efface them hereafter. There I spent many (*happy*) days; but alas! they have passed away; the blessings of God be on those days and on that dwelling! The dark clouds of morning stopped over it and shed the contents of their bosom upon its naked soil; weeping over these ruins in the absence of my tears! may God recompense that service! Say to those who resided here (1) : " The ties (*of friendship*) with which I bound you hold no longer (2); and " yet I loved you, for you (*by your honorable renown*) were a tree whose summit no bird could " reach. Every night that passed, a guard stood around it, their lances moist with gore (3); " and when a transgressor stretched his hand towards its branches, that hand was severed (*from " the arm*) before it touched the fruit. But the duty (*of defending your honour*) was at length " relaxed, so that it seemed to the spectator an unprotected and an easy prize. Your soil is " fruitful, but I approach not, in search of pasture, except to grounds of difficult access; God " created me not to feed my flocks in a meadow easy of approach, where he may lead his flocks " who will (4). When hope impelled me to court your favours, despair stood before me and " turned me away. (*My feelings towards you are*) now the last remains of that love which " commenced with desire. Think not that I shall return to you; experience has removed the " bandage from my eyes; know that Zain ad-Dîn has granted me a favour which precludes me " from desiring any other."

This poem is long and its eulogistic part is very fine. — His father was a native of Arbela and followed the profession of a merchant; like other merchants, he used to visit Bahrain and remain there for some time, procuring pearls from the diving-beds; it therefore happened that his son al-Muwaffak Abû Abd Allah was born in that place. The child was taken to Arbela, and, for the reason just given, the surname of al-Bahrâni was bestowed upon it. Muwaffak ad-Dîn al-Irbili died at Arbela

on the eve of Sunday, the 3rd of the latter Rabî, A. H. 585 (21st May, A. D. 1189), and was interred in the family cemetery situated to the south of al-Bast. Al-Mutarrizi says, in his *Kitâb al-Mughrib*, that *al-bast* is a Persian word (*best*) which signifies the *spreading out of the water at the mouth of a river* (5).—*Bahrâni* means *belonging to al-Bahrain*, which is a small town near Hajar (6). Al-Azhari (*p.* 48 *of this vol.*) says that it received the name of al-Bahrain (*the two seas*) because (*it lies near the sea, and because*) a lake is situated near the villages of that place, at the entrance into (*the region called*) al-Ahsâ. The villages of Hajar are ten parasangs distant from the Green Sea (*the Persian Gulf*). The lake is three miles in length and as many in breadth; its waters are brackish; they never dry up, but remain stagnant. Abû Obaid (*vol. II. p.* 486) states that Abû Muhammad (*Yahya*) al-Yazîdi (7) related the following anecdote: " (*The khalif*) al-Mahdi asked me and al-Kisâi " (*vol. II. p.* 237) why a native of al-Bahrain should be called a *Bahrâni*, whereas " a person belonging to al-Hisnain was designated as a *Hisni* (*and not as a* Hisnâni). " To this al-Kisâi replied that people disliked saying *Hisnâni* on account of (*the dis-" agreeable sound caused by*) the proximity of the two *n*'s; and I answered for *Bah-" râni*, that they preferred it to *Bahri*, because the meaning of the latter term migbt " be mistaken, bearing, as it does, another signification, namely: ' *belonging to " ' the sea.*' " — *Al-Bast* is the bed of a broad river passing through Arbela; the winter torrents and those of spring flow through it. It contains a great quantitity of small stones.

(1) Literally: *to neighbours.*

(2) Literally: *are rotten in their strands.* The strands of a rope are the smaller ropes of which it is composed. Ropes ase generally made of three strands of twisted cords. The Arabic word is *kiwa* (قوى), the plural of *kuwa* (قوّة).

(3) Literally: The points of their spears sweated death.

(4) Throughout this piece the poet employs, with a figurative signification, the pastoral terms employed by the nomadic Arabs. *Feeding flocks* here signifies: *obtaining riches or favours.*

(5) At the end of the article the author informs us what the *Bast* of Arbela is.

(6) See page 168 of this volume.

(7) His life will be found in this work.





IBN AD-DAHHAN.

Abû Shujâa Muhammad Ibn Ali Ibn Shoaib, surnamed Fakhr ad-Dîn (*glory of religion*), and generally known by the appellation of Ibn ad-Dahhân (*the son of the oilman*), was a native of Baghdad, a calculator of inheritance-shares (*faradi*) (1), an arithmetician, and a philologer. Having left Baghdad, he proceeded to Mosul and got attached to the vizir Jamâl ad-Dîn al-Ispahâni (2); but he afterwards passed into the service of the sultan Salâh ad-Dîn, and was nominated by him director of the government office (*diwân*) at Maiyâfârikîn. Being unable, in this post, to come to a good understanding with the governor of the city, he removed to Damascus and obtained a very inadequate pension, so that he dragged on a miserable existence. In the year 586 (A. D. 1190), he went to Egypt, and subsequently returned to Damascus, where he settled. He drew up, on the partition of inheritances, a number of works, containing tables, and, amongst other treatises, he composed a *Gharîb al-Hadîth* (*unusual expressions occurring in the Traditions*), the contents of which fill sixteen small volumes. In this production he employed certain letters by means of which any word sought for could be found out. His pen was more eloquent than his tongue. He compiled also a history and other works. Abû 'l-Barakât Ibn al-Mustaufi (*vol. II. p.* 556) mentions him in the History of Arbela, and counts him among the strangers who visited that city: "He was," says he, "a man of learning "and varied information; he composed some good poetry." This historian then gives the verses composed by Ibn ad-Dahhân in praise of the *shaikh* Taj ad-Dîn Abû 'l-Yumn Zaid Ibn al-Hasan al-Kindi (*vol. I. p.* 546). The *kâtib* Imâd ad-Dîn also speaks of him with high commendation in the *Kharîda*, and gives some fine passages from his poetry. One of these pieces is the following, composed on the grammarian Abû Muhammad Saîd Ibn al-Mubârak Ibn ad-Dahhân, generally known by the surname of an-Nâsih (*the monitor*), who had lost one of his eyes; we have already spoken of this person (*vol. I. p.* 574):

Ad-Dahhân is not far from having a son more deceitful (3) than himself in two ways. ('*Tis like*) one of the wonders of the sea, you may well relate it: (*the son has*) a single eye and a double face (4).



Another of the passages cited in the same work is the following, addressed to a person of rank on his recovery from sickness:

> The people made a vow that on the day of thy recovery they would hold a fast; I alone vowed not to hold one, but to break it, For I knew that the day of thy recovery would be a festival; and on such days I disapprove of fasting though obliged to do so by a vow.

He composed also some fine poems for recitation. He was well skilled in astronomy and in the use of astronomical tables. His death took place at al-Hilla tas-Saifiya in the month of Safar, A. H. 590 (January-February, A. D. 1194). He had set out from Damascus to perform the pilgrimage, and, in returning, he took the road leading to Irâk; but, on arriving at al-Hilla, his camel fell under him, and a piece of the wooden saddle struck him in the face and killed him on the spot. His stature was low, his face smooth, his beard long, thin, and white, inclining to yellow.—Some say that he bore the surname of Burhân ad-Dîn (*proof of religion*).—Having already spoken of *al-Hilla* (*vol. I. p.* 634), we need not repeat our observations.

(1) See vol. I. page 421, where the word *furûd* must be replaced by *fardid.*

(2) The life of the vizir Jamâl ad-Dîn Abû Jaafar Muhammad al-Ispahâni will be found in this volume.

(3) *Dahhân* signifies not only an *oilman* but *deceitful.*

(4) A double face means *duplicity*; the influence of the *evil-eye* was particularly active in one-eyed men.

IBN-ONAIN.

Abû 'l-Mahâsin Muhammad Ibn Nasr Ibn al-Husain Ibn Onain al-Ansâri, surnamed Sharaf ad-Dîn (*nobleness of religion*), was born in Damascus, but his family belonged to Kûfa. With him closed the series of our great poets; his equal has never since appeared, and, towards the close of his life, he remained without a rival. In his poetical compositions, excellent as they are, he did not confine himself to one particular style; on the contrary, he displayed his talents in all the

various branches of that art. His literary information was most extensive; the greater part of the poetry composed by the Arabs of the desert was familiar to him, and, as I have been informed, he could repeat from memory the contents of Ibn Duraid's (*p.* 38 *of this vol.*) philological work, the *Jamhara*. He had a strong passion for satire and took pleasure in attacking the reputation of others; a long *kasîda* of his, to which he gave the title of *Mikrâd al-Adrâd* (*the scissors to cut up reputations*), is directed against some of the chief men at Damascus. The recurrence of his invectives against individuals having obliged the sultan Salâh ad-Dîn to banish him from that city, he composed, on leaving it, the following lines:

> Why have you banished an honest man who never committed a crime, who never stole? Expel the *muwazzin* from your country, if all are to be expelled who speak the truth (1).

Ibn Onain travelled over various countries, such as Syria, Irâk, Mesopotamia, Adarbaijân, Khorâsân, Ghazna, Khowârezm, and Transoxiana; he next visited India and Yemen, which latter country was then under the rule of Saif al-Islâm Toghtikîn Ibn Aiyûb (*vol. I. p.* 655), the brother of the sultan Salâh ad-Dîn. After residing there for some time, he proceeded to Damascus by way of Hijâz and Egypt. From Damascus he made frequent excursions to other cities and returned home again. In the year 623 (A. D. 1226) I saw him at Arbela, but did not obtain any thing from him (2); he had been sent there on a political mission by al-Malik al-Muazzam Sharaf ad-Dîn Isa, the son of al-Malik al-Aâdil and sovereign of Damascus (*vol. II. p.* 428). He made but a short stay, and set out again. When in India, he wrote the following lines to his brother at Damascus: the second verse he borrowed from Abû 'l-Alâ 'l-Maarri (*vol. I. p.* 94), but this he was well entitled to do (*if we take into consideration his own talents*):

> Separated as we are, I forgive thy silence, for I know that thy letters could not find a bearer; and I pardon thy *taif* (3) its cruelty (*in not visiting my slumbers*), for, after travelling all night, it was still separated from me by a journey of many days (4).

How well that is expressed, and with what elegance he introduces the verse of Abû 'l-Alâ! The same thought recurs in different passages of his poetry; thus, in a long *kasîda*, he says:

> O zephyr that comest from Tall Râhit and the meadows of al-Hima! how hast thou found thy way to India?

He said also, in a piece composed at Aden, a city in Yemen :

> O my friends! I ask not your *taif* to visit (*my slumbers*); for, alas! how far is ad-Dailamiyât from Aden!

Ad-Dailamiyât, Tall Râhit, and *al-Hima* are places situated in the plain of Damascus. The verse in al-Maarri's poem, which precedes the one given above, runs as follows :

> I asked how far it was from al-Akîk to al-Hima? and I marvelled at the wide interval and the journey's length.

Al-Maarri borrowed this thought from Dîbil Ibn Ali 'l-Khuzâi, a poet of whom we have already spoken (*vol. I. p.* 507). Dîbil composed a satire on the khalif al-Motasim billah, the son of Hârûn ar-Rashîd, and, search having been made for him, he fled from Irâk to Egypt and took up his residence at Uswân (*Syene*), in the farthest extremity of that country. On this occasion he composed the verses which follow :

> A man driven by his apprehensions to Uswân has not preserved the least trace of fortitude. I have fixed my abode in a spot which the eye cannot reach, and which the *taif* itself would be unable to attain, were it to undertake so fatiguing a journey.

We have been here led away from our subject, but one word brings on another. —Subsequently to the death of the sultan Salâh ad-Dîn, when al-Malik al-Aâdil took possession of Damascus (5), Ibn Onain was absent on the journey which he undertook in consequence of his banishment; but (*on learning the events which had taken place*), he directed his steps towards Damascus and wrote to al-Malik al-Aâdil the *kasîda* rhyming in *r*, wherein he requests permission to enter the city. In this poem he describes Damascus, relates the sufferings which he underwent in foreign lands, and addresses a most touching appeal to that prince's commiseration. This piece, which is of the highest beauty, begins thus :

> Could it harm the *taif* of my friends, were it to undertake a nocturnal journey (*and visit me*)? Could it harm (*my foes*), did they let me indulge in sleep (6)?

In the beginning of the poem he describes Damascus, its gardens, rivers, and the delightful spots in its vicinity; he then alludes to his banishment in these terms :

> I left it, but not willingly; I abandoned it, but not through hatred; and I journeyed forth, but

not from choice. I seek to share in (*the prince's*) bounty which overspreads every land; how strange that (*by me alone his favours*) must be requested by urgent prayers! I (*therefore*) veil the face of my eulogiums, not to profane them; and, disguising (*my talents*), I tuck up the (*proud*) train of my expectations.

In the same piece, he says, complaining of his sufferings during his absence from home :

To thee I complain of the pains of absence; time passed so slowly, that each of those days seemed to me a month; my existence never brightens up, the traces of love are never effaced from my heart, and the hand of slumber never touches my eyelids. My days are spent in an abode far from the luxuriant vegetation (*of Damascus*), and I pass the nights, debarred from access to the pure water (*of its streams*). Strange that all mankind should repose under the tutelary shade of these (*princes*), and that I alone should be an outcast in the desert!

This is a most beautiful *kasîda*, and it surpasses, in my opinion, Abû Bakr Ibn Ammâr al-Andalusi's (*p. 127 of this vol.*) *kasîda* in the same rhyme and measure, which commences thus and of which we have already spoken :

Pass round the glass, for the zephyr has come.

When al-Malik al-Aâdil read Ibn Onain's poem, he authorised him to enter Damascus. On arriving there, the poet said :

I satirised the grandees in Jillik (7), and I appalled the lower ranks by my invectives against the higher. Driven from it I was, but I returned despite them all.

He displayed great acuteness in the composition and solution of enigmas, and, when any were sent to him in writing, he resolved them immediately and wrote back an answer in verse, much finer than the question was. As he had no inducement for collecting his poetical works into a *diwân*, he never undertook that task, so that now his pieces are only found dispersed and in different hands. A native of Damascus made a small collection of his poems, but this *diwân* does not contain the tenth part of what he composed, and we even perceive in it some things which are not his. Ibn Onain was a man of great wit, gaiety, and humour. One of his *kasîdas*, in which he speaks of his travels and mentions his journey towards the East, contains the following admirable verse :

I penetrate into (8) the heart of the East, as if I were searching in its recesses for the lustre of renown.



In a word, his poetry abounds with beauties. In one of the months of the year 649 (A. D. 1251-2), being then in Cairo, I had a dream (9) in which I saw Ibn Onain holding a broad, red-coloured sheet of paper, on which were inscribed about fifteen verses. "I composed these verses," said he, "for al-Malik al-Muzaffar (*vol. II.* "*p.* 391), the sovereign of Hamât." That prince was dead at the time of which I am speaking. The assembly where we were seemed to be numerous, and he read the verses to us. One of them struck me greatly and I repeated it over and over in my dream; when I awoke, it was impressed on my memory and I give it here:

To recite verses is not laudable, unless he whose praises they extol be deserving.

This verse is not to be found in his poems. In the life of Fakhr ad-Dîn ar-Râzi (*vol. II. p.* 654), we have spoken of him and his poem which rhymes in *f*; we have also mentioned him in the life of Saif al-Islâm (*vol. I. p.* 655). High favour was shown to him by different sovereigns, and he filled the post of vizir at Damascus, towards the end of al-Malik al-Muazzam's reign and during the reign of al-Malik an-Nâsir, that prince's son. On the accession of al-Malik al-Ashraf, he resigned his office, and, having retired to his house, he continued to reside there and never again occupied a situation under government. His birth took place at Damascus on Monday, the 9th of Shaabân, A. H. 549 (19th October, A. D. 1154), and he died in that city on Monday evening, the 20th of the first Rabî, A. H. 630 (4th January, A.D.1233). The next morning, he was interred in the mosque founded by himself at Ard al-Mizza (*the land of al-Mizza*), which is a village at the gate of Damascus. Ibn ad-Dubaithi (*p.* 102 *of this vol.*) states that he heard him say: "We came originally "from a place in Kûfa called Masjid Bani 'n-Najjâr (*the mosque of the Najjârides*), "and we drew our descent from the Ansârs." Subsequently to my copying this passage, I visited the tomb of Bilâl, Muhammad's *muwazzin* (10), which is situated in the cemetery lying outside that gate of Damascus which is called Bâb as-Saghîr. On coming out of the chapel erected over the grave, I observed a large tomb near the door (*or near the gate*), and, being informed that it was Ibn Onain's, I stopped and invoked on him the mercy of God.

(1) When the *muwazzin* calls the people to prayer, he proclaims that there is but one God and that Muhammad is the apostle of God. It is to this the poet alludes.

(2) The author means that he did not learn any of Ibn Onain's verses from that poet's own lips.

(3) See vol. I. page xxxvi.

(4) Litterally : *by stations.*

(5) The occupation of Damascus by al-Malik al-Aâdil took place A. H. 592 (A. D. 1195).

(6) The poet means: Could it harm my jealous foes, were they to allow me to sleep, so that I might see the *taif* in my dreams.

(7) *Jillik* was one of the names given to Damascus. See vol. I. page 195.

(8) Litterally : I split the heart.

(9) The belief of Moslims in dreams is well known.

(10) Bilâl Ibn Rabâh, an Abyssinian *mawla* to Abû Bakr, embraced Islamism at an early period and fought in all Muhammad's battles. He was the only *muwazzin* whom Muhammad ever employed to call the people to prayer, and he accompanied him in all his expeditions and sojournings. Bilâl died at Damascus, towards A. H. 20 (A. D. 641), aged sixty-four years.

AL-KAIM AL-OBAIDI.

Abû 'l-Kâsim Muhammad, cclled also Nizâr, was the son of Abû Muhammad Obaid Allah, surnamed al-Mahdi, the same who established an empire in Maghrib. Abû 'l-Kâsim bore the title of al-Kâim (*the maintainer*). We have already spoken of his father (*vol. II. page* 77), and of his son Al-Mansûr Ismaîl (*vol. I. page* 218). Having been solemnly proclaimed by his father as the next successor to the throne of Ifrîkiya and the adjoining country, his name was inscribed on all the official papers and the umbrella (*of state*) was borne over his head. On the death of his father (*A. H.* 322, *A. D.* 934), the people renewed to him their oath of allegiance. He had been twice sent by his father to conquer Egypt; the first time, he set out on the 18th of Zû 'l-Hijja, A. H. 301 (15th July, A. D. 914), and, having taken possession of Alexandria and al-Faiyûm, he levied the land-tax (*kharâj*) throughout the greater part of Egypt and oppressed the people (1). In the second expedition, he reached Alexandria in the month of the first Rabî, A. H. 307 (August, A. D. 919), with a numerous army. The officer who governed there in the name of the *imâm* (*khalif*) al-Muktadir having retired at his approach, al-Kâim took possession of the city and marched to al-Jîza with an immense body of troops. Intelligence of these events having reached Baghdad, al-Muktadir provided Mûnis al-Khâdim (*the eunuch*) with men and money, and sent him to repel the invader. Mûnis hastened by forced



marches to Old Cairo, and found, on his arrival, that al-Kâim had obtained possession of al-Jîza, al-Ushmûnain and the greater part of as-Saîd (*Upper Egypt*). The two armies then met, and a number of desperate conflicts ensued; but al-Kâim having lost a great part of his men and horses by pestilence and famine, departed for Ifrîkiya, and was pursued to some distance by the Egyptian army. He entered al-Mahdiya on Tuesday, the 3rd of the month of Rajab, the same year (29th November, A. D. 919. It was under his reign that Abû Yazîd Makhlad Ibn Kaidâd the Kharijite revolted (*against the Shîite dynasty*). To give the particulars of this insurrection would lead us too far; and, besides, we have already related, in the life of al-Mansûr (*vol. I. page* 219), what happened to this rebel and how he died a prisoner (2). Al-Kâim was born at Salamiya (*vol. II. p.* 79), in the month of Muharram, A. H. 280 (March-April, A. D. 893),—some say, in 282, and others again, in 277.—He was taken to Maghrib by his father, and he died on Sunday, the 13th of Shawwâl, A. H. 334 (18th May, A. D. 946), at al-Mahdiya, where Abû Yazîd held him blockaded. Ismaîl, al-Kâim's son, concealed his father's death lest the insurgent chief, who was then in the neighbourhood, under the walls of Sûsa, should learn the event and conceive fresh hopes of success. He, therefore, left all things as they were, and distributed donations and presents in abundance. He avoided also assuming the title of khalif, and headed his letters with these words: From the emir Ismaîl, the designated successor to the command of the Moslims (3).

(1) He was then obliged to evacuate Egypt by Mûnis the eunuch, who had been sent against him by the khalif al-Muktadir.— (*Ibn al-Athîr.*)

(2) Ibn Khaldûn gives a full account of Abû Yazîd's revolt in his *History of the Berbers*, tome II.

(3) Literally: The holder of the covenant of the Moslims. That is: the person to whom the Moslims had engaged their fealty as successor to the throne.

AL-MOTAMID IBN ABBAD.

Al-Motamid ala 'llah (*the supported by God*) Abû 'l-Kâsim Muhammad, the son of al-Motadid billah Abû Amr Abbâd, the son of az-Zâfir al-Muwaiyad billah Abû

'l-Kâsim Muhammad, *kâdi* of Seville, the son of Abû 'l-Walîd Ismaîl, the son of Kuraish, the son of Abbâd, the son of Amr, the son of Aslam, the son of Amr, the son of Itâf, the son of Noaim, a member (*by descent*) of the tribe of Lakhm (*al-Lakhmi*) and a descendant of an-Nomân Ibn al-Mundir, the last king of al-Hîra (1) was sovereign of Cordova, Seville, and the portion of the Spanish peninsula situated in the proximity of these two cities. It was of him and his father that a certain poet said :

> The sons of Abbâd, the progeny of the Mundirs, (there is an origin!) have added fresh lustre to the renown of their ancestors. Glory has engendered no other offspring but these heroes; the childen of glory are few.

The authority which this dynasty acquired in Spain originated in the following manner : —Noaim and his son Itâf were the first of the family who passed from the East into Spain; they were natives of al-Arîsh, an ancient city which marks the point of separation between Syria and Egypt, and is situated on the edge of the Syrian desert. (*On their arrival in Spain*) they settled at Tûmîn, a village in that district of the province of Seville which is called Tushâna (*Tocina*). Itâf left issue, and one of his descendants, the *kâdi* az-Zâfir Muhammad Ibn Ismaîl, was the first of the family who, in that country, emerged from obscurity. Having risen to the post of *kâdi* at Seville, he acted towards the people with such justice and moderation as drew on him the attention of every eye and the love of every heart. When the sovereign of Cordova (2), Yahya Ibn Ali Ibn Hammûd al-Hasani, surnamed al-Motali, who was a prince of a tyrannical disposition, laid siege to Seville, the chief men of that city went to the *kâdi* Muhammad and said to him : " Seest thou not what this tyrant " hath brought down upon us, and how he hath destroyed the property of the peo- " ple? Arise then with us, and let us go forth against him; we will give thee the " sovereignty over us and concede to thee the supreme authority." He accepted their proposal, and they sallied forth against Yahya. That prince, who was then intoxicated with wine, mounted on horseback to encounter them, and met with his death. The power of Muhammad Ibn Ismaîl being thus established, he obtained possession of Cordova and other places. The history of his proceedings with the pretended Hishâm Ibn al-Hakam is well known: Hishâm Ibn al-Hakam, the last Omaiyide sovereign of Spain, had allowed al-Mansûr Ibn Abi Aâmir not only to acquire an absolute authority over him, but to exclude him from all communication

with the public; no orders issued from the palace but such as were dictated by that minister; the prince was debarred from the exercise of power and deprived of all the attributes of royalty, with the exception of the imperial title and the mention of his name in the *khotba* (*public prayer*) offered up from the pulpits. Nothing was then heard of him for upwards of twenty years, and various changes had taken place when the *kâdi* Muhammad was informed, some time after his accession and the reduction of the (*neighbouring*) cities under his rule, that Hishâm Ibn al-Hakam was in a mosque at Kalât Rabâh (*Calatrava*). He immediately sent for him, and having placed the supreme authority in his hands, he constituted himself the vizir of this (*mock sovereign*). Alluding to this circumstance, the *hâfiz* Abû Muhammad Ibn Hazm az-Zâhiri (*vol. II. p.* 267) says, in his *Nukat al-Arûs* : " An imposture the " like of which never occurred before : upwards of twenty years had elapsed " since the death of Hishâm Ibn al-Hakam, surnamed al-Muwaiyad, when there " appeared a man called Khalaf al-Hasri (*the mat-maker*), who gave himself " out for that prince, and, being proclaimed sovereign, the public prayer was " offered up in his name, at different periods, from all the pulpits of Spain. He " caused great bloodshed ; armies encountered in battle on his account, and during " more than twenty years he persevered in his pretensions. The *kâdi* Muhammad " Ibn Ismaîl held the rank of vizir under him and possessed all the authority. " Things continued in this state till the false Hishâm's death, when the *kâdi* as- " sumed the supreme power. " (*This kâdi*) was a man of great learning and skilled in literature; he possessed a perfect knowledge of the means by which empires are governed, and he continued to reign with absolute authority till his death. This event took place on Sunday, the 29th of the first Jumâda, A. H. 433 (24th January, A. D. 1042). He was interred in the citadel of Seville. Some say that he died towards the year 450 ; different dates also are assigned to his accession; Imâd ad-Dîn mentioning, in his *Kharîda*, the year 414 (A. D. 1023-4), and others giving the year 424. God best knows the truth in all these statements ! — On the death of Muhammad the *kâdi*, his son Abû Amr Abbâd, surnamed al-Motadid billah, succeeded to the supreme command. Speaking of this prince, Abû 'l-Hasan Ali Ibn Bassâm says, in his *Dakhîra* (3) : " Then the authority passed to Abbâd, in the " year 433 ; he at first bore the surname of Fakhr ad-Dawlat (*glory of the empire*), " and afterwards that of al-Motadid (4). He was the axle of the mill-stone of " civil discord and the utmost limit of affliction : think of a man whom neither

"strong nor weak could withstand (5), from whom neither the near nor the distant "could escape; a mighty prince who consolidated the power which had been shaken; "a lion who, whilst crouching, devoured the fawn; a precipitate (*politician*) against "whom even the astucious had to be on their guard, and a dastard of whom the "bravest warriors stood in awe; misguided, he followed the right path; consolidating "(*the state*), he cut away and spared not; he assaulted, and the people were hostile "(*to him*). Yet, he established his authority, agitated as he was (6), so that he ex- "tended his power, enlarged his kingdom, multiplied his troops, and increased his "means. Besides this, ho was gifted with a handsome face, a body perfect in its "proportions, a colossal stature, a liberal hand (7), penetration of intellect, presence "of mind, and a just perception. By these qualities he surpassed all his contem- "poraries; and moreover, before ambition led him to aspire after power, he had "looked into literature with a close glance and an acute apprehension; so that by "his quick intelligence, he acquired an abundant stock of information, noted down "without serious study, without advancing far into its depths, without extensive "reading, and without indulging in the passion of collecting books of that kind. "With these accomplishments, he derived from his genius the talent of expressing "his thoughts in an ornate style. He composed also pieces of verse remarkable for "sweetness, containing thoughts which the natural turn of his disposition enabled "him to attain, expressing perfectly well what he wished to say, and displaying such "excellence as caused them to be copied by literary men. To these brilliant quali- "ties he united a liberal disposition, wherein he rivalled the (*copious*) rain-clouds. "The history of al-Motadid, in all his actions and his various projects, is singular and "striking. He was addicted to women, of whom he had great numbers and of va- "rious races; in this indulgence he reached a point to which none of his contempo- "raries ever went, and, by its frequency and his natural vigour, he begot a nume- "rous progeny. It is said that he had about twenty sons and as many daughters (8)." This writer gives some pieces composed by him, of which this is one :

When the night was washing from its eyes the collyrium (*of darkness*) with the water of morning, and the zephyr blew mildly, we drank an old (*liquor, in colour*) like gold, in perfume strong, and in body weak (9).

In the life of Abû Bakr Muhammad Ibn Ammâr (*p. 127 of this vol*), we have given some extracts from the two *kasîdas* composed by that vizir in honour of al-Motadid (10);



one of these poems rhymes in *r* and the other in *m*. Al-Motadid is thus described in a piece of verse composed by his son al-Motamid :

A generous prince, bestowing thousands before the request is made, and who offers excuses, thinking his gifts too small. His hand is kissed by every mighty man, and were it not for its moisture (*its liberality*), we should say it is the sacred stone (*of Mekka's temple*).

He continued in the glory of power and the enjoyment of pleasure, till he was attacked by a quinsy which soon carried him off. On perceiving his death draw near, he ordered a singer to be brought in, with the intention of drawing an omen from the first words of the piece which might be sung, and the singer commenced with this verse :

We kill time, knowing that it will kill us; mix then the (*wine*), young girl! with the water of the cloud and give us to drink.

From these words he drew a bad omen, and effectively, he only survived five days. His death took place at Seville, on Monday, the 1st of the latter Jumâda, A. H. 461 (28th March, A. D. 1069), and he was interred there the next day. His son al-Motamid ala 'llah Abû 'l-Kâsim Muhammad succeeded to the throne. Speaking of al-Motamid, Abû 'l-Hasan Ali Ibn al-Kattâa (*vol. II. p.* 265) says, in his *Lumah al-Mulah*: "The most liberal, the most hospitable, the most munificent, and the most power-"ful of all the princes who ruled in Spain. His court was therefore the halting "place of travellers (11), the rendezvous of poets, the point towards which all hopes "were turned, and the haunt of men of talent; so much so, that, at the door of no "other contemporary prince were to be found so many eminent poets and literary "men as were assembled in his presence (12)." Ibn Bassâm says, in the *Dakhîra*: "Al-Motamid Ibn Abbâd left some pieces of verse (*beautiful*) as the bud when it opens "to disclose the flower; and, had the like been composed by persons who made of "poetry a profession and a merchandise, they would still have been considered as "charming, admirable, and singulary original." One of these pieces is the following :

Thou hast often shunned me, though sometimes events induced thee to treat me kindly. The time of our separation seemed (*dismal*) as night, and the moments of our meeting (*bright*) as the moon.

This idea bears some relation to that which a poet has expressed in the following verses of a poem :

> The light of morning removed (*the cover of darkness*) off her face, and the mole of her cheek arose, imbued with moisture. The mole on her cheek seemed like a single moment of (*a mistress'*) displeasure during the hours of love.

Having resolved to send his concubines from Cordova to Seville, he set out with them and escorted them from night-fall till morning. He then bade them farewell and returned back, reciting some verses, two of which ran as follows :

> I travelled with them whilst the robe of night was of one uniform colour, but, when it appeared striped (*by the rays of dawn*), I stopped to say farewell, and the morning received from my hand those stars.

This idea is highly beautiful. He said also on the subject of his bidding them farewell :

> Early in the morning, when I stopped to say farewell, standards were waving in the court of the castle, and we wept blood ; so that, by the shedding of red tears, our eyes appeared like wounds.

This is an imitation of the thought which a poet has thus expressed :

> I wept blood, so that a person said : " This youth is bleeding from the nose with the lids " of his eyes. "

A similar idea occurs also in a piece of al-Abîwardi's which we have already given (*p.* 146 *of this vol.*). The following verses are by al-Motamid :

> Were the eyes of delators not fixed upon me, and did I not fear that the guards might tell, I should have made you a visit to retribute your cruelty, even were I to creep on my face or walk on my head (13).

He addressed the following lines from his palace at Cordova to his boon companions who had made a morning party at az-Zahrâ, inviting them to come and carouse with him that evening :

> On your account, the palace envied az-Zahrâ, and I swear by my existence and yours that it was not in the wrong ! At az-Zahrâ you rose as suns to light the day ; appear near us as moons to light the night.



This idea is novel and striking.—"*Az-Zahrâ* (14) is one of the most admirable "edifices in the world; its erection was commenced in the beginning of the year 325 "(November, A. D. 936) by Abû 'l-Mutarrif Abd ar-Rahmân, surnamed an-Nâsir, "(the son of Muhammad, the son of Abd Allah), who was one of the Omaiyide sove-"reigns of Spain. It lies at the distance of four miles and two-thirds from Cordova. "Its length, from east to west, is two thousand seven hundred cubits, and its breadth, "from north to south (15), one thousand five hundred cubits; the number of its pillars "is four thousand three hundred, and it has upwards of fifteen thousand (?) doors. "An-Nâsir divided the revenue of the state into three portions; one was given to the "troops, another deposited in the treasury, and the third spent on the construction "of the Zahrâ. The taxes of Spain at that time amounted to five millions four hun-"dred and eighty thousand dinars, besides seven hundred and sixty-five thousand "dinars produced by the tolls and the demesnes of the sovereign. The Zahrâ is one "of the most colossal buildings erected by man, the most splendid and the most "renowned (16)." The preceding indications are taken from Ibn Bashkuwâl's History of Spain (*vol. I. p.* 491).— The celebrated poet Abû Bakr Muhammad Ibn Isa Ibn Muhammad al-Lakhmi ad-Dâni felt a natural partiality for the Abbâd family in consequence of the patronage which he had received from al-Motamid (17); and he celebrated the praises of that prince in a number of beautiful pieces. In one of these poems, he mentions al-Motamid's four sons, namely: ar-Rashîd Obaid Allah, ar-Râdi Yazîd, al-Mâmûn al-Fath, and al-Mûtamin. In this piece, he says, with the utmost elegance:

(*He is*) a helper in want, an assister in adversity; in armour, he appals; in silks, he excites admiration. (*His are*) beauty, beneficence, rank, and power; (*he is*) like the noontide sun, the (*refreshing*) cloud, the lightning (*which announces the genial rains*) and the thunder (*which threatens*). With his blood he raised a monument of glory, and he enlarged that edifice by sons, mighty and resolute; four in number, like the temperaments, combined to maintain in health the body of renown and the nobleness of ancient descent.

Notwithstanding the illustrious deeds and the generosity of this family, it could not escape detraction: thus, Abû 'l-Hasan Jaafar Ibn Ibrahîm Ibn al-Hâjj al-Lûrki (18) said of them:

Mourn for the world and for the death of beneficence, since beneficence subsists not in the family of Abbâd! I passed three months with them as a visitor, yet never obtained a dinner; I then left them and received no provisions for my journey.

At that time, Alphonso (VI), the son of Ferdinand, the sovereign of Castile and king of the Spanish Franks, had become so powerful that the petty Moslim kings of that country were obliged to make peace with him and pay him tribute. He then took Toledo on Tuesday, the 1st of Safar, A. H. 478 (29th May, A. D. 1085), after an arduous siege. That city belonged to al-Kâdir billah Ibn Zî 'n-Nûn. In allusion to this event, the following verses were pronounced by Abû Muhammad Abd Allah Ibn Faraj Ibn Ghazlûn al-Yahsubi, generally known by the appellation of *Ibn al-Assâl* (العسال) at-Tulaitili, and of whom Ibn Bashkuwâl speaks in his *Silat* (19) :

> Hasten the speed of your horses, inhabitants of Spain! none can dwell in quiet there unless by chance. The beads (*fortresses*) drop off from the ends of its necklace, and soon, I think, the necklace of the peninsula will be broken in the middle. He who resides near evil should not think himself secure from its attacks; how could a man live in a basket of snakes?

Al-Motamid Ibn Abbâd surpassed all the other kings in greatness of power and extent of empire, yet he also paid tribute to Alphonso. After capturing Toledo, the latter conceived hopes of getting that prince's kingdom into his possession, and therefore refused to receive the tribute. At the same time, he sent him a threatening message, ordering him to deliver up his fortresses; on which condition, he might retain the open country as his own. These words provoked al-Motamid to such a degree, that he struck the ambassador and put to death all those who accompanied him. Alphonso had set out with the intention of besieging Cordova when he received intelligence of this event, and he immediately returned to Toledo in order to provide machines for the siege (*of Seville*). When the *shaikhs* of Islamism and its doctors were informed of his project, they assembled and said : "Behold how the Moslim "cities fall into the hands of the Franks whilst our sovereigns are engaged in war-"ring against each other! If things continue in this state, the Franks will subdue "the entire country." They then went to the *kâdi* (*of Cordova*), Abd Allah Ibn Muhammad Ibn Adham, and conferred with him on the disasters which had befallen the Moslims and on the means by which they might be remedied. Every person had something to say, but it was finally resolved that they should write to Abû Yakûb Yûsuf Ibn Tâshifîn, the king of the *al-Mulaththimûn* (20) and sovereign of Morocco, imploring his assistance. (We shall give the life of Yûsuf Ibn Tâshifîn.) The *kâdi* then waited on al-Motamid and informed him of what had passed. Al-Motamid concurred with them on the expediency of such an application, and told the *kâdi* to

bear the message himself to Yûsuf Ibn Tâshifîn. The *kâdi* hesitated at first, but as the prince insisted, he retired, imploring of the Almighty that things might turn out well. Having then written to the sovereign of Morocco, acquainting him with what had taken place, he despatched the letter by one of his slaves. When Yûsuf Ibn Tâshifîn received this communication, he set out in all haste for Ceuta; and the *kâdi*, with a numerous company, proceeded to the same place for the purpose of meeting that monarch and representing to him the situation of the Moslims. Yûsuf then gave orders that the army should be taken over to Algeziras, which is a city in the territory of Spain, whilst he himself remained at Ceuta, a city in the territory of Morocco and lying opposite to Algeziras. He recalled from (*the city of*) Morocco the troops which he had left there, and when all were assembled, he sent them across to Spain, and followed with a body of ten thousand men. Al-Motamid, who had also assembled an army, went to meet him; and the Moslims, on hearing the news, hastened from every country for the purpose of combating the infidels. On receiving intelligence of these events, Alphonso, who was then at Toledo, took the field with forty thousand horse, exclusive of the other troops which came to join him. He wrote also a long and threatening letter to Yûsuf Ibn Tâshifîn, who inscribed on the back of it these words: *What will happen thou shalt see!* and returned it. On reading the answer, Alphonso was filled with apprehension, and observed that this was a man of resolution. The two armies then advanced and met at a place called az-Zallâka, near the town of Batalyaus (*Badajoz*), where they formed in line. The Moslims gained the victory, and Alphonso fled with a few others, after witnessing the extermination of his troops. Some state that this engagement took place on a Friday, in one of the first ten days of the month of Ramadân, A. H. 479, but the true date is the middle (*the 12th*) of Rajab of that year (23rd October, A. D. 1086). This year was adopted in Spain as the commencement of a new era, and was called *the year of az-Zallâka*. The battle of az-Zallâka is one of the most celebrated in history. Al-Motamid on that day made a most firm resistance, and numerous wounds in his face and body attested his undaunted courage. The beasts of burden and the arms of the enemy fell into the hands of the Moslims. The emir Yûsuf (*Ibn Tâshifîn*) then returned to Arica, and al-Motamid to his kingdom. The ensuing year, Yûsuf passed into Spain, and al-Motamid having gone to meet him, he laid siege to a fortress (*named Aledo and*) belonging to the Franks, but was unable to take it. Having resumed his march, he went across to Granada, and Abd Allah Ibn Buluggîn, the lord of that city, came out

to receive him. Abd Allah then re-entered Granada with the intention of sending the customary presents (*to his powerful visitor*), but Yûsuf penetrated perfidiously into the city, expelled Abd Allah, and proceeded to the palace, where he found an immense quantity of money and treasures. After this exploit he returned to Morocco, his mind deeply impressed with the beauty of Spain, its magnificence, its edifices, its gardens, its alimentary productions, and those various (*sources of*) riches which did not exist in Morocco, a country inhabited by (*rude*) Berbers and wild uncivilised Arabs. The persons whom he admitted into his intimate society then began to extol Spain in his presence, to represent to him the facility with which he might obtain possession of so fine a country, and to irritate him against al-Motamid, by repeating things which, as they pretended, that prince had said. Yûsuf's feelings towards al-Motamid thus underwent a complete change, and he, at length, marched against him. On arriving at Ceuta, he sent his army across to Spain and placed it under the orders of Sîr Ibn Abi Bakr al-Andalusi (21). This general (*after achieving various conquests*) reached Seville and besieged it vigorously. Al-Motamid, who was then in the city, displayed the greatest firmness and bravery, encountering every danger with unheard of courage. The inhabitants, overcome with consternation and filled with terror, wandered (*in despair*) through the streets; some escaped by swimming across the river, and others let themselves down from the battlements of the walls. At length, on Sunday, the 20th of Rajab, A. H. 484 (7th Sept. A. D. 1091), the army of the emir Yûsuf burst into the city, spread devastation through every quarter, and deprived the people of all they possessed. The inhabitants, concealing their nudity with their hands, fled from their houses, and al-Motamid, with his family, were taken prisoners. He had already lost two of his sons; one of them, al-Mâmûn, commanded at Cordova as his father's lieutenant, but being besieged there (*by the Almoravides*), he was taken and executed. Ar-Râdi, the other son, met with a similar fate at Ronda, a strong fortress in which he also commanded as his father's lieutenant. Al-Motamid composed a number of elegies on their death. This prince was no sooner made prisoner than they bound him in chains and embarked him with his family on board a ship. Ibn Khâkân (*vol. II. p.* 455) says, in his *Kalaîd al-Ikiyân*, on coming to this part (*of al-Motamid's history*): "Then he and his family were borne off in the lofty (*masted*) "coursers (*of the sea*), enclosed therein as if they were dead; they for whom (*but a* "*short time before*) a palace was not sufficiently ample, and whose presence had "given lustre to the age. The people assembled on the banks of the river, shedding

"tears as the clouds of morning (*shed rain*), and (*the exiles*) departed with lamen-
"tations to escort them, and the manifestation of general grief failed them not."
Alluding to this event, Abû Bakr Muhammad Ibn Isa ad-Dâni, generally known by the appellation of Ibn al-Labbâna (22), expressed his feelings in a long *kasîda*, which we need not insert, and which begins thus :

The heavens shed tears, evening and morning, over the noble princes, the sons of Abbâd.

Describing the same event, the Sicilian poet, Abû Muhammad Abd al-Jabbâr Ibn Hamdis (*vol. II. p.* 160) composed a long piece of verse which contained these lines :

When you left us and bore off in your hands generosity itself, whilst the mountains of your (*power*) were shaken to their basis (23), I raised my voice and exclaimed: The day of judgment has come! behold the firm mountains pass away (24)!

The idea of this last verse is taken from the following lines composed by Abd Allah Ibn al-Motazz (*vol. II. p.* 41) on the death of Abû 'l-Abbâs Ahmad Ibn Muhammad Ibn al-Furât (*vol. II. p.* 358) :

The human race are now all on a level; perfection is dead and the vicissitudes of time exclaim: Where are the (*great*) men (25)? Behold Abû 'l-Abbâs on his bier! arise and see how mountains are removed from their places.

It has been said that Ibn al-Motazz recited these verses on the death of the vizir Abû 'l-Kâsim Obaid Allah Ibn Sulaimân Ibn Wahb, and this statement I have since found confirmed.—Al-Motamid pronounced the following verses one day, whilst suffering from the weight and tightness of his chains :

For the shade of my once triumphant banners I have received in exchange the ignominy of fetters and the weight of chains. The irons which I once used were the pointed lance and the sharp, thin, and polished sword; but both are now turned into rusty (*chains*), grasping my leg as lions grasp their prey.

They then bore him to Yûsuf Ibn Tâshifîn, at Morocco, and that emir sent him to Aghmât and imprisoned him there for life. Ibn Khâkân says : "Torn from his
"country and stripped of his possessions, he was carried off in a ship and deposited
"on the (*African*) shore as a corpse is deposited in its place of burial; the pulpits of
"his (*states*) and the throne (26) deplored his absence; those who once visited his

" table or his bed of sickness went near him no more; he remained alone in his
" grief, uttering deep-drawn sighs and pouring forth tears as a conduit pours forth
" water; none were left to console him in his solitude, and, instead of the Lowers
" (*which he once frequented*), he now saw nought but strangers. Deprived of con-
" solation, hopeless of the approach (*of friends*), debarred from the aspect of joy, he
" called to mind his native abodes, and that thought made him long for home; he
" saw in imagination the splendour of his (*court*), and that image raised his admira-
" tion; his fancy showed him his dwelling laid desolate, the palace bewailing its
" (*former*) inhabitants, its heavens (*extent*) darkened by the absence of its full moons
" (*beautiful women*), and of its guards and of the companions of his evening hours."
—His imprisonment inspired Abû Bakr ad-Dâni (*Ibn al-Labbâna*) with the celebrated *kasîda* which begins thus :

Each thing has its appointed hour; each wish, a time for its fulfilment. Fortune has been immersed in the dye of the camelion, and the colours of its various states are always changing. We are chessmen in the hands of fortune, and sometimes the pawn may check the king (27). Cast off the world and its inhabitants; the earth is now tenantless; men (*worthy of the name*) are dead. Tell the creatures who dwell here below that the secret plan of Providence above is now concealed at Aghmât.

This is a long poem, containing about fifty verses. In the year 486 (A.D.1093), he (*Ibn al-Labbâna*) composed at Aghmât the following piece on al-Motamid's imprisonment (28) :

Smell this nosegay of salutations; by it I break the seal of that musk (*condolence*) from which thou hast been precluded. Let me know indirectly, if thou canst not do it openly, that thou who gavest happiness (*to others*) canst yet taste of it thyself. When I think of those times which for thee passed over so brightly, the light of morning becomes darkness for me. I marvel how the milky way, on seeing thee, a sun, eclipsed, could ever rise again and shew its stars. Though our affliction for thy loss was great, we found thee a still greater affliction (*for thy foes*) : a spear rushing to the charge till it was shivered, a sword dealing its blows till it was indented. The rain-cloud, pouring down its showers wept for the family of Abbâd, but equalled not (*in abundance the gifts once bestowed by*) Muhammad and his sons. How dearly I love Habîb (29) for these words : " Perhaps a (*ship*) appearing in the horizon may bring
" them near (*to us*); perhaps it may! When their morning (*their presence*) dawned upon
" us, we praised (*our diligence in*) travelling (*even*) by night (*to reach their court*); but since
" we have lost them, we travel in darkness. We once browsed in the pasture-ground of
" honour all around their park (*empire*); but now that pasture-ground is barren, and that park
" is deserted. Time hath clothed their dwelling with a raiment, the warp and woof of which
" are formed by the rains (30). Their palaces are no longer inhabited; nought is seen therein

> "but the fallow (*deer*) walking around the statues (31) still erect. The echo answers the "screech-owl in those halls where the birds once sung responsive to the voice of the musician. "It is now as if no human being had ever resided there; as if ambassadors had never found "therein a crowded court; as if (*hostile*) troops had never met there an army (*to repel them*)." On departing from thy kingdom, thou wert like unto Mâlik, and I, through grief for thee, am like Mutammim (32). (*What*) a misfortune (*was yours*)! it cast down the luminaries from their exalted sphere, and left not a mark to distinguish the region of beneficence. Oppressed by the narrowness of the earth, I think that I and it have been formed for each other as the bracelet is formed for the arm (33). I have lamented thee so that grief hath left me neither tears nor blood to weep thy loss withal. I shall persevere in that course, and, if I die, I shall leave my conduct as an example for other mourners. For thee the rain wept, the wind tore open its bosom, and the thunder uttered thy name in its moanings; the lightning rent its robe, the day put on the raiment of mourning, and the stars of heaven formed an assembly to deplore thee. Thy son, the light of day, was bewildered with sorrow and swerved from its path; thy brother, the ocean, shrunk with indignation and swelled no more (34). Since thy departure, the full moon hath never stationed within a halo, and the noontide sun hath never been seen to smile. God ordained that thou shouldst be dismounted from a bay and towering (*steed*) and be embarked in a black and unlucky (*vessel*).

In the following passage of the same poem, the poet alludes to the circumstance of al-Motamid's chains having fallen off :

> Thy chains melted away and thou wert loose; thy chains were then more compassionate towards the generous than they. I marvelled that the iron should soften whilst their hearts remained hard; the iron knew better the secret intentions of Providence than they. He will deliver thee who delivered Joseph from the well; he will protect thee who protected Jesus, the son of Mary.

Ibn al-Labbâna composed a number of detached pieces and long *kasîdas,* in which he lamented the (*glorious*) days of that family and the ruin of their power. These poems he collected in a small volume, to which he gave the title of *Nazm as-Sulûk fi Waaz il-Mulûk* (*the string of beads, being an admonition to kings*). He visited al-Motamid at Aghmât with the intention of fulfilling a duty, not with the hope of obtaining a present, and it is stated that, when about to take leave, he received from the prince a gift of twenty dinars and a piece of Baghdad cloth, accompanied with a note containing these lines :

> Receive these precious objects from the hand of a captive; if you accept them, you will be truly grateful. Accept (*a trifle*) from one who melts with shame to (*offer*) it, although poverty is his excuse.

These verses are only a part of the piece. Abû Bakr Ibn al-Labbâna here says :



I sent this present back to him, being aware of his poverty and knowing that he had nothing left. I wrote to him at the same time the following answer to his note :

Thou hast met with a man who knoweth what is honour; leave me then in the ideas I have formed of thee. May I renounce the love I bear thee, and which forms half my soul, if the mantle which covers me ever discloses an impostor! May I never be delivered from misfortune if I wrong a captive. Thou art Jadîma; az-Zabbâ deceived thee, and I shall not be less than Kasîr (35). I journey forth, but not with mercenary views; God preserve me from motives so disgraceful! I know thy merit better than thou dost thyself; I have often enjoyed its shade in the ardent heat (*of affliction*). Thou wheelest about squadrons of noble deeds in the field of generosity, and out of little thou bestowest much. I wonder how thou art left in the darkness (*of despair*), whilst thou settest up beacons of light to guide the needy traveller. Have patience! thou shalt hereafter overwhelm me with joy, when the time returns for thee to mount the throne; thou shalt place me in an honorable rank, the morning of thy arrival at yonder palace. There thou shalt surpass Ibn Marwân in liberality, and I shall surpass Jarîr (*in talent*) (36). Prepare to rise again; the moon doth not remain eclipsed for ever.

One festival day, he received, in his prison, the visit of his daughters, who were then gaining a livelihood at Aghmât by spinning; one of them was even employed as a spinner by the daughter of a person who had been in the service of her father and commanded the police guards when he was on the throne. Seeing them dressed in old tattered clothes and so miserable, his heart was rent with grief (37) and he recited these verses (*adressing them to himself*) :

In former times festivals made thee rejoice; but now, a prisoner in Aghmât, a festival afflicts thee. Thou seest thy daughters hungry and in rags, spinning for hire and pennyless. They went forth to salute thee, with down-cast eyes and broken hearts; they walk barefoot in the mud, as if they had never trod (*on floors strewed with*) musk and camphor. Not a cheek (*of theirs*) but its surface complains of drought (*misery*), and is never watered but with sobs (*and tears*). Fortune was once obedient to thy command; now it has reduced thee to obey the commands of others. He who, after thee, lives rejoicing in the exercise of power, lives in the mere delusion of a dream.

Whilst in this (*miserable*) state, " with fetters enclosing his legs in a lion's grasp, " encircling them as with the coils of black serpents, unable to stir his limbs, shed- " ding not a single tear unmixed with blood, he, who had seen himself mounted " on the pulpit and the throne, who (*had lived*) in the midst of silks and gardens, " with standards waving over him, whilst the assemblies were enlightened by his " presence " (38), he received the visit of his son Abû Hâshim, and on perceiving him, he wept and recited these lines :

O my chains! see you not that I am resigned, and yet you shew neither pity nor compassion? My blood hath been your drink; my flesh you have devoured; but do not break my bones. Abû Hâshim sees me in your grasp, and broken-hearted, he turns away his face. Pity a boy light of heart, who never supposed that he should have to implore your mercy. Pity his little sisters, whom, like him, you obliged to swallow the poisonous and bitter draught (*of misery*). One of them can comprehend, in some degree (*her situation*), and I have sometimes feared that she would lose her sight from excessive weeping; the other comprehends nothing, and only opens her mouth to take the breast.

Whilst he was in this situation, a number of needy solicitors assembled in his room and assailed him with importunities. On this occasion, he pronounced the following lines :

They ask a trifle from a prisoner; yet strange enough, I have greater cause to ask than they. Were it not for a feeling of shame and that hereditary pride (39) which imbues the inmost folds of my bosom, I should follow their example in begging.

The poems composed by al-Motamid and those composed on him are very numerous.—We have now passed our usual limits, but we were induced to lengthen this article because the like of so extraordinary a fate as his was never seen; our notice contains besides an account of his father and grandfather, and this contributed to extend it. Al-Motamid was born in the month of the first Rabî, A. H, 431 (Nov.-Dec. A. D. 1039), in Bâjja (*Beja*), a city of Spain. He succeeded to the throne on the death of his father, in the year already mentioned; he was deposed in the year which we have indicated (*in page* 191), and he died in prison at Aghmât, on the 11th of Shawwâl (16th October)—some say, of Zû 'l-Hijja (11th December)—A. H. 488 (A. D. 1095). At his interment, the crier called on the people to come to the funeral prayer about to be said over a stranger; singular fate of a once mighty and powerful prince! glory be to the Being whose existence, power, and might endure for ever! A great number of the poets who had visited his court to celebrate his praises, and who had been generously rewarded by him, assembled round his grave, to weep and recite over it long *kasîdas* in which they lamented his death. One of them was Abû Bahr Abd as-Samad, his favorite poet, who then deplored his loss in a long and excellent *kasîda* beginning thus :

King of kings! canst thou still hear, so that I may call on thee? or doth a fatal misfortune prevent thee from hearing? On quitting thy palace, in which I saw thee no longer as once I did on days of rejoicing, I came, in humble respect, to kiss this grave and make thy tomb the place of my recitation.



On finishing, he kissed the grave, and rolled himself on the ground, and soiled his face with dust; at this sight all the assembly burst into tears.—It is related that, after (*al-Motamid's*) overthrow, a person dreamt that he saw a man mount the pulpit in the mosque of Cordova, turn towards the people and recite the following lines :

> How often have the caravans halted with the camels in the court of their glory, when it surpassed all rivalry! During a time, misfortune addressed them not, but, when it spoke, it caused them to shed tears of blood.

Al-Motamid had a grandson, who, in the days of their power, bore the surname of Fakhr ad-Dawlat (*glory of the empire*), which, with that dynasty, was an imperial title. This boy, who was remarkably well looking, took to the trade of a goldsmith, and Abû Bakr ad-Dâni (*Ibn al-Labbâna*) having seen him one day blowing the fire by means of a hollow reed, composed a *kasîda* in which he introduced the following passage :

> Great is our affliction for thee, O Fakhr al-Ola (*glory of exaltation*), and great the misfortune for one whose rank was so high! Time has placed around thy neck the tight collar of its vicissitudes; yet how often didst thou place round ours the collar of thy beneficence! The collar given thee in return (*thou didst receive*) in the shop of adversity, and yet thou once dwelledst in a palace like that of Iram (40). Thou wieldest goldsmith's tool sin that hand which only knew beneficence, the sword, and the pen; a hand which I have often seen thee hold out to be kissed, and then the Pleiades aspired to become a mouth (41). Artisan! thou for whom high rank formed a brilliant ornament and who once wast decked with sets of pearls! the blowing of the trumpet (*on the day of judgment*) will create a consternation equalled only by that which I felt on seeing thee blowing coals. When I saw thee thus employed, I wished that, before it, my eyes had been afflicted with blindness. When fortune degraded thee from thy rank, it did not degrade thee from honour, neither did it diminish thy noble qualities. Shine in honour! shine as a star, if thou canst not as a moon; rise in honour as a hill, if thou canst not as a mountain! By Allah! were the stars just towards thee, they would eclipse their light, and were men's eyes faithful to thee, they would exhaust their tears. Thy story would make even the pearls weep, since they ressemble thee in family, in words, and in smiles (42).

It is unnecessary to make further additions to this article.—*Lûrki* means belonging to *Lûrka* (*Lorca*), a city in Spain. The author of the *Kharîda* mentions the poet al-Lûrki in that work, and states that he survived al-Motamid many years; he gives also numerous specimens of gis poetry.—*Aghmât* is a town situated at a day's journey beyond Morocco; it has produced many men distinguished for learning.—As for Abû Bakr (*Muhammad Ibn Isa ad-Dâni* [native of Denia], *surnamed*) Ibn al-Labbâna, none of the works which I have consulted give the date of his death, and I never met

with any person who knew it. I saw, however, in the *Hamâsa* composed by Abû 'l-Hajjâj Yûsuf al-Baiyâsi, a person of whom we shall again speak, that Ibn al-Labbâna arrived at Majorca, towards the end of the month of Shaabân, A. H. 489 (August, A. D. 1096), and that he celebrated the praises of Mubashshar Ibn Sulaimân (43), sovereign of that island, in a piece of verse commencing thus:

> A king who, when arrayed in jewels, strikes thee with admiration by his splendour, and whose magnificence gives fresh lustre to the qualities of the age in which he lives.

Not finding any elegies of Ibn al-Labbâna on the death of al-Motamid, I imagined that he had died before that prince; I then found al-Baiyâsi's statement, which, if true, proves the contrary (44).

(1) For the history of the Lakhmides of al-Hîra, see Pococke's *Specimen Hist. Ar.* page 67, ed. 1806 and Mr. Caussin de Perceval's *Essai sur l'Histoire des Arabes.*

(2) This Idrîside sovereign reigned at Malaga. Cordova was, at that time, an independant republic.

(3) A better acquaintance with Ibn Bassâm's work obliges me to acknowledge that it contains a mass of precious information borrowed mostly from other authors, but his own style is detestable. This author, according to al-Makkari, was a native of Santarem and died A. H. 542 (A. D. 1147-8). In the year 1861, I published an account of the *Dakhîra* in the *Journal asiatique*. See also professor Dozy's *Historia Abbadidarum*, tome III, page 38.

(4) *Al-Motadid*, or more correctly *al-Motadid billah*, signifies: *one who recurs to the assistance of God*.

(5) Literally: The standing and the mowed down. A metaphor taken from corn.

(6) Literally: Between standing up and sitting down.

(7) Literally: Copiousness of fingers.

(8) The latter half of this extract consists of a passage which Ibn Bassâm borrowed from Ibn Hazm.

(9) I believe that, with the Arabian poets, a weak-bodied wine means a pure transparent wine.

(10) This is a mistake. The poems of which Ibn Khallikân speaks were composed in honour of al-Motamid.

(11) Literally: The place where the baggage is taken off.

(12) Literally: As were enclosed between the two ranks of servants in his hall.

(13) Read, in the text, لزرتكم لاكافيكم and او سعيا.

(14) *Zahrâ* is the feminine singular of the adjective *azhar* (*bright, splendid*).

(15) Ibn Khallikân's copyists have here committed a blunder which it is impossible to render into English. The passage, if translated into French, would run thus: Et sa largeur, du *sud au midi*, est, etc. They have written الجنوب, instead of الجوف.

(16) Not a trace of the Zahrâ can now be discovered.

(17) Literally: Because al-Motamid was the person who drew him by the arm. In English, we should say: Who took him by the hand.

(18) Zû 'l-Wizâratain Abû 'l-Hasan Jaafar Ibn Ibrahîm Ibn al-Hâjj al-Lûrki (*native of Lorca*), a distinguished poet and prose-writer, belonged to an eminent family, some members of which rose to the rank of



vizir. Addicted, in his youth, to wine and pleasure, he afterwards reformed his life and passed the remainder of his days in ascetism and self-mortification.—(*Bughya. Kaldid al-Ikiydn.*)—The date of his death is not given, but Ibn Khâkân, the author of the latter work, cites a piece of verse composed by him in the year 517 (A. D. 1123-4).

(19) Abû Muhammad Abd Allah Ibn Faraj Ibn Ghazlûn al-Yahsubi, generally know by the appellation of *Ibn al-Ammdl* (العمال), was a native of Toledo, a learned traditionist, a grammarian, a philologer, and a poet. He gave lectures on the interpretation of the Korân, and these assemblies were numerously attended. He led a retired life, and succeeded Abû 'l-Walîd al-Wakshi as *kâdi* of Talavera. He died A. H. 487 (A.D. 1094), aged upwards of eighty years. — (Ibn Bashkuwâl, in his *Silat.*)

(20) This word signifies *the* lithâm *wearers*, and is frequently used to designate the Almoravides. The *lithâm* is the piece of dark blue stuff worn by the inhabitants of the great African desert to protect their faces from the reflected heat of the sun. It covers the forehead, the cheeks, the extremity of the nose, and the chin. It is still in use among the Tuwarigs.

(21) Sîr Ibn Abi Bakr belonged to the Berber tribe of Lamtûna. I do not know why Ibn Khallikân calls him *al-Andalusi* (*native of Spain*).

(22) At the end of this article, Ibn Khallikân gives a note on Ibn al-Labbâna. See also vol. II. page 162.

(23) This is an allusion to the third verse of the 81st sûrat of the Korân, where Muhammad mentions the signs which announce the approach of the day of judgment.

(24) See vol II. page 161, where the same verses are given.

(25) These verses are incorrectly rendered in the same page of vol. II.

(26) The word أعواد signifies *boards*, and is elegantly employed, *in Arabic*, to designate the pulpit. To avoid tautology, I have employed the word *throne*. It signifies also a *bier*.

(27) The rhyme here obliges us to pronounce the word *shâh* as if it was written *shât*; this is a fault against the rules of versification. The observation is made by Ibn Khallikân in the text, but, as it interrupts the piece, I have placed it here.

(28) In the *Kharîda*, MS. No. 1375, fol. 183, the verses of this poem are given in another order, and part of them suppressed. The piece itself is very obscure, and I am, by no means, certain of having rendered its meaning correctly in some parts.

(29) By *Habîb* the poet means Abû Tammâm (*see vol. I. page* 348).

(30) That is : The palace and the grounds about it are furrowed and cross-furrowed by torrents.

(31) It is strange that a Moslim prince should have ornamented his gardens with statues in the human form.

(32) See the life of Wathîma Ibn Mûsa, in the third vol. and the *Essai sur l'Histoire des Arabes*, tome III.

(33) *The earth oppressing by its narrowness* is a koranic expression to denote intense grief. As the poet takes this expression in its literal sense, it is impossible to render his meaning clearly in another language.

(34) The poet calls the daylight al-Motamid's son on account of its splendour, and the ocean his brother because its waters were as copious as his beneficence.

(35) See Pococke's *Specimen Hist. Ar.* page 68; Fleischer's *Historia anteislamica*, page 123; Rasmussen's *Additamenta*, page 2; and Freytag's *Meidani*, tome I. page 424; especially the two last.

(36) He means Jarîr the poet, who was a favorite with the khalif Abd al-Malik Ibn Marwân. See vol. I. page 298.

(37) I translate thus, by conjecture, the words فصد عن قلبه.

(38) The phrase is borrowed from the notice on al-Motamid by Ibn Khâkân.



(39) Literally: *Lakhmite pride*. The Abbâd family drew its descent from the progenitor of the tribe of Lakhm.

(40) See an account of this fabulous city in Lane's translation of the Arabian Nights, vol. II. p. 342.

(41) The meaning of the last hemistich is doubtful.

(42) The poet here indicates the points in which the young prince resembled pearls; first, by his family, who were the pearls of the age; secondly, by the elegance of his discourse, the expressions he made use of being the pearls of the language; and thirdly, by his teeth, which appeared, when he smiled, like two rows of pearls.

(43) See Gayangos's History of the Mohammedan dynasties in Spain, vol. II. page 258, and *Appendix*, page xlvii.

(44) For a much more satisfactory account of these sovereigns see Mr. Dozy's *Histoire des Musulmans d'Espagne*, vol. IV. Most of the pieces written by the Arabs on the Abbâdide dynasty have been published by him in three volumes in-4°, under the title of *Scriptorum Arabum loci de Abbadidis*. I have profited by many of Mr. Dozy's observations.

AL-MOTASIM IBN SUMADIH.

Abû Yahya Muhammad Ibn Maan Ibn Muhammad Ibn Ahmad Ibn Sumâdih, surnamed al-Motasim at-Tujîbi (1), was sovereign of al-Mariya (*Almeria*), Bajjâna (*Pechina*), and as-Sumâdihiya (2), cities in Spain. His grandfather Muhammad Ibn Ahmad Ibn Sumâdih possessed the city and district of Huesca (*Washka*) in the days of al-Muwaiyad Hishâm Ibn al-Hakam, the Omaiyide prince of whom mention has been made in the life of al-Motamid Ibn Abbâd (*p.* 184 *of this vol.*). Being attacked and defeated by his cousin Mundir Ibn Yahya at-Tujîbi, and unable to resist the numerous troops of his adversary, he took to flight, and, having abandoned Huesca, he remained without the smallest tie to connect him with that city. (*Muhammad Ibn Ahmad*) was endowed with judgment, acuteness, and eloquence, qualities in which none of the military chiefs of that time were his equals. His son Maan, the father of al-Motasim, married the daughter of Abd al-Azîz Ibn Abi Aâmir (*al-Mansûr*), the sovereign of Valencia, who subsequently, when Zuhair, his father's *mawla* who commanded at Almeria, lost his life, seized on that city, pretending that it belonged to a *mawla* of his family (3). This act excited the jealousy of Abû 'l-Jaish Mujâhid Ibn

Abd Allah al-Aâmiri (*vol. I, p.* 278), the sovereign of Denia, who immediately set out to invade the territory belonging to Abd al-Azîz whilst the latter was at Almeria, engaged in taking possession of the heritage which Zuhair had left. When Abd al-Azîz heard of Mujâhid's march, he departed from Almeria in all haste with the intention of suing for peace, and left his son-in-law and vizir, Maan Ibn Sumâdih, to govern that city as his lieutenant. Maan betrayed the confidence placed in him and, having declared himself independent, succeeded in establishing his authority, notwithstanding the universal reprobation which this act excited amongst the provincial kings who then ruled in Spain. On his death, the kingdom passed into the hands of his son al-Motasim. This prince, who had assumed one of the surnames special to khalifs, was distinguished for hospitality, liberality, and aversion to bloodshed; the hopes of the needy were turned towards him, every mouth spoke his praise, visitors flocked to his court (4), and eminent poets, such as Abû Abd Allah Ibn al-Haddâd and others, devoted their talents to his praise. Al-Motasim himself composed some good poetry, such as the following verses addressed by him in a letter to Abû Bakr Muhammad Ibn Ammâr al-Andalusi (*p.* 127 *of this vol.*), complaining of his conduct:

My knowledge of the world and long experience have estranged me from mankind. Never did fortune show me a friend who pleased me on a first acquaintance, but in the end he gave me motives of complaint; and never did I expect a friend's assistance against misfortune, but I found in him also another affliction.

To this Ibn Ammâr replied in a long piece of verse which it is unnecessary to reproduce. Another of al-Motasim's pieces is the following:

O thou whose absence hath afflicted my body with a sickness not to be cured but by thy return! My eyes and sleep are engaged in a warfare to which the battles of Siffîn appear a trifle (5). Though vicissitudes of time keep us separated, the *taif al-Khiâl* (6) may unite us.

It was from this passage that the *kâtib* Bahâ ad-Dîn Zuhair Ibn Muhammad (*vol. I. p.* 542) took the idea expressed in the following verse of one of his poems:

Since thy absence, my eyelids and slumber are at war.

Al-Motamid left a great number of other pieces besides these. Some splendid *kasîdas* were composed in his praise by Abû Abd Allah Muhammad Ibn Ahmad Ibn



Khalaf Ibn Ahmad Ibn Othmân Ibn Ibrâhîm, a native of Almeria, and generally known by the appellation of Ibn al-Haddâd al-Kaisi. One of these poems begins thus:

Hast thou then walked on the bank of the blessed valley? for the soil on which I tread smells like Indian ambergris. In the perfume which thou hast left I recognise the sweet odour which floated around those (*whom I loved*), and the gales of passion again spring up within my bosom. In my nocturnal journey, their fire and their beacon were my guides and conductors, when the stars were extinguished. By some such cause, my camels were excited, my Arabian steeds neighed, and the quickest (*in the caravan*) seemed to move too slowly. Were they urged on by the same motive as I was? perhaps they took refuge in the ardour (*which animated them*) that they might escape from the fires of my heart. Slacken your speed, for this is the valley of (*my boloved*) Lubaina! this is the spot where I shall accomplish my wishes and quench the thirst which consumes me (7). Fair is the abode of Lubna's people! fair the soil on which Lubna trod! In that land was the hippodrome of my passionate desires; there, the field in which I gave career to my imagination; there, my love took its beginning and reached its utmost height. Think not the maidens of that land (*cruel and*) ungrateful; those were hearts indeed which their bosoms contained; under their azure veils (*was sheltered*) well-protected honour, guarded by the azure points of watchful spears. Beauty, sent on her (*divine*) mission, abolished the creed of indifference and made all men converts to the religion of love.

The same piece contains the following passages:

The space which extends between his two ear-rings (*i. e. his face*) excites the love of the brunettes whose necks are so graceful, and the languor of his eyes charms the large-eyed gazelles (*maidens*). In the sporting-ground of (*his*) ringlets is a clear white (*complexion*), mixed with a bright red to complete its beauty.

Maiden, so prompt to wound with your treacherous glances! so insensible to love! you stood in fear of God, but the glance of your eyes was sinful. Your lovers are pierced with wounds, but their blood is floods of tears, and their eyes are the wounds. How can I endure your sharp glances striking me to the heart, when no magician can close the gash left by that fatal steel? How can I expect to be cured of love? it is not all who suffer from sickness that are cured.

From this the poet makes a transition to the praises of his patron. It is a long and high-sounding *kasîda*. Abû 'l-Kâsim al-Asaad Ibn Billîta (8), another Spanish poet and one of the most eminent among them, celebrated al-Motasim's praises in a *kasîda* rhyming in *t* (ط), which opened thus:

At Râma (9) I received the visits of a fawn (*a maiden*) which at first had avoided me; in my dream, I caught it on the bank of the river, but then it fled away. The fruits which love produced in the bosoms of men were its pasture, not the odoriferous and acid shrubs of the desert (10).



In this poem, he says:

The black collyrium of darkness was dissolved by the tears of the dawn, and the morning light appeared like greyness in black hair. The darkness seemed like a host of Negroes (*Zenj*) taking to flight and pursued by (*tawney*) Copts sent after them by the morn.

In the same poem, he introduces the following description of a cock:

We might think that Anûshrewân had placed his crown on the animal's head, and that the hand of Mâriya had suspended ear-rings to his ears (11). He has stolen the robe of the peacock, the handsomest part of his dress, and not content with that, he has stolen his mode of walking from the duck (12).

In the same poem, he says:

The curve of the ringlet on her cheek might be taken for a *nûn* (ن), of which, when she appeared, the mole on that cheek represented the point (13). In mien like a young page, she approached, and darkness had inscribed a line of black (literally: *of civet*) on the perfumed seal of her mouth. She came moistening her toothpick in the coolness (*humidity*) of her mouth, after imbuing her comb with the musk of her hair. And I said, in taunting her with the (*languor*) of her eyes and the beauty bestowed upon her dark red lips: "O thou whose glances "are unsteady, but not from intoxication! since when did the glances of thy eyes drink wine? "I see the yellow toothpick (14) in thy red lips, and the green (*dark*) mustaches traced with "musk (*blackness*). Methinks thou hast kissed a rainbow and its colours have been impressed "upon thy dark lips."

This poem contains the following eulogistic passage:

(*The rains fall in torrents*) as if poured forth by (*the beneficence of*) Abû Yahya, the son of Maan, and as if his hand had taught the clouds to shower down abundance. His lineage is composed of pearls and beads of gold, and renown bears it as a collar round her neck. When he marches forth, glory marches under his standard, and glory takes its station only where he sojourns. At night, he rears a pillar of fire to guide nocturnal travellers, and the camel, arriving unexpectedly, stumbles no more through the shades of darkness. I say to the caravans which seek the spot where the rains (*of liberality*) are wont to fall, when its riders, on crossing the desert, turn aside from where he is: "Do you seek a rival to Ibn Maan in glory? He who "lights a candle in sunshine is much mistaken!"

This is a long *kasîda* containing about ninety verses; the poet has displayed great skill in its versification when we consider the difficulties attending the peculiar rhyme which he adopted. When the emir Yûsuf Ibn Tâshifîn passed into Spain, he treated al-Motasim with more benevolence than he shewed towards the other provincial kings; he even received him into his intimacy; but, when al-Motamid *p. 182 of*

this vol.) openly resisted Yûsuf, whose mind had been turned against him, al-Motasim sided with the former and repudiated the authority of the African monarch. The emir Yûsuf, on his return to Spain, resolved to dethrone and imprison them both, a circumstance to which Ibn Bassâm (*p.* 198 *of this vol.*) alludes in the following passage of his *Dakhîra* : " Some secret (*agreement*) must have existed between al-" Motasim and God, or else some meritorious act must have preceded his death, for, " a few days only before the great catastrophy happened, he died in the exercise of " power, still possessing his native city and surrounded by his family and children. " I have been informed, by a person whose statement I have no motive to reject, that " Arwa, an aged concubine of al-Motasim's father, made him the following relation: " ' Truly, I was near him whilst he was giving his last injunctions, and he had " ' almost lost the power of his hands and his tongue. The camp of the *emir of the* " ' *Moslims*'—she meant Yûsuf Ibn Tâshifîn—' was then so near that we might " ' count his tents and hear the confused cries of the soldiers when any thing " ' remarkable occurred. Al-Motasim then said : ' There is no god but God! we have " ' ' been troubled in all things and even in dying.' On this,' said Arwa, my tears " ' began to flow, and I shall never forget the look he gave me, as he lifted up his " ' eyes and repeated with a voice so feeble as hardly to be heard :

" ' ' Spare thy tears! spend them not! a time of long weeping awaits thee!' ' "

Muhammad Ibn Aiyûb al-Ansâri composed a work in the year 568 (A.D. 1172-3), for the sultan al-Malik an-Nâsir Salâh ad-Dîn (*Saladin*); it contains a notice on al-Motasim Ibn Sumâdih, in which he says, after giving a sketch of his history, some passages of his poetry, an account of the siege he had to sustain, and mentioning his words : *We have been troubled in all things and even in dying :* " He died soon " after, at Almeria, on Thursday, the 22nd of the first Rabî, A. H. 484 (14th May, " A. D. 1091), towards the hour of sunrise, and was interred near the Bâb al-" Khaukha (*the gate with the wicket*), in a mausoleum erected to receive him."—*Sumâdih* signifies *strong*.—*Billîta*, the name of Abû 'l-Kâsim al-Asaad's father, is a word of which I do not know the signification; it belongs to the language of the Spanish Christians (*Aâdjim*) (15).—*Tujîbi* we have mentioned (*p.* 132 *of this vol.*), —*Bajjâna* (*Pechina*) is the name of a (*seaport*) town in Spain (*situated near Almeria*). —*Al-Mariya* (*Almeria*) has been already mentioned (*vol. I. p.* 43).—*As-Sumâdihiya*

was so named after the Sumâdih of whom we have spoken.—*Waskha* (*Huesca*) is a town in Spain.

(1) *Al-Motasim at-Tujibi* signifies *the Motasim of the tribe of Tujib.* It appears that he was descended, by that branch, from the Yemenite tribe of Kinda.

(2) It appears from al-Makkari, who relates some anecdotes of Ibn Sumâdih's generosity, that the Sumâdihiya was a magnificent palace. For this portion of Spanish history see the fourth volume of Dozy's *Musulmans d'Espagne.*

(3) See vol. II. Introduction, page ix.

(4) Literally: And the caravans (or *camels*) were impelled unto his court.

(5) The battle of Siffin was fought between Ali and Moawia in A. H. 37. The two parties remained in the field eleven months, and ninety conflicts or skirmishes took place between them.

(6) See vol. I. page xxxvi.

(7) Literally: Certe (*est*) aquarium votorum meorum, et certe sum sitiens.

(8) Al-Asaad Ibn Billita, a celebrated poet and a native of Cordova, died towards A. H. 440 (A. D. 1048-9). —(*Bughya.*)

(9) See vol. I. page 200.

(10) Literally: Not the *ardr* nor the *khamta.* In the preceding line, شطا seems to be a poetical licence for شطّ.

(11) Mâriya, the wife of the Ghassanide prince, Abû Shammir, possessed a pair of ear-rings, each composed of a single pearl of immense value. See the proverbs on this subject in Freytag's *Maidâni*, tome I. page 422, and Rasmussen's *Additamenta*, page 52.

(12) I am unable to assign any other meaning to the Arabic words.

(13) In this piece he describes a youth who had the appearance of a young girl, and whom he pretended to take for one.

(14) Toothpicks in the south of Europe are made of olive wood, which is yellow.

(15) *Bellido*, in Spanish, signifies *handsome; billéte* means a *billet* or *note.*

THE MAHDI IBN TUMART.

Abû Abd Allah Muhammad Ibn Abd Allah Ibn Tûmart al-Harghi, styled al-Mahdi (1), the *chief of the call* (2) made in Maghrib in favour of Abd al-Mûmin Ibn Ali (*vol. II. p.* 182)—see some particulars respecting him in the life of the latter

—was stated to be a descendant of al-Hasan, the son of Ali Ibn Abi Tâlib. I here copy textually a note which I found inscribed on the cover of the treatise on patronymics (*Kitâb an-Nisab*) attributed to as-Sharîf al-Aâbid, which note is in the handwriting of some literary man of the present age : Muhammad (*Ibn Tûmart was*) the son of Abd Allah Ibn Abd ar-Rahmân Ibn Hûd Ibn Khâlid Ibn Tammâm Ibn Adnân Ibn Safwân Ibn Sofyân Ibn Jâbir Ibn Yahya Ibn Ata Ibn Rabâh Ibn Yasâr Ibn al-Abbâs Ibn Muhammad Ibn al-Hasan Ibn Ali Ibn Abi Tâlib. God best knows how far this statement may be true (3). He belonged to Jabal as-Sûs (*the mountain of as-Sûs*) in the farthest part of Maghrib, and there he passed his early years. When a youth, he travelled to the East for the purpose of acquiring learning, and, on his arrival in Irâk, he met Abû Hâmid al-Ghazzâli (*vol. II. p.* 621), al-Kiya al-Harrâsi (*vol. II. p.* 229), at-Tortûshi (*vol. II. p.* 665), and other masters. Having made the pilgrimage, he remained, for a time, at Mekka, and acquired a very fair knowledge of the law, the Traditions of Muhammad, and the fundamental principles of jurisprudence and religion (4). Pious and devout, he lived in squalid poverty, subsisting on the coarsest fare and attired in rags; he generally went with downcast eyes; smiling whenever he looked a person in the face, and ever manifesting his propensity for the practices of devotion. He carried with him no other worldly goods than a staff and a skin for holding water; his courage was great; he spoke correctly the Arabic and the Maghrib (*Berber*) languages; he blamed with extreme severity the conduct of those who transgressed the divine law, and not content with obeying God's commandments, he laboured to enforce their strict observance (5); an occupation in which he took such pleasure that he seemed to have been naturally formed for it, and he suffered with patience the vexations to which it exposed him. The ill usage which he incurred at Mekka by his zeal obliged him to pass into Egypt, and having expressed the highest disapprobation of the culpable proceedings which he witnessed there, the people treated him in the roughest manner, and the government drove him out of the country. When he saw himself in danger of personal violence and chastisement, his discourse became incoherent, and this circumstance was considered as a proof of his insanity. On quitting Cairo, he proceeded to Alexandria and embarked for his native country. When in the East, he dreamed that he had drunk up the sea at two different times (6). He was no sooner on board the vessel than he began to reform the profane conduct of the crew, obliging them to say their prayers at the regular

hours and to read (*each time*) a portion of the Korân. In this occupation he persevered till his arrival at al-Mahdiya, a city of Ifrîkiya which was then, A. H. 505 (A. D. 1111-2), under the rule of the emir Yahya Ibn Tamîm Ibn al-Moizz Ibn Bâdîs as-Sanhâji. So I find it stated in the History of Kairawân; I have mentioned, however, in the life of Tamîm, Yahya's father (*vol. I. p.* 282), that it was under Tamîm's reign that Ibn Tûmart passed through Ifrîkiya on his return from the East, and so also have I found it written. God best knows which of these accounts is right; Ibn Tûmart did not make two journeys to the East, so we cannot suppose that he returned twice, and if he came back in the year 505, as we have just mentioned, it must have been during the reign of the emir Yahya; for Tamîm, Yahya's father, died in 501, as we have already stated in his life. I notice this contradiction, lest the reader should suppose that it escaped my attention. In the historical work drawn up in the form of annals by al-Kâdi 'l-Akram Ibn al-Kifti, the vizir of Aleppo (*vol. II. p.* 494), we find the following passage: "In "this year,"—that is, towards the close of 511—"Muhammad Ibn Tûmart left "Egypt in the dress of a jurisconsult, after having pursued his studies there and "in other countries, and he arrived at Bijâiya (*Bugia*)." God knows who is in the right (7)! On arriving at al-Mahdiya, he took up his abode in a mosque built over vaults (8), and situated on the road-side; there he used to sit at a window, watching those who passed by, and, whenever he perceived any thing reprehensible, such as musical instruments or vessels containing wine, he never failed to go down and break them. When the people of the city heard of his conduct, they went to see him and read over treatises on the principles of religion under his tuition. The emir Yahya being informed of these proceedings, assembled a number of jurisconsuls, and caused Ibn Tûmart to be brought before him. Struck with his appearance and discourse, the prince showed him the highest respect and requested him to offer up a prayer in his favour. "May God direct thee," said Ibn Tûmart, "for the welfare of thy subjects!" A few days after this, he departed from al-Mahdiya and proceeded to Bugia, where he passed some time in his usual occupation of reproving acts contrary to religion. Being expelled the city, he went to Mellâla, a village in the neighbourhood (9), and there met with Abd al-Mûmin Ibn Ali 'l-Kaisi (*vol. II. p.* 182). I have read in the work entitled: *Kitâb al-Mughrib an Sîrat Mulûk il-Maghrib* (10) that Muhammad Ibn Tûmart had studied the *Kitâb al-Jafr* (11), a work containing one of those (*occult*) sciences with which the *People of the House* (*the descendants of Ali*) alone are acquaint-

ed, and that he found therein the description af a man descended from the Prophet, who was to appear in a country of al-Maghrib al-Aksa called as-Sûs, and invite the people to the service of God; that person was to dwell and be buried at a place the name of which was spelt with these letters, *T,I,N,M,L;* his authority was to be supported and estabished by a man of his disciples, the letters of whose name were *A, B, D, M, U, M, N,* and that this was to happen subsequently to the fifth century of the Hijra. God then put into his head that he was the person destined for this undertaking, and that the time of its accomplishment was at hand; therefore, wherever he passed, he made inquiries respecting the person who was to support his cause; asking the name of every individual whom he saw and examining his appearance, for he had with him Abd al-Mûmin's description. Journeying on his way, he passed by a grown up boy answering the indications, and said: "What is thy name, " my lad?" The other replied: "Abd al-Mûmin." On hearing these words, he turned back to him and said : " God is great! thou art the person whom I seek! " He then examined his features, and, finding them to correspond with the description he had with him, he said: " To what people dost thou belong? Abd al-Mûmin answered : "To the Kûmiya."—" Whither art thou going? "—" To the East."— " With what intention? "—"To acquire knowledge."—"Well! " said Ibn Tûmart, " knowledge thou hast found, and glory moreover, and renown; be my disciple and " thou shalt obtain them." Abd al-Mûmin accepted his proposal, and Muhammad (*Ibn Tûmart*) then explained to him his project and confided to him his secret. He communicated also his design to a man called Abd Allah al-Wansherîsi, who had become his disciple, and he obtained his full consent to the undertaking. Al-Wansharîsi had studied jurisprudence and learned the substance of various works (12); he was handsome in person, and spoke with elegance the language of the Arabs and that of the natives of Maghrib. As he and Muhammad Ibn Tûmart were one day conversing on the means by which their project might be accomplished, the latter said to him : " My opinion is, that you conceal from the people your learning and " eloquence, and that you manifest such incapacity, such incorrectness of language, " such mean abilities, and such a want of talent as may render you notorious; we " shall then represent as a miracle, when we require one, the suddenness with which " you quit your assumed character and become possessed of learning and eloquence; " then, every word you say will be believed." Al-Wansherîsi acted accordingly. Muhammad (*Ibn Tûmart*) then got about him some Maghribins remarkable for bodily

strength, but grossly ignorant; preferring such persons to men of intelligence and penetration. They were six in number, and, being accompanied by them and by al-Wansherîsi, he set out for the farthest extremity of Maghrib. Abd al-Mûmin then joined him, and the whole party took the road to Morocco. Abû 'l-Hasan Ali, the sovereign of that city, was the son of Yûsuf Ibn Tâshifîn, the same of whom we have spoken in the lives of al-Motamid Ibn Abbâd (*p.* 189 *of this vol.*) and al-Motasim Ibn Sumâdih (*p.* 200 *of this vol.*). He was a powerful prince, mild, devout, just, and humble (*before God*), and he had then at his court a learned and pious native of Spain called Mâlik Ibn Wuhaib (*vol. II. p.* 265). Muhammad began, as usual, to express his disapprobation of what he witnessed, and even dared to reprimand the daughter of the king. The particulars of this last adventure are too long to be related here (13). The king, being informed of his conduct, and learning that he talked of reforming the state, spoke to Mâlik Ibn Wuhaib on the subject, and received this reply: "Let "us be afraid of opening a door which we should find difficulty in shutting again; "we had best cite this fellow and his companions before an assembly of jurisconsults "belonging to the city, and hear what they have to say." The king approved of his counsel and sent for Muhammad and his disciples, who were then sojourning in a ruined mosque outside the city. When they entered the hall of audience, the king said to his jurisconsults: "Ask this man what he wants with us," and Muhammad Ibn Aswad, the *kâdi* of Almeria, obeyed and said: "What are those discourses "which thou art said to hold relative to the just and merciful king who is so sub- "missive to the (*doctrines of*) truth and who prefers being obedient towards God to "the following of his passions?" To this Muhammad replied: "The discourses "spoken of I did hold, and I have yet more to make; as for thy words, that the "king prefers being obedient towards God to the following of his passions, and "that he is submissive to the truth, the moment is now come to put them to the "test. It shall then be known, if he possess not the qualities you mention, that "he is led astray by the discourses and flattery which you address to him, though "you are well aware that their refutation is at hand. Hast thou been informed, O "*kâdi!* that wine is sold here publicly? that swine run about in the midst of the "Moslims? that the property of the orphan is seized upon?" He proceeded in this manner with a long enumeration, and the king was so deeply affected that he shed tears and hung down his head with shame. The persons present perceived from the drift of this discourse that the speaker aspired to the possession of the kingdom,

but, remarking that the king remained silent and had evidently been imposed on by Ibn Tûmart's words, they abstained from making any reply. At length Mâlik Ibn Wuhaib, who could take great liberties with the king, addressed him in these terms: "O king! I have an advice to give, which, if you accept it, will have the "most satisfactory results, whilst its rejection will expose you to great danger."— "Let me hear it," said the king.—"I am afraid," said Ibn Wuhaib, "that this "man will do you harm, and my advice is that you imprison him and his compa-"nions and assign to them for their support the daily sum of one dinar. This will "secure you from his evil intentions; and, if you refuse doing so, he will cost you "all the money in your treasury, and your indulgence will have profited you "nothing."—The king approved the counsel, but his vizir said: "It would be shame-"ful for you, after having wept at the exhortations of this man, to treat him ill "in the same sitting, and disgraceful for you who possess so great a kingdom to "shew your fear of a man who does not possess wherewithal to appease his hunger." The king, whose pride was excited by these words, declared Ibn Tûmart's proceedings unworthy of attention, and dismissed him after asking his blessing. The author of the work entitled *Kitâb al-Mughrib fi Akhbâr Ahl il-Maghrib*, says: "Ibn "Tûmart, whilst retiring from the king's presence, kept his face turned towards "him till he left the hall, and some persons having said to him: 'We see that "'thou showest respect to the king in not turning thy back to him;' he replied: "My intention was to watch vanity as long as I could, until the time come that I "'may change it.'"—On leaving the king's presence, Muhammad said to his companions: "We cannot possibly remain at Morocco whilst Mâlik Ibn Wuhaib is there; "he is capable of bringing our business again before the king, and subjecting us "to ill usage. But we have, in the city of Aghmât, a brother in God; let us go to "him, and his good advice and prayers shall not fail us." This man, whose name was Abd al-Hakk Ibn Ibrahîm, was a jurisconsult to (*one of*) the Masmûda tribes. They set out to find him, and, having stopped at his house, Muhammad told him who they were, and informed him of their design and of what had passed between them and the king. Abd al-Hakk replied: "This place cannot protect you, but one "of the strongest holds in the neighbourhood is the town of Tîn-Mell; it lies in "that mountain, at the distance of a day's journey. You may remain there in retire-"ment till all recollection of your proceedings has passed away." The mention of this name recalled to Ibn Tûmart's mind the name of the place which he had seen

in the *Jafr*, and he immediately proceeded thither with his companions. When the inhabitants saw them arrive in that state and learned that they were students in pursuit of knowledge, they stood up to give them an honourable reception and a friendly welcome, lodging them in the best rooms of their dwellings. The king asked about them, after their departure from his audience-chamber, and learned with satisfaction that they had left the city : "We have escaped," said he, "the sin "of putting them into prison." When the mountaineers were told that Muhammad, he of whom they had already heard so much, was arrived among them, *they came unto him from every deep valley* (14), thinking that, in going to see him, they should obtain the divine favour. Every person that came, he took apart, and discovered to him his intention of revolting against the king; if the visitor promised to assist him, he admitted him into the number of his partisans; if he refused, he turned away from him. He sought particularly to gain over the young and inexperienced; but, as the more prudent and intelligent advised them to avoid him, and warned them not to become his followers lest they should incur the vengeance of the king, his efforts were useless. Whilst thus engaged, time passed away; he began to fear that death might surprise him before the accomplishment of his purpose; he dreaded lest an order from the king might oblige the people to deliver him up and abandon him. These considerations induced him to have recourse to a stratagem in order to forward the affair in which he had engaged them, and he laid a plan for pushing them to rebellion. Having remarked that some of their children had rosy cheeks and blue eyes, although the fathers were of a tawny complexion and black-eyed, he asked them the reason. They at first refused to answer, but yielding at length to his urgent request, they said : "We are subjects of this king, and pay him a tax "(*kharâdj*); therefore, every year, his mamlûks (15) come up to us (*to receive it*), "and they lodge in our houses after turning us out; there they remain alone with "our women, who, in consequence, bear children of that complexion. This treat-"ment we have no means of resisting."—"By Allah!" exclaimed Muhammad, "death were preferable to a life such as that; how can you consent to such a dis-"grace, you who are the best swordmen and spearmen that God ever created?" —"We do not consent to it," was the reply; "it is done against our will." —"Well," said Muhammad, "answer me; if a person offered to help you "against your enemies, what would you do?"—"We would march before him "even to our death; who his he?"—"Your guest," replied Muhammad, meaning

himself.—"We engage to hear and obey him," answered the people. From that moment, they treated him with extreme respect and bound themselves to him by pacts and engagements, so that his heart was tranquillised. He then said to them: "Prepare your arms for the coming of these fellows, and, on their arrival, let them "pursue their usual course; leave them and the women together, serve them with "wine, and when they are drunk, let me know." When the mamlûks came, the people of the mountain treated them as Muhammad advised, and, the night having set in, they informed him of what had been done. He immediately ordered them to slay them all, and the first hour of the night had not passed over when they were exterminated. Only one mamlûk escaped; he had gone out on some necessary occasion, and, hearing the cries of *Allah akbar* (*God is great*) aud the noise of the attack, he fled, in avoiding the beaten path, and succeeded in getting out of the mountain and reaching Morocco. When the king was informed of what had happened, he repented of having suffered Muhammad to escape, and felt that the advice given him by Mâlik Ibn Wuhaib was the result of foresight and prudence. He immediately despatched a body of horse, large enough to fill up the valley leading to Tîn-Mall; but Mohammad, convinced that troops would be sent against the insurgents, called some of the neighbouring (*tribes*) to his assistance and posted the people of the mountain in the defiles of the valley and on the heights by which it was commanded. As the cavalry advanced, showers of stones poured down upon them, like rain, from every side, and the defense was sustained in this manner from morning till night. The approach of darkness put an end to the combat, and the army returned to the king and acquainted him with what they had suffered. The king, perceiving his inability to subdue the rebels in their stronghold, turned his attention from them, and Muhammad, who had foreseen this result, won the devoted attachment of the mountaineers. He then called al-Wansherîsi and said to him: "Now "is the time to display thy talents all at once; that will serve us as a miraculous "sign whereby we shall gain the hearts of those who have not acknowledged our "authority." Having concerted together, it was agreed on that al-Wansherîsi should say the morning prayer, and that, after having so long stammered out his ideas in a language full of barbarisms, he should say, in a clear and intelligible voice: "I dreamt yesterday that two angels came down from heaven and split open "my heart and washed it, and filled it with science and wisdom and the Korân (16)." The next morning he did so; and we shall only state, without entering into parti-

culars, that even the most stubborn yielded, and all were struck with amazement at his learning by heart the Korân in a dream. Muhammad then said to him: "Tell "us quickly the heavenly news, are we destined to eternal happiness or everlasting "misery?" Al-Wansherîsi replied: "As for thee, thou art the mahdi, the main-"tainer (*kâim*) of the cause of God; whosoever followeth thee shall be saved, and "whosoever resisteth thee shall perish." He then said: "Present thy followers "unto me, in order that I may separate those who are destined for paradise from "those whose doom is hell." He thus executed a stratagem by means of which all those who resisted Muhammad were to be put to death; but the narration of these proceedings would lead us too far (17). His object was, not to leave in the mountain a single adversary to Muhammad. When these people were slain, Muhammad perceived that those among the survivors who had thus lost relations or (*a part of their*) family were by no means satisfied; he therefore assembled them and announced that the kingdom of the sovereign of Morocco would pass into their hands and that the wealth of the enemy would become their prey. On hearing these words, they were much rejoiced and they ceased to regret the death of their relatives. The details of these events are abundant, but they do not enter into our subject. We shall only state, in a summary manner, that Muhammad never relaxed his efforts till he sent forth an army of ten thousand men, horse and foot, with Abd al-Mûmin, al-Wansherîsi, and all his other disciples, whilst he remained in the mountain. These troops besieged Morocco for the space of a month, but they then met with a most disgraceful defeat, and Abd al-Mûmin took to flight with the survivors. In this engagement, al-Wansherîsi lost his life. Muhammad was in the mountain when he received the news, and he died before his partisans returned (18); but, in his last moments, he enjoined the persons present to inform them that victory and complete success awaited them; wherefore they should not despond, but renew the fight; God would enable their hands to achieve a signal triumph; the vicissitudes of war were alternate; his followers would be now strong and now weak, now numerous and now few; their power was only commencing, whilst that of their enemies was drawing to a close. He continued a long series of injunctions in the same style, and then expired. This even took place A. H. 524 (A. D. 1130). He was buried in the mountain, and his tomb is still a well-known object of pilgrimage, His followers designate this year as the *adm al-Bahîra* (19). He was born on the festival of Aâshûrâ (*10th of Muharram*), A. H. 485 (21st Feb. A. D. 1092). The first

time he made his appearance to call the people to his cause was in the year 514 (A. D. 1120). He was a man of middle size and slight form; his complexion was tawny, his head large, and his eye piercing. The author of the *Kitâb al-Mughrib* says respecting him : "The traces which he has left acquaint thee with his history "as plainly as if thou sawest him with the eyes :

"His foot was on earth, but his mind towered to the Pleiades!

"His soul preferred shedding the water of life (*his own blood*) to shedding the "water of the face (*doing a degrading act*). The Almoravides saw him with indif- "ference stop and settle (*in their country*), and they allowed him to steal forward as "the dawn steals upon the darkness, and to leave the world filled with the sound "(*of his renown*). He laid the basis of an empire which would have obliged Abû "Muslim (*vol. II. p.* 100), had he seen it, to acknowledge the foresight of its "founder. He subsisted on what his sister earned by spinning : a small flat cake "of bread each day with a little butter or oil sufficed him, nor did he abandon this "simple food when he abounded in worldly wealth. Remarking, one day, that "the minds of his followers were turned towards the ample booty which they had "obtained, he ordered all the spoil to be heaped together and burnt. 'Whoever "'follows me,' said he, 'for worldly goods shall have nothing from me but what "'he sees there, and whoever follows me for the recompense of the next world "'shall find his reward with God.' Though plain in his dress and affable in his "manners, he inspired a profound respect; he was of difficult access except for per- "sons who came to complain of oppression, and he had a man whose duty it was to "wait on him and give admittance to visitors." Ibn Tûmart left some poetry of which we may notice the following passage :

When these people were far off, you lent them your assistance, and when they bade thee farewell, they left thee (*with indifference*). How often did you forbid them (*to sin*) and were not obeyed; how often did you give admonitions, yet you were not heeded. Whetstone (*of others' wit*)! how long will you sharpen steel, and never receive a cutting edge yourself?

He frequently repeated the following line :

Strip thyself of the world (*and its passions*); for naked thou camest into the world.

And he often applied to himself these verses of al-Mutanabbi's :

When you strive after glory much-desired, cease not to aspire until you reach the stars. In a mean and in a noble undertaking, the taste of death is quite the same.

The two following passages of the same poet were often repeated by him :

He who knows the times and mankind as well as I do, should quench without remorse his lance's thirst for blood. He would meet no mercy from them if they got him into their power; to hurl destruction on them is not then a crime.

I become not one of them by living among them; sandy earth is the gangue in which gold is found.

Muhammad Ibn Tûmart did not make any conquests; he laid the foundations of the entreprise, organised and established it, but the conquests were achieved by Abd al-Mûmin.—*Hargki* means *belonging to Hargha,* which is a large tribe of the Masmûda (*Berbers*), who occupy the mountain of as-Sûs in the farthest extremity of Maghrib (20). They are considered as being related to al-Hasan, the son of (*the khalif*) Ali Ibn Abi Tâlib (21); and it is said that they settled in that place when the country was subdued by Mûsa Ibn Nasîr.—*Tûmart* is a Berber name (22).—*Wansherîsi* means *belonging to Wansherîs,* a village of Ifrîkiya in the province of Bugia (23) —Of *Tîn-Mall* mention has been already made (*vol. II. p.* 184) (24).—In the life of Abd al-Mûmin we have spoken of the *Jafr.*

(1) The meaning of this title is explained in vol. II. p. 578. See also my translation of Ibn Khaldûn's *Prolegomena*, in the *Notices et Extraits*, t. XX, première partie, p. 53. My translation of the same author's *History of the Berbers*, t. II. p. 161 *et seq.* may also be consulted.

(2) See vol. I. p. 468, and vol. II. p. 594.

(3) Ibn Khaldûn admits as correct a genealogy by which Ibn Tûmart is made to descend from Alî Ibn Abi Tâlib by Sulaimân, the brother of Idris, the progenitor of the Idrîsides. Though Ibn Tûmart belonged to the Berber tribe of Hargha, he was not a member of it by descent, but by a matrimonial alliance contracted by one of his ancestors. Ibn Khaldûn observes that this was also the case with some of the descendants of Idris.

(4) Having examined the collection of treatises composed by Ibn Tûmart, I can bear testimony to the correctness with which his talents are here appreciated. These treatises form a small but closely-written volume, transcribed, as the *post-scriptum* informs us, in the month of Shaabân, A. H. 579 (Nov.-Dec. A. D. 1183), fifty-five years after the author's death. This MS. is in the *Bibliothèque impériale*, supplement. The doctrines taught by al-Mahdi bore a great resemblance to those of al-Ashari; like him, he had recourse to *tâwîl,* or allegorical interpretation, in explaining certain verses of the Korân which, if taken in their literal sense, would have led to anthropomorphism, a belief which he accused the Almoravides of professing. His doctrines were



orthodox, one single point excepted and which he borrowed from the Shîites; namely, that the true *imâm*, or spiritual and temporal chief, of the Moslims was impeccable (*masûm*). He particularly insisted on the *belief in the unity of God* (*tauhîd*), and for this reason he gave his disciples the name of *al-Muwahhidûn* (*professors of the unity*). This denomination has given rise to the word *Almohades* of European writers.

(5) Every Moslim is obliged by his religion to maintain, by his example and exhortations, the strict observance of the law. He cannot employ constraint to effect his purpose, that faculty being reserved for the *kâdi*, the governor, and the police magistrate.

(6) According to the most approved treatises on the oneirocritic science, a branch of knowledge still sedulously cultivated by the Moslims, drinking up the sea means, the acquisition of a great empire.

(7) Ibn Khaldûn says that al-Mahdi landed at Tripoli and proceeded to Bugia, which was then (A. H. 512) under the rule of al-Azîz Ibn al-Mansûr, who expelled him from the city. It appears from the sequel of Ibn Khallikân's relation that he had previously visited al-Mahdiya. An-Nuwairi says that Ibn Tûmart arrived at al-Mahdiya, from Tripoli, in the reign of Ali Ibn Yahya.

(8) The meaning of the word *moallaka* is thus explained by M. de Sacy in his *Abd-Allatif*, p. 482.

(9) The village of Mellâla lies at the distance of three or four miles S. W. of Bugia.

(10) This title signifies : *the relator of extraordinary things concerning the history of the kings of Maghrib*. I suspect this to be the same work which is cited lower down under the title of *Kitâb al-Mughrib, etc.* (*the relator of extraordinary things concerning the honorable characteristics of the people of Maghrib*), and in which the historian and geographer Abû 'l-Hasan Ali Ibn Mûsa al-Gharnâti (*native of Granada*), generally known by the appellation of Ibn Saîd, gives a series of biographical notices on the eminent men of Spain and North Africa. Ibn Saîd was born A. H. 610 (A. D. 1214), and he died at Tunis A. H. 685 (A. D. 1286-7). M. de Gayangos has inserted a note on Ibn Saîd in the first volume of his *Mohammedan Dynasties in Spain*. Hajji Khalîfa places Ibn Saîd's death in the year 673 (A. D. 1274-5).

(11) See vol. II. p. 184, and Ibn Khaldûn's *Prolegomena*, t. II. p. 215, 224.

(12) The word تهذيب means : To extract the essential part of a thing. It seems employed here to denote that he had not attained that degree of proficiency which would enable him to repeat from memory the entire contents of the works which he had studied; in fact, that he was still a mere scholar.

(13) According to Ibn al-Athîr, the Almoravides, the rulers of Morocco at that period, differed from the other Moslims in one remarkable particular : the men wore a veil (*lithâm*) and their women wore none. Al-Mahdi met the sister (*not the daughter*) of the king, taking a ride and accompanied by a numerous train of handsome female slaves, all mounted. The reformer was scandalised at this spectacle, and ordered them to cover their faces; he and his companions even dared to strike their horses, in consequence of which the princess was thrown off. She complained of this to her brother, who ordered al-Mahdi to be brought before him. —The rest of the narration is given by Ibn Khallikân.

(14) Korân, sûrat 22, verse 28.

(15) These mamlûks were natives of Spain. The Almoravides, the Almohades, and the Merînides always kept in their capital a troop of four or five thousand Christians.

(16) In the latter part of this passage, the author has passed from the first to the third person. This is a piece of negligence readily pardoned by Arabian critics, as frequent examples of it are found in the Korân. They observe that, in such cases, the *hikâya* passe into *ikhbâr*, or, in other words, that the literal reproduction of a conversation or discourse passes into a mere account given of the same discourse. In the former case the speakers utter their sentiments in the first person, and, in the latter, they are made to speak in the third.

(17) Ibn Tûmart having remarked that a number of profligate and wicked men inhabited the mountain, assembled the chiefs of the tribes and ordered them to exhort such persons to amend their lives, and to take down the names of those who refused. Having received these lists, Ibn Tûmart caused a second and a third warning to be given to the obstinate. He then selected out of the lists the names of the persons whom he disliked, and gave them to al-Wansherîsi, directing him to pass the tribes in review and to place those people on his left hand. This operation being terminated, Ibn Tûmart said : "Behold a set of reprobates whom it "is your duty to put to death." The people hastened to execute this sentence, each tribe slaying the individuals who belonged to it. That day was ever afterwards called : *Yaum at-Tamyîz* (*the day of the discrimination.*)—(Ibn al-Athîr, *Kâmil at-Tawârîkh*, year 514.)

(18) He died four months after their defeat.—(Ibn Khaldûn.)

(19) An-Nuwairi informs us that, at the siege of Morocco, the Almohades, on finding themselves attacked by superior numbers, retreated to the wall of a large garden called al-Bahîra (*the kitchen-garden*), and, leaning their backs against it, they fought desperately till night put an end to the combat. "And this battle," adds the historian, "was called *the battle of al-Bahîra*, and the year, that of *al-Bahîra*."

(20) He means the chain of the Atlas which bounds the south and south-east frontiers of the kingdom of Morocco.

(21) This is a manifest error; the Hargha were a Berber race, and consequently they could not have sprung from an Arabian stock. Ibn Khaldûn observes that many of the indigenous tribes of North Africa sought, by means of false genealogies, to prove their descent from the Arabs.

(22) I am almost certain that *Tûmart* is the diminutive of the Arabic name *Omar*, and that it signifies *little Omar*. In Berber, the feminine and the diminutive are formed by the addition of a *t* at the commencement and of another *t* at the end of the masculine noun. I must add that the letter *ain* does not exist in Berber.

(23) Wansherîs is not a village, but a mountain; it lies, not in the province of Bugia, but in the province of Algiers, to the south of Milyâna.

(24) *Tîn-Mall* is incorrect; the true name est *Tînmelel* (*illa quæ alba est*), that is to say: *the white or snowy mountain*. Those words belong to the Berber language.

AL-IKHSHID.

Abû Bakr Muhammad, the son of Abû Muhammad Toghj, the son of Juff, the son of Yaltikîn, the son of Fûrân, the son of Fûri, the son of the Khâkân (*sovereign*) of Farghâna, and lord of the throne of gold (1), was surnamed al-Ikhshîd. He drew his descent from the kings of Farghâna and became sovereign of Egypt, Syria, and Hijâz. The word *Toghj* is the equivalent of *Abd ar-Rahmân* (*the servant of the*

Merciful) (?). (*The khalif*) al-Motasim billah, the son of Hârûn ar-Rashîd, drew into his service, from Farghâna, a great number (*of warriors*), and, being informed of the courage and intrepidity which Juff and some others displayed in war, he sent for them and received them with the highest honour. They obtained from him the concession of certain fiefs (*katâya*) at Sarra-man-râa (*Samarra*), and one of these grants is called the *Katâya of Juff* to the present day. Juff took up his residence there and became the father of a family. He died at Baghdad, the night in which (*the khalif*) al-Mutawakkil was murdered. This event occurred on the eve of Wednesday, the 3rd of Shawwâl, A. H. 247 (10th December, A. D. 861). The sons of Juff then went abroad to seek a livelihood for their family, and Toghj entered into the service of Lûlû, the page (*ghulâm*) of Ibn Tûlûn (*vol. I. p.* 153); (*the latter*) was at that time residing in Egypt, and had appointed (*Lûlû*) as his lieutenant in that country. Toghj afterwards passed into the service of Ishak Ibn Kundâj (2) and remained with him till the death of Ahmad Ibn Tûlûn. A peace having been effected between Abû 'l-Jaish Khumârawaih, the son of Ahmad Ibn Tûlûn (*vol. I. p.* 498) and Ishak Ibn Kundâj, the former noticed Toghj who was then in Ishak's suite, and being struck by his appearance, he took him from Ishak and gave him the command of all his troops. He appointed him also governor of Damascus and Tiberias. On the death of Khumârawaih, Toghj, who had always remained with him, went to join at-Muktafi billah. and this (*mark of respect*) gave the khalif such satisfaction that he bestowed on him a pelisse of honour. Al-Abbâs Ibn al-Hasan was then al-Muktafi's vizir; accustomed to see all (*the officers of the state*) bend in humble submission to his will, he endeavoured to exact the same deference from Toghj; finding, however, that his spirit scorned to brook such humiliation, he excited the khalif's anger against him, and succeeded in having him and his son, Abû Bakr Muhammad, cast into prison. Toghj died in confinement, but his son at length recovered his liberty and received a pelisse of honour. Burning to avenge the death of their father, the brothers Abû Bakr and Obaid Allah watched with unremitting vigilance for an opportunity of killing the vizir, and they at length obtained the satisfaction of seeing him fall by the hand of al-Husain Ibn Hamdân (*vol. II. p.* 360), Obaid Allah then, A. H. 296, went to join Ibn Abi 's-Sâj, and Abû Bakr fled into Syria, where, during the space of a year, he remained a fugitive in the desert. Having then joined Abû Mansûr Tikîn al-Khazari (*governor of Egypt and Syria*) (3), he became one of his most efficient supporters, and, being invested by him with the government of Ammân and the mountains of

as-Sharât (4), he gained a great name by the expedition which he made to an-Nukaib (5). This was in the year 306 (A. D. 219); a large band had assembled to intercept the pilgrim-caravan, but Abû Bakr marched against them, slew some, took others prisoners, put the rest to flight, and delivered the caravan. A female attached to the palace of the khalif al-Muktadir billah, and known by the name of Ajûz, happened to make the pilgrimage that year, and, on her return, she related to al-Muktadir what she had witnessed of Abû Bakr's (*intrepid conduct*). This account induced the khalif to send him a pelisse of honour and increase his pay. Abû Bakr remained with Tikîn till the year 316 (A. D. 928-9), when he left him for a reason too long to be exposed here. He then proceeded to Ramla and received letters from al-Muktadir, constituting him governor of that city. He remained in this post till the year 318, when al-Muktadir sent him his nomination as governor of Damascus. He continued at Damascus till the month of Ramadân, A. H. 321 (August-September, A. D. 933), when (*the khalif*) al-Kâhir billah appointed him governor of Egypt. During thirty-two days, the prayer was offered up for him in Egypt (*as governor*), but he had not yet entered it, when al-Kâhir nominated Abû 'l-Abbâs Ahmad Ibn Kaieghligh governor of that province for the second time. This appointment took place on the 9th of Shawwâl, A. H. 321. Abû Bakr Muhammad al-Ikhshîd was restored to the government of Egypt by ar-Râdi billah, the son of al-Muktadir, on the deposition of his uncle al-Kâhir; and he received from him besides, the command of Syria, Mesopotamia, al-Haramain (*Mekka and Medîna*) and other places. He entered Egypt on Wednesday, the 23rd of Ramadân, A. H, 323 (26th August, A. D. 935). It is said, however, by some that, till the death of ar-Râdi, in 329, he possessed only the government of Egypt; Syria, Hijâz, and the other provinces having been then placed under his orders by al-Muttaki lillah, the brother and successor of ar-Râdi. In the month of Ramadân, 327 (June-July, A. D. 939), ar-Râdi granted to him the title of al-Ikhshîd because he drew his descend from the kings of Farghâna, a circumstance which we have already noticed towards the commencement of this article. *Ikhshîd* was the title borne by these sovereigns; it signifies *king of kings* (6). It was thus they gave to the king of Persia the title of Kisra (*Chosroes*), to the king of the Turks that of Khâkân, to the king of the Romans that of Kaisar (*Cæsar*), to the king of Syria that of Heracl (*Heraclius*), to the king of Yemen that of Tobba, to the king of Abyssinia that of an-Najâshi, etc. (7). *Kaisar* is a Frankish word, signifying : *delivered by means of an incision* (8). He was so

called because his mother died in childbirth, and he was extracted through an incision made in the womb. This was a circumstance in which he vaunted his preeminence over other kings, in as much as he had not been born of woman. His name was Oghustus (*Augustus*); he was the first king of the Romans, and it is said that, in the forty-third year of his reign, the blessed Messiah, Jesus the son of Mary (*al-Masîh Isa Ibn Maryam*) was born. Others say that Jesus was born in the seventeenth year of his reign. The kings of the Romans all bore the title of *Kaisar*. In the prayers offered up from the pulpits for Muhammad Ibn Toghj, he was designated by the title of *al-Ikhshîd;* he thus became known by it, as if it was his proper name. Al-Ikhshîd was a resolute prince, displaying great foresight in war, and a close attention to the prosperity of his empire; he treated the military class with honour, and he governed with ability and justice. His bodily strength was so great that he made use of a bow which none but himself could draw. Muhammad Ibn Abd al-Malik al-Hamadâni (*vol. I. p.* 405) says, in his lesser historical work entitled : *Oyûn as-Siar* (*sources of history*), that his army consisted of four hundred thousand men, that he was a coward, and had eight thousand mamlûks. Two thousand of them guarded him every night, and, when travelling, his eunuchs were posted around his tent; yet, not trusting to these precautions, he would go to the tents occupied by the tent-pitchers (*farrâshîn*) and sleep there. He continued in his government and the enjoyment of good fortune till the year 334, when he died at Damascus, on the fourth hour of Friday, the 21st of Zû 'l-Hijja (24th July, A. D. 946). His corpse was born to Jerusalem, in a bier, and interred in that city. Abû 'l-Husain ar-Râzi (*vol. I. p.* 100), says that he died A. H. 335; God knows best! His birth took place on Monday, the 15th of Rajab, A. H. 268 (8th February, A. D. 882), at Baghdad, in the street leading to the Kûfa gate (*Shârî bab il-Kûfa*). Kâfûr al-Ikhshîdi and Fâtik al-Majnûn were slaves of his : in the preceding part of this work (*vol. II. pages* 453 *and* 524) we have allotted a separate article to each of these two persons. On the death of al-Ikhshîd, his sons Abû 'l-Kâsim Anûjûr and Abû 'l-Hasan were taken charge of by his servant Kâfûr, who conscientiously discharged that duty. We need not mention here the dates of their birth and death, nor the length of their reign, as we have already given a brief indication of these points in the life of Kâfûr; we have also related the history of the latter up to the time of his death, and, after stating that the military then placed Abû 'l-Fawâris Ahmad, the son of Ali, the son of al-Ikhshîd, on the throne, we referred to the present article for the remainder of our observations. As Abû

'l-Fawâris Ahmad was only eleven years of age, they established as his lieutenant in the administration of the state his father's cousin, Abû Muhammad al-Husain Ibn Obaid Allah Ibn Toghj Ibn Juff, the lord of Ramla in Syria and the same person whose praises were celebrated by al-Mutanabbi in the *kasîda* which commences thus:

> I should reproach myself were I conscious, when my companions blame (*me for yielding to affliction*), of all (*the grief*) I feel in the midst of these ruined dwellings (9).

In the same piece, he enters into his subject by means of the following transition :

> When I attack the foe, I leave no resistance for (*other*) warriors to vanquish; when I utter (*verses*), I leave no maxim for (*other*) sages to adduce. If this be not the case, my poetic talent has deceived me, and want of resolution has hindered me from (*doing fit honour to the merit of*) Ibn Obaid Allah!

The following passage from the same poem is really beautiful :

> I see at the foot of the region which extends from the Euphrates to Barka (10), a combat in which the steeds trample on warriors' heads; I see lances wielded by princes whose hands must have known the spear before they knew the bracelet (11). On every side, that troop is guarded against the foe by the swords of the sons of Toghj Ibn Juff, those gallant chieftains. 'Tis they who nobly return to the charge in the tumult of battle, and yet more nobly do they return to acts of beneficence! 'Tis they who grant a generous pardon to offenders; 'tis they who pay the fine (*of blood*) for him who is amerced. Modest in their deportment, yet, when they encounter an adversary, they face, but not with modesty, the edge of the sword. Were lions not too vile, I should compare these heroes to them, but lions are creatures of an inferior class.

In the same piece, he says :

> On reaching that noble prince I shook off all other men, as the traveller, on arriving, shakes from his bag the old and dried remains of his provisions. Yet my joy could hardly compensate my sorrow for having kept away from him during my past life.

This is a long and brilliant *kasîda*.—When this arrangement was effected, al-Husain Ibn Obaid Allah, who was then in Syria, married Fâtima, the daughter of his uncle al-Ikhshîd, and his name was mentioned in the prayer offered up from the pulpit, immediately after the name of Abû 'l-Fawâris Ahmad Ibn Ali. Matters continued in this state till Friday the thirteenth of Shaabân, A. H. 358 (2nd July,



A, D. 969), when the Maghribin army commanded by the *kâid* Jawhar (*vol. I. page* 340), the general (*of al-Moizz*), entered Old Cairo with flying colours and overthrew the Ikhshîdite dynasty after it had subsisted thirty-four years, ten months, and twenty-four days. Some time previously, (*al-Husain*) Ibn Obaid Allah had arrived there from Syria, having fled before the Karmats who had taken possession of that country. He went to the palace of his wife and cousin, Fâtima, and assuming the exercise of sovereign authority, he arrested the vizir Jaafar Ibn al-Furât (*vol. I. p.* 319), whom he put to the torture and amerced in a large sum. He then departed for Syria, on the 1st of the latter Râbi, A. H. 358 (February, A. D. 969). Jaafar Ibn Falâh (*vol. I. p.* 327) having occupied Syria, into which country he had been dispatched by the *kâid* Jawhar, as we have already related, took Abû Muhammad (*al-Husain*) Ibn Obaid Allah prisoner and sent him with a number of Syrian emirs to Jawhar, who had remained in Egypt. They entered Old Cairo in the month of the first Jumâda, A. H. 359 (March-April, A. D. 970), and, as (*al-Husain*) Ibn Obaid Allah had tyrannised over the Egyptians during the time of his rule, (*the guards*) kept their prisoners standing and exposed to public gaze, for the space of five hours, much to the satisfaction of those who had to complain of their conduct. They were then brought into Jawhar's tent and placed among the other captives kept there in chains. On the 17th of the first Jumâda, the *kâid* Jawhar dispatched his son Jaafar to al-Moizz, with a quantity of presents too precious to be described, and he sent off with him the prisoners brought from Syria. They were put into a boat on the Nile whilst Jawhar stood by and looked on; the boat upset, and (*al-Husain*) Ibn Obaid Allah cried out to him : "Do you mean to drown us?" Jawhar offered some excuses and made a great show of pity for his prisoner. They were then removed into another boat, all of them bound in chains. This is the last information I could learn respecting al-Husain. I have since found, in the historical work composed by al-Otaki (*vol. I. p.* 280), that al-Husain died on the eve of Friday, the 20th of Rajab, A. H. 371 (19th January, A. D. 982), and that the funeral prayer was said over him in the citadel of Cairo by al-Azîz Nizâr, the son of al-Moizz. Al-Farghâni states, in his history (12), that al-Husain was born in the year 312 (A. D. 924-5); he assigns also to his death the date which has been just given. According to the same author, Abû 'l-Fawâris Ahmad Ibn Ali died on the 13th of the first Rabî, A. H. 377 (13th July, A. D. 987). *Al-Ikhshîd, Toghj* (13), *Juff* or *Jaff, Yaltikîn, Eûrân, Fûri;* such is the pronunciation of the names الاخشيد, طغج, جف,

يلتكين, فوران and فورى. The Tikîn mentioned in this article was thrice governor of Egypt; he died on Saturday, the 16th of the first Rabî, A. H. 321 (16th March, A. D. 933), whilst occupying that post for the third time. He was succeeded by Abû Bakr al-Ikhshîd. The *hâfiz* Ibn Asâkir (*vol. II. p.* 252) gives a separate article on Ahmad Ibn Kaieghligh, in his History of Damascus: speaking of his administration in Egypt, he says: "A warfare was carried on between him and "Muhammad, the son of Tikîn al-Khâssa, but he finally remained in the full "possession of his authority. Muhammad Ibn Toghj was then sent by the khalif "ar-Radî as emir over Egypt, and Ibn Kaieghligh resigned the command to him. "Ahmad possessed abilities as a scholar and a poet; in one of his poems he says:

"On rainy days, let not the goblet linger in thy hand (*but pass it round*); knowest thou not "that rain is an urgent cupbearer (14)?

"His brother Ibrahîm Ibn Kaieghligh died on the 1st of Zû 'l-Kaada, A. H. 303 "(7th May, A. D. 916)." Ishak, the son of Ibrahîm, was the governor of Tripoly who, when al-Mutanabbi visited that city on his journey from Ramlah to Antioch, endeavoured to extort from the poet a *kasîda* in his praise. Al-Mutanabbi not only refused to gratify his wish, but attacked him in a satire commencing thus:

Men's hearts love a secret known to none but them, etc.

He then left him, and having afterwards learned his death in Jabala, he said:

They told us Ishak was dead, and I said to them, etc.

These two *kasîdas* are to be found in his *diwân*, for which reason I omit them. He composed also other satires against the same person.

(1) *The lord of the throne of gold,* in Arabic: *Sâhib sarir ad-Dahab.* D'Herbelot says that the *throne of gold* was the name given to a country or province situated near Derbend, between the Black sea and the Caspian. It was so called because the Marzubân, or governor, enjoyed the privilege of sitting on a throne of gold. See also al-Masûdi, t. II. page 41 of the French translation.

(2) Whilst the Zenj were attacking the dominions of the khalif on the southern side, Ibn Abi 's-Sâj, the governor of Kinnisrîn in the north of Syria, and Ishak Ibn Kundâj, or Kundâjîk, the governor of Mosul, took possession, the former of Syria, and the latter of Mesopotamia. These two chiefs then waged war against each other, and Ibn Kundâj acknowledged Khumârawaih for his sovereign. He subsequently turned his arms



against the Egyptians, and during some years a desperate struggle for power was maintained between four parties: Khumârawaih, the khalif, Ibn Kundâj, and Ibn Abi 's-Sâj. The details of their proceedings are given by Ibn al-Athîr.

(3) Ibn Khallikân has a short notice on this person, towards the end of the present article. Abû 'l-Mahâsin gives an account of his government in the *Nujûm*.

(4) Ammân and as-Sharât lie between the Dead sea and Aila.

(5) An-Nukaib lies in the north-west extremity of Arabia, between Maan and Tabûk, on the road of the pilgrims from Syria to Mekka.—(*Marasid*).

(6) Abû Mahâsin adds: *in the language of the Farghanians.*

(7) To this list may be added, on the authority of Abû 'l-Mahâsin in the *Nujûm*, year 320: *Al-Isbahîd* (الاصبهبد), the title of the king of Tabaristân; *Sûl* (صول), that of the king of Jurjân; *al-Ifshîn*, that of the king of Usrushna; *Sâmân*, that of the king of Samarkand, and *Firaun* (Pharaoh), that of the king of Egypt in ancient times.

(8) It is impossible to render exactly the terse concision of the Arabic words شق عنه; their literal translation would be, *it was split off from him, diffissum fuit ab eo,* but these expressions are unintelligible. Pliny says: Primusque Cæsarum à *cæso* matris utero dictus.—*Hist. Nat.* VII. 7, 9.

(9) In translating these fragments I have followed the authority of the excellent commentary on al-Mutanabbi preserved in the *Bibliothèque impériale*. In the MSS. of Ibn Khallikân these verses are disfigured by errors resulting from the negligence or ignorance of copyists.

(10) The word *Barka* signifies *a stony soil;* a number of places bore this name, one of them in the neighbourhood of the Euphrates.

(11) The bracelets here spoken of are the amulets tied round the wrists of young children in order to protect them from the evil eye.

(12) See vol. I. pages 155, 290.

(13) This name should be pronounced *Torj.*

(14) This is a quibble; the verse signifies also: Knowest thou not that rain is an impetuous waterer?

TOGHRULBEK *THE SELJUKIDE.*

Abû Tâlib Muhammad Ibn Mîkayîl Ibn Saljûk Ibn Dukâk, surnamed Rukn ad-Dîn Toghrulbek (*Toghrulbek, the column of the faith*), was the first monarch of the Seljûk dynasty. This people, before it established its domination over so many provinces, dwelt *beyond the river* (*the Oxus*) at a place twenty parasangs distant from Bokhara. They were Turks, and their numbers were immense; they lived in



complete independence, and, when armies too strong for them to resist were sent against them, they passed into the deserts and took refuge in the midst of the sands, where no one could approach them. Mahmûd Ibn Subuktikin, sultan of Khorâsân, Ghazna, and that country (we shall give his life), having crossed the river, entered into Transoxiana and found the leader of the Seljûkides to be a prowerful chief, maintaining a numerous people in obedience, (*more*) by wile and address (*than by force*); always moving from one region to another and making incursions into the neighbouring provinces. Having employed every means to gain his confidence and draw him (*to the camp*), he at length succeeded in circumventing him; and, on the chieftain's arrival, he seized upon him and sent him off to a castle, (*where he remained in confinement.*) Mahmûd's insidious policy was then directed against his prisoner's partisans, and he consulted the principal officers of his empire on the measures to be taken with regard to them. Some gave their opinion that they should be drowned in the Jaihûn (*the Oxus*), whilst others advised him to cut off the thumbs of every male among them, and thus preclude them from the possibility of drawing the bow and wielding arms; various plans were proposed, but they finally agreed on the propriety of transporting them across the Jaihûn and dispersing them throughout the province of Khorâsân, where they should be constrained to pay the tax (*al-kharâj*) to government. This advice was adopted, and the Seljûks continued for some time to hold a submissive and peaceful line of conduct. This encouraged the agents of government to oppress them, to seize on their wealth and flocks, and to grind them down by their extortions and tyranny: the consequence was, that two thousand tents (*or families*) emigrated to Kirmân. The emir Abû 'l-Fawâris Bahâ ad-Dawlat, the son of Adud ad-Dawlat Ibn Buwaih, who then ruled over that country, received them with kindness and arrayed their chiefs in robes of honour; he even resolved on taking them into his service, but ten days had scarcely elapsed when he died. The fugitives immediately departed through dread of the Dailamites, inhabitants that country, and, having hastened towards Ispahân, which was then under the rule of Alâ ad-Dawlat Abû Jaafar Ibn Kâkûyah, they encamped outside the city. This prince wished to employ them in his service, but, having received a letter from the sultan Mahmûd, ordering him to attack them and seize on their property, he proceeded to obey, and a combat ensued which cost many lives to both parties. The survivors set out for Adarbaidjân, and those who had remained in Khorâsân retired to a mountain near Khowârezm. The sultan Mahmûd sent an

army against them, which pursued them through these deserts during the space of nearly two years; he then took the field himself and followed them with unremitting activity till they were completely dispersed. On the death of Mahmûd, his son and successor Masûd found himself under the necessity of strengthening his army, and wrote to the Seljûkides in Adarbaijân, inviting them to come to his assistance. One thousand horsemen having joined him, he took them into his pay and led them towards Khorâsân. At the request of his new allies, he wrote to the remnant of the Seljûkides whom his father had dispersed, and, having obtained from them the promise of obedience, he granted them an amnesty, and reinstated them, on their arrival, in all the privileges which his father had conceded to them at first. Masûd then passed into India to appease the troubles which had broken out there, and the Seljûkides took advantage of his absence to resume their disorderly conduct and ravage the country. During the course of these events, the history of which would lead us too far, the sultan Toghrulbek and his brother Dâwûd had remained in Transoxiana and encountered Malak Shâh, the sovereign of Bukhâra, where they lost a great number of their partisans in a desperate conflict. This defeat forced them to retire among their people in Khorâsân and to write to Masûd, imploring mercy and requesting to be taken into his service. To this prayer Masûd replied by imprisoning their messengers and sending an army against the Seljûks in Khorâsân. A bloody battle ensued, subsequently to which they obtained their pardon on giving full assurance of their complete submission to his authority and engaging to conquer the province of Khowârezm. Masûd then tranquillised their hearts and set at liberty the ambassadors sent from Transoxiana; on which they requested him to abate the rigour of the confinement in which their chief had lingered from the time of his arrestation by the sultan Mahmûd. In pursuance of their desire, Masûd caused the prisoner to be removed from the castle and taken, bound in chains, to Balkh. The captive prince then asked permission to write to his nephews, Toghrulbek and Dâwûd, and, having obtained Masûd's consent, he opened a correspondence with these chiefs. The consequence was that Toghrulbek and Dâwûd assembled all their people and marched with a large army into Khorâsân. They had then contests, too numerous to be related, with the officers who commanded in that country and with the lieutenants whom Masûd had established in its cities. The result of this expedition was a complete triumph for the Seljûkides. The first city of which they gained possession was Tûs,—or Rai, according to another statement,

—having effected its conquest in the year 429 (A. D. 1037-8), and, in the month of Ramadân of the same year (June-July, A. D. 1038), they took Naisâpûr, one of the capitals of Khorâsân. The sultan Toghrulbek was the chief of this people, and to him alone pertained the sovereign authority. His brother Dâwûd, the conqueror of Balkh, was the father of Alp Arslân, a prince whose life we shall give. At the commencement of their victorious career, (*the two brothers*) acknowledged the authority of Masûd, and offered up the prayer for him as their sovereign, but, when they had shared their widely extended conquests, (*they withheld this homage*) and Masûd retired into the province of Ghazna. Their power became so great that the *imâm* (*khalif*) al-Kâim biamr illah sent an embassy to them, and the person whom he selected for this mission was the *kâdi* Abû 'l-Hasan Ali Ibn Muhammad Ibn Habîb al-Mâwardi, the author of the *Hâwi* (*vol. II. p.* 224). (*On this occasion, al-Mâwardi*) exhorted them to fear God, to govern their subjects with justice and kindness, and to extend their beneficence to the people (1). Toghrulbek was mild and generous; every Friday, at the regular hours, he attended the five prayers (*in the mosque*); he fasted every Monday and Thursday, wrought numerous works of charity, founded mosques and used to say : " I should be ashamed to appear before " God, were I to build for myself a dwelling and not erect a mosque beside it." The following is one of his honourable deeds, enregistered by history : He sent the *sharîf* Nâsir Ibn Ismaîl on an embassy to the queen of the Greeks (*Theodora*), who was an unbeliever; and the *sharîf* asked her for permission to preside the congregation, at the prayer of Friday, in the mosque at Constantinople. Having obtained this authorisation, he said the prayer and pronounced the *khotba* in the name of the *imâm* al-Kâim. This circumstance gave great offence to the ambassador of al-Mustansir, the Fatimide sovereign of Egypt, who happened to be present, and it was one of the principal causes which led to the rupture between the Egyptians and the Greeks.—When Toghrulbek had effected his conquests and obtained possession of Irâk and Baghdad, he sent to the *imâm* al-Kâim and asked his daughter in marriage. This demand caused the khalif great vexation; and, as he wished it to be withdrawn, frequent messages passed between him and the sultan. This fact is mentioned in the *Shudûr* (2) under the year 453 (A. D. 1061). Finding it impossible to withhold his consent, al-Kâim yielded at last, and the marriage contract was ratified outside the city of Tabrîz. Toghrulbek then proceeded to Baghdad, in the year 455 (A. D. 1063), and, on his arrival, he sent for his bride,

(*to whom*) he transmitted a present of one hundred thousand dinars under the designation of *money for the removal of* (the princess's) *furniture*. On the eve of Monday, the 15th of Safar, she was borne in state to the royal palace, where her husband awaited her, and, having taken her seat on a throne covered with cloth of gold, she received his visit. On appearing before her, he kissed the ground, but did not remove the veil from her face in that interview; having then offered her a quantity of presents magnificent beyond description, he kissed the ground again, remained for some time in a respectful posture, and retired, manifesting the utmost delight at his reception.—The events which marked the course of the Seljûk dynasty are very numerous, and have occupied the attention of many historians (3); these writers have composed works on the subject, including every detail, and my sole motive in giving the preceding sketch was, to point out the origin of their power and expose the real circumstances of their early history, for the satifaction of those who might desire such information.—Toghrulbek died at Rai on Friday, the 18th of Ramadân, A. H. 455 (14th September, A. D. 1063), aged seventy years. His body was carried to Marw and interred near the tomb of his brother Dâwûd. We shall have occasion to speak of Dâwûd in the life of his son Alp Arslân. Ibn al-Hamadâni (*vol. I. p.* 406, *note* (3)) says, in his history, that he was buried in a funeral chapel at Rai, and as-Samâni (*vol. II. p.* 156) makes the same statement in that article of his *Zail* (or *supplement*) which he has devoted to the life of the sultan Sinjar.—His vizir Muhammad Ibn Mansûr al-Kunduri states that Toghrulbek made the following relation: "When in Khorâsân, I dreamed that I was raised up to heaven in a cloud "which prevented me from seeing, but I smelt a sweet perfume and I heard a voice "exclaim: 'Thou art near unto the Creator, may his power be glorified! ask what "'thou needest; it shall be granted.' On hearing these words, I said within "myself: 'I ask thee for length of life;' and a voice answered: 'Thou shalt have "seventy years.' I replied: 'O Lord! that sufficeth me not;' and it said: 'For "thee are seventy years.'" This anecdote is mentioned by our *shaikh* Ibn al-Athîr (*vol. II. p.* 288), in his history. When Toghrulbek was at the point of death, he said: "I am like unto a sheep; its legs were tied that it might be shorn of its wool, "and it thought that it was tied for slaughter; it therefore struggled, and, when let "loose, it rejoiced; then, it was tied for slaughter, and thinking that it was for the "shearing of its wool, it remained quiet and was killed. Now this sickness which "hath come upon me is the binding of my legs for slaughter." The daughter of

al-Kâim remained with him about six months : she died on the 6th of Muharram, A. H. 496 (20th Oct. A. D. 1102). As Toghrulbek left no male children, his kingdom devolved to his nephew Alp Arslân.—*Toghrulbek* is a Turkish compound name : the Turks employ the word *toghrul* to designate a species of bird (*falcon*) well known in that country, and it is used also as a proper name for men; *bek* signifies commander (*amîr*). The words سلجوق and دقاق must be pronounced *Saljûk* and *Dukâk*.—*Jaihûn* is the name of the great river which separates Khuwârezm and Khorâsân from Bokhâra, Samarkand, and that country : all the region on the (*Bokhâra*) side of the river is called *the country beyond the river* (*ma warâ 'n-nahr*) (4). It is one of those rivers of Paradise which are mentioned in the Tradition, where it is said that four rivers flow out of it; two of them manifest, and two hidden; the manifest being the Nile and the Euphrates, and the hidden, the Jaihûn and the Saihûn.—The *Saihûn* is situated at a fifteen days' journey beyond the Jaihûn, near the country of the Turks. Though these rivers are very large and wide, they freeze over in winter, so that travellers can cross them with their beasts of burden; they remain frozen about three months. These observations, though foreign to our purpose, have some connection with the article in which we are here engaged, and discourse will run into digressions: besides, those readers who dwell in other countries and are ignorant of the position in which these localities lie, will find in the remarks here given the information which they are naturally led to expect.

(1) Imâd ad-Dîn al-Ispahâni speaks of two envoys; one called Abû Bakr at-Tûsi, and the other Abû Muhammad Hibat Allah Ibn Muhammad Ibn al-Mâmûn. He does not notice the mission of al-Mâwardi.—In some of the manuscripts of Ibn Khallikân, the following passage is inserted before that which begins by the words : *He exhorted them:* Then he (*Toghrulbek*) got possession of Baghdad and Irâk, on the 6th Ramadân 447 (29th November, A. D. 1055).

(2) The *Shudûr al-Okûd* is an historical work composed by Abû 'l-Faraj Ibn al-Jauzi. His life is given in vol. II. page 96 of this work.

(3) The *kâtib* Imâd ad-Dîn al-Ispahâni composed a work on the subject which was remodelled by al-Bundâri. These two works are in the *Bibliothèqae impériale*. Ibn al-Athîr gives copious information respecting them in his *Kâmil*, and Mirkhond in his *Rauda tas-Safâ*. This section of Mirkhond's work was published, with a German translation, by professor Vullers, at Giessen, in 1838.

(4) *Transoxiana*, a word of modern invention, is well adapted to express the meaning of *Ma-warâ 'n-nahr*.

ALP ARSLAN AS-SALJUKI.

Abû Shujâa Muhammad, the son of Tchakirbek Dâwûd, the son of Mîkâyîl, the son of Saljûk, the son of Dukâk, surnamed Adud ad-Dawlat Alp Arslân (*the arm of the empire, the hero lion*), was the nephew of Toghrulbek. In the life of that sultan (*p.* 224 *of this volume*), we have mentioned some facts connected with the history of Dâwûd, Alp Arslân's father. When Toghrulbek was drawing near his end, he nominated as his successor Sulaimân, the son of Dâwûd and brother of Alp Arslân; having been led to make this choice by the influence of Sulaimân's mother, who was then with him. Sulaimân assumed the supreme command, but, having to sustain a war with his brother Alp Arslân and his uncle Shihâb ad-Dawlat Kutulmish, who revolted against him, he was unable to establish his authority. Alp Arslân, having gained the victory, took possession of the empire, became formidable by his power, and increased his possessions by conquests which his uncle Toghrulbek had never been able to achieve. In his expedition to Syria, he laid siege to Aleppo, which was at that time under the rule of Mahmûd Ibn Nasr Ibn Sâlih Ibn Mirdâs al-Kilâbi; negotiations being then opened between the two parties, Alp Arslân declared that Mahmûd should come and *tread on his carpet* (*do him homage*), if he wished for peace. Mahmûd therefore went by night with his mother to the tent of Alp Arslân, who received them with great kindness, arrayed them in robes of honour, sent them back to their city, and then decamped. Al-Mâmûni (*vol. II, p.* 334) says in his History: "It is said that neither in ancient nor in "Islamic times, did any Turkish king, prior to Alp Arslân, cross the Euphrates." On his return, he resolved to march into the country of the Turks, and, having assembled an army of at least two hundred thousand horse, he threw a bridge across the Jaihùn (*Oxus*) and spent a month in getting his troops over the river. He then followed, and, on the 6th of the first Rabî, A. H. 465 (20th November, A. D. 1072), he prepared a grand feast in a village called Ferber, the citadel of which was situated on the bank of the Jaihûn, and commanded by an officer called Yûsuf al-Khuwârezmi. This person was led the same day, bound with cords, into Alp Arslân's presence, and accused of some misconduct relative to the citadel. When



he was brought near, the monarch ordered four stakes to be driven into the ground and that the prisoner, after having been attached to them by the arms and legs, should be tortured and put to death. On hearing this sentence, Yûsuf exclaimed: "Is it for a man like me that such a punishment is reserved (1)?" Alp Arslân, being incensed at these words, seized his bow and, fitting an arrow to it, he ordered the prisoner to be unbound, meaning to display his skill in archery, an accomplishment in which he took great pride. Having missed his aim, he rose from the throne in which he was seated, but he stumbled on getting down and fell on his face; Yûsuf instantly sprung forward and plunged a dagger into his side, but was immediately killed by an Armenian tent-pitcher, who struck him on the head with a mallet. Alp Arslân was carried to another tent, and, having sent for his vizir Nizâm al-Mulk (*vol. I. p.* 413), he gave him his dying injunctions and designated his son Malak Shâh as successor to the throne. He expired on Saturday, the 10th of the month above mentioned. He was born in the year 424 (A. D. 1032-3). His reign lasted nine years and some months. His body was transported to Marw and interred near the tombs of his father Dâwûd and his uncle Toghrulbek. Although Baghdad was included in his empire, he never entered nor saw that city. It was he who built the mausoleum which covers the tomb of Abû Hanîfa. He erected also a college at Baghdad, on which he spent large sums. It is stated in the *Zubda tat-Tawârîkh* (2), that he received his mortal wound on Saturday, the 30th of the first Rabî, A. H. 465 (14th December, A. D. 1072), and that he survived three days; God knows best (*whether this statement be truer than the other*). We have already spoken of his father (*Dâwûd*) and mentioned that he was sovereign of Balkh; he died in that city in the month of Rajab, A. H. 451 (August-September, A. D. 1059). His body was carried to Marw and interred there. Some say that Dâwûd died at Marw. According to another statement, he died in the month of Safar, A. H. 452 (March-April, A. D. 1060), and was interred in the college which he had founded at Marw. We have already spoken of Tutush, Alp Arslân's son (*vol. I. p.* 273).—*Alp Arslân* is a Turkish word signifying *the hero lion*; *alp* means *hero*, and *arslân*, *lion*.—Shihâb ad-Dawlat Kutulmish, the son of Isrâyîl, the son of Saljûk, was the father of Sulaimân Ibn Kutulmish, the ancestor of the dynasty which governs Asia Minor (*Rûm*) to this day. He possessed a number of fortresses and castles, such as Guirdkûh (*in Zâbulistân*), and others in Persian Irâk. He revolted against his nephew Alp Arslân and encountered him in battle near Rai.

When the conflict ended, Kutulmish was found dead, but the cause of his death remained unknown. This took place in the month of Muharram, A. H. 456 (December-January, A. D. 1063-4). It was said that he died of fright, and this circumstance gave great vexation to Alp Arslân.

(1) Or, according to Ibn al-Athîr and his epitomizer Abû 'l-Fedâ : " *Infamous wretch* (*ya mukhannath*)! *is* " *it for a man like me*, " etc.

(2) (*The cream of histories*). Hajji Khalifa indicates three works bearing this title; but all of them were composed subsequently to the time of our author.

MUHAMMAD IBN MALAK SHAH AS-SALJUKI.

Abû Shujâa Muhammad, the son of Malak Shâh, the son of Alp Arslân (see the preceding article), was surnamed Ghiâth ad-Dîn (*succour of religion*). We omit the remainder of his genealogy, as it has been already given in the article on his grandfather (*page* 230 *of this volume*). On the death of Malak Shâh, the empire was divided between his three sons, Barkyârûk (*vol. I. p.* 251), Sinjar (*vol. I. p.* 600), and Muhammad: the two latter were sons of the same mother, and little notice was taken of them whilst Barkyârûk reigned; the fact being that he was sultan and they were only his subordinates. Dissensions having sprung up between Muhammad and Barkyârûk, the former proceeded to Baghdad with his brother Sinjar, and the *imâm* al-Mustazhir billah arrayed them in robes of honour. Muhammad had previously requested that the Commander of the faithful would grant a solemn reception to his brother Sinjar and himself. The khalif consented to his desire, and, having held a sitting to receive them in the Saloon of the Crown (*kubba tat-Tâj*), in the presence of all his officers and their followers, he took his seat on the throne, with the Prophet's mantle on his shoulders, the turban on his head, the sceptre placed before him, and Saif ad-Dawlat Sadaka Ibn Mazyad (*vol. I. p.* 634), the lord of al-Hilla, standing on the right of the throne. He then arrayed Muhammad in seven pelisses, one over the

other, according to the custom followed with respect to sultans, and, having put the collar round his neck, the crown on his head, and the bracelets on his arms, he knotted a standard for him with his own hand, suspended two swords from his shoulder, and presented him with five horses fully caparisoned. He clothed Sinjar in the same number of pelisses. The customary *khotba* was then said in the great mosque of Baghdad, and Muhammad was named in it as sultan: the *khotba* for Barkyârûk had been suppressed for motives too long to relate. Muhammad Ibn Abd al-Malik al-Hamadâni (*vol. I. p.* 405) states, in his History, that this took place in A. H. 495 (A. D. 1101-2). The author of the History of the Seljûkides says that the *khotba* was said at Baghdad in Muhammad's name, for the first time, on the 17th of Zû 'l-Hijja, A. H. 492 (4th November, A. D. 1099), and other writers agree with him in this point. Al-Hamadâni adds: A singular circumstance occurred (*some time before*): the preacher in the mosque of the palace (*al-Kasr*) at Baghdad, was saying the *khotba*, and having come to the place in which the prayer was to be made for the sultan Barkyârûk, he substituted unintentionally for this name the name of the sultan Muhammad. On this, the partisans of Barkyârûk came forward and blamed bitterly the line of conduct held by the court of Baghdad (*ad-Diwân al-Azîz*). The preacher was deprived of his place and his son nominated to succeed him. A very few days after, the *khotba* was authorised to be said for the sultan Muhammad; so, the occurrence itself proved to be an omen of the honour which he was about to receive. Barkyârûk was unwell at the time, and had gone down to Wâsit; but, having afterwards strengthened his authority and augmented his army, he gave battle to his brother, near Rai, and routed his troops. The history of these events would lead us, however, too far (1). Muhammad was the bravest and boldest of the Seljûk sultans; he shone preeminent by his valiant deeds, his virtuous conduct, his universal justice, his charity to the indigent and the orphan, his wars with the Ismaîlians, and his close attention to the welfare of his subjects. Abû 'l-Barakât Ibn al-Mustaufi (*vol. II. p.* 556) mentions, in his History of Arbela, that Muhammad arrived in that city on the 9th of the first Rabî, A. H. 498 (November, A. D. 1104), and that he left it for Mosul on the 12th of the same month. He then adds that he found in a book the following passage: "The *imâm* Abû Hâmid al-Ghazzâli (*vol. II.* "*p.* 621) said, in an address to the sultan Muhammad, the son of Malak Shâh: "'Sultan of the universe! the children of Adam form two classes; one of them "'heedless (*of their salvation*), who fix their eyes on the spectacle of worldly pros-

" 'perity, who cling to the hope of a long life and who reflect not on the moment
" 'in which they shall breathe their last; the other is the class of the wise, who
" 'keep their eyes fixed on their dying hour, who reflect on what they shall become,
" 'on the manner in which they may quit the world in preserving their faith unal-
" 'tered, on the worldly goods which they shall take with them to the tomb, and on
" 'those which they shall leave behind them as an affliction and a source of woe to
" 'their enemies.' "—On the death of Barkyârûk, the sultan Muhammad became sole master of the empire; no rival remained to resist him, and his reign was a course of uninterrupted prosperity. He died, after a long illness, on Thursday, the 24th of Zû 'l-Hijja, A. H, 511 (19 th April, A. D. 1118), at Ispahân, aged thirty-seven years, four months, and six days. He was interred in the great college which he had founded in that city for the followers of the Hanifite sect. It surpasses every establishment of the same kind in Ispahân. When he lost all hopes of recovery, he sent for his son Mahmûd, and, having kissed him, they both wept together; he then told him to go out and take his seat on the imperial throne and look into public affairs. On this, Mahmûd observed that it was an unlucky day; meaning that the stars had declared it such. "True," replied Muhammad, "it is unlucky for thy father, "but lucky for thee, since it makes thee a sultan." Mahmûd then went out and took his seat on the throne, with the crown on his head and the bracelets on his arms. —None of the Seljûk kings left such a quantity of treasure, wealth, horses, and other valuable objects as he; it would be too long to make an enumeration of what he possessed. We shall give the life of his father.—The *imâm* al-Muktafi li-amr illah married Fâtima, the sultan Muhammad's daughter, in the year 531 (A. D. 1136-7). The vizir Sharaf ad-Dîn Abû 'l-Kâsim Ali Ibn Tirâd az-Zainabi (*see p.* 151 *of this vol.*) acted as his proxy on that occasion. Her brother Masûd was present at the ratification of the contract. Three years later, she was conducted in pomp to the palace of the khalif (*for the consummation of the marriage*). It is said that she could read and write. In political matters she displayed the justest views. She inhabited (*the palace called*) Dergâh Khâtûn (*the hall of the princess*), and she died under his (*the khalif's*) guardianship (2), on Saturday, the 22nd of the latter Rabî, A. H. 542 (21st September, A. D. 1147). She was interred at ar-Rusâfa.

(1) See Abû 'l-Fedâ, Price's *Retrospect*, and Vuller's *Mirkhond*.

(2) That is to say, she was still residing with the Khalif and had not been divorced.

AL-MALIK AL-AADIL, *THE BROTHER OF SALAH AD-DIN.*

Abû Bakr Muhammad Ibn Abi 's-Shukr Aiyûb Ibn Shâdi Ibn Marwân, surnamed al-Malik al-Aâdil Saif ad-Dîn (*the just king, the sword of religion*), was brother to the sultan Salâh ad-Dîn. We have already spoken of his father (*vol.* 1. *page* 243), and shall mention his brother under the letter *Y*. Al-Malik al-Aâdil entered Egypt at the same time as his brother and his uncle Asad ad-Dîn Shîrkûh (*vol. I. page* 626), and he used to relate that, when on the point of setting out, he wanted a wallet for the road and asked one from his father. "My father gave me one," said he, "and "addressed me thus: 'O Abû Bakr! when you get possession of Egypt, return it to "'me filled with gold.' On his arrival in Egypt, he asked me for the wallet, on "which I went and filled it with black dirhems (1), placing some pieces of gold on "the top. I presented it to him, and he at first thought it was gold, but, on turning "it down, the silver pieces dropped out: 'Ah, Abû Bakr!' said he, 'thou hast "'learned from the Egyptians how to pass off false money.'" The sultan Salâh ad-Dîn, having established his authority in Egypt, left al-Malik al-Aâdil as his lieutenant in that country on proceeding to Syria, and he then applied to him for money when he had to pay his troops or defray other expenses. I saw in one of al-Kâdi 'l-Fâdil's (*vol. II. p.* 111) epistles that, on one occasion, a delay having occurred in forwarding a convoy (*of specie*), the sultan ordered Imâd ad-Dîn al-Ispahâni to write to al-Malik al-Aâdil, and insist on his sending it off immediately; he even went so far as to say: "Let him send us a convoy of our own money or else "of his." When al-Malik al-Aâdil received the letter and read this passage, he was highly displeased and wrote to al-Kâdi 'l-Fâdil, complaining of the sultan. On this, al-Kâdi 'l-Fâdil drew up an answer in which he inserted the following passage: "As "to his lordship's remarks respecting this phrase: *let him send us a convoy of our* "*own money or else of his*, I answer that it cannot be considered as an order from "the king to send him a necessary provision, but rather as an addition made by a "secretary in order to give a cadence to the phrase: how many offensive expressions, "how many rude words have been employed merely to dispel the languor of the pen "and fill up the hiatus of discourse! It is on your humble servant that falls the

"responsability of this pointed expression, of which, O what a reticence escaped "there from the tongue of the pen! Your humble servant was present when these "strokes of incitation were heard, and, with respect to the audacity of Imâd ad-Dîn, "the cry of the falcon gives audacity to the kites (2). Adieu." When the sultan Salâh ad-Dîn took possession of Aleppo, in the month of Safar, A. H. 579 (May-June, A. D. 1183), as we have already stated in our article on Imâd ad-Dîn Zinki (3), he gave (*the government of*) that city to his son al-Malik az-Zâhir Ghâzi (*vol. II. p.* 443), but he afterwards took it from him and bestowed it on al-Malik al-Aâdil, who proceeded thither the same year, and occupied the castle on Friday, the 22nd of Ramadân. By a subsequent arrangement made with his brother Salâh ad-Dîn, al-Malik al-Aâdil gave up the city to al-Malik az-Zâhir Ghâzi, and left the place on the eve of Saturday, the 24th of the first Rabî, A. H. 582 (June, A. D. 1186). He then received from the sultan the fortress of al-Karak, and afterwards passed from the command of one province to that of another, not only during the lifetime of his brother, but after his death. The history of his proceedings with al-Malik al-Afdal, al-Malik al-Azîz, and al-Malik az-Zâhir is so well known that we need not enter into details (4). It may suffice to state that he finally obtained possession of Egypt, and that, having made his entry into Cairo the 16th of the latter Rabî, A. H. 596 (2nd February, A. D. 1200), he fully established his authority in that country. In the biographical notice on Diâ ad-Dîn Abû 'l-Fath Nasr Allah, generally known by the appellation of Ibn al-Athîr al-Jazari (5), which Abû 'l-Barakât Ibn al-Mustaufi has inserted in his History of Arbela, we read as follows: "And I found in his (*Diâ ad-Dîn's*) "handwriting that the *khotba* was said in Old and New Cairo for al-Malik al-Aâdil "Abû Bakr Ibn Aiyûb, on Friday, the 21st of Shawwâl, A. H. 596 (5th August, "A. D. 1200), and that it was said for him in Aleppo on Friday, the 11th of the "latter Jumâda, A. H. 598 (9th March, A. D. 1202)." Having obtained possession of Syria also and of as-Sharkiya (*the East, Mesopotamia*), success attended all his projects, and, in the year 612 (A. D. 1215-6), he became master of Yemen, to which country he dispatched (*as governor*) his grandson al-Malik al-Masûd (*the fortunate prince*) Salâh ad-Dîn Abû 'l-Muzaffar Yûsuf, the son of al-Malik al-Kâmil, and generally known by the appellation of Atsîs. His son al-Malik al-Auhad Najm ad-Dîn (*the unequalled prince, the star of the religion*) Aiyûb governed as his lieutenant the city and districts of Maiyâfârikîn, and, in the year 604 (A. D. 1207-8), he took possession of Khalât (6) and Armenia. His kingdom thus acquired great

extent. Al-Malik al-Aâdil having assured the tranquil exercise of his power in all these provinces, divided them between his sons : al-Malik al-Kâmil received Egypt for his share, al-Malik al-Moazzam obtained Syria, al-Malik al-Ashraf got as-Sharkiya, and al-Auhad retained the countries which we have already indicated. He (*al-Aâdil*) was a powerful monarch, displaying great foresight and information, having well profited by the lessons of experience; virtuous in his conduct, always animated with the best intentions and gifted with consummate prudence; he was resolute in his undertakings, holy in his life, attentive to fulfil the duty of prayer at the regular hours, careful in following the example of the pious men who directed their conduct by that of the Prophet, and remarkably partial to the learned (*in the law*). It is not therefore astonishing that Fakhr ad-Dîn ar-Râzi (*vol. II. p.* 652) should have composed and dedicated to this sovereign the (*metaphysical*) work entitled *Tâsîs at-Takdîs* (*confirmatio sanctificationis*), which he sent to him from Khorâsân. We may conclude his history by stating that he was highly fortunate in every way: no other monarch ever left sons so illustrious, so brave, so learned, and so high-minded as his; nations acknowledged their sway, and the finest kingdoms of the earth obeyed their rule. When the poet Ibn Onain celebrated the praises of al-Malik al-Aâdil in the *kasîda* of which we have already given a fragment (*p.* 180 *of this volume*) and which rhymes in *r*, he introduced into it the following eulogium on that prince's sons :

> He has sons, one of whom, in every land, leads an army against the foe; each, by the brightness of his forehead, seems a moon, but, when in combat, a lion; he presses forward to the fight, but, when the bright (*swords*) dispel (*the darkness of*) the dust and disclose to view the captured (*maidens*) of the harem, he retires. 'Tis a family pure in origin, excellent in race, copious in liberality, pleasing to behold. Their steeds scorn to drink from a stream unless its waters be encrimsoned with the blood of battles. They hasten with delight to the fire of combat, but are incapable of hastening towards the fire of hospitality (7).

How many the exquisite *kasîdas* which poets have composed on the members of this family! but I shall only notice the foregoing piece, because it applies to them all. The same poem contains the following passage in praise of al-Malik al-Aâdil; the author has displayed in it superior ability :

> (*He is*) the just (*al-aâdil*), the king (*al-malik*), whose titles, in every region, ennoble the pulpits (*from which they are proclaimed*). In every land, his unsullied justice has formed a paradise watered by the heavenly stream of his liberality. So just is he that the wolf passes the night in the torments of hunger, although the brown gazelle is before his eyes. No believer

in the direction (*the true religioon*) can be troubled by a doubt respecting the excellence of Abû Bakr (8). He is a sword of which the surface has been polished by glory, and of which the metal denotes the excellent temper (9). His praise is not borrowed (*metaphoric*), neither are the wonders of his prowess a forged narration. He is as far above former kings in merit as the Pleiades are above the earth. In his good qualities we find written all that books relate of Persian and Grecian kings. When the sagest minds are troubled with terror, the firmness of this king is only augmented. Strong of heart, his attacks and his intrepidity, in the tumult of battle, would appal the lions of as-Shara (10). (*His is*) the tongue which can almost declare what shall come to pass to-morrow, and that with a promptitude which dispenses him from reflecting; (*his*) the prudence which surpasses and disconcerts the foresight of others; his, the judgment and resolution which shame those of Alexander. His generosity leads him to pardon the gravest offences, and his noble pride turns him from obscene discourse. You need not listen when the history of other kings is read; (*hear his!*) in the belly of the wild ass is every sort of game (11).

It is certainly an exquisite poem, to sáy the least of it.—When al-Malik al-Aâdil had divided his states between his sons, he used to visit them, and kept thus removing from one kingdom to another. His general practice was, to spend the summer in Syria on account of the fruit, the snow and the cool water (*which are readily procured in that country*), and he passed the winter in Egypt on account of its mild temperature in that season, and the absence of cold. He lived in all the enjoyments of life, and his appetite for food was most extraordinary; it is said that he used to eat up a roast lamb at a meal, and, in the gratification of his passion for the sex, his indulgences were equally great. In a word, he was permitted to partake of all the pleasures this world can afford. His birth took place at Damascus, in the month of Muharram, A. H. 540 (June-July, A. D. 1145), or 538, by another account. He died on the 7th of the latter Jumâda, A. H. 615 (31st August, A. D. 1218), at Aâlikîn. The next day, his body was transported to Damascus and interred in the castle, whence it was afterwards removed to the college bearing his name, and deposited in the mausoleum by the road-side. His tomb is the edifice which passengers remark through the trellis-work (*which is set up*) there.—*Aâlikîn* is the name of a village outside Damascus. The death of al-Malik al-Aâdil occurred at the epoch of the landing of the Franks (*the crusaders*) in Syria. Their first operation being to march against him, he set out to meet them and proceeded towards Damascus, that he might equip his troops and make the other necessary preparations, but, on reaching Aâlikîn, he expired. The whole body of the invaders then abandoned their project against Syria and passed into Egypt. This brought on the celebrated war of Damietta. The date of this war is given in the life of Yahya Ibn

Mansûr, surnamed Ibn al-Jarrâh (12).—*Atsîs* (*i. e. Adsiz*) is a Turkish compound word signifying *nameless*: it is related that, as none of al-Malik al-Kâmil's children lived to grow up, one of the Turks who were present at his levee said, on the birth of al-Malik al-Masûd : "People in our country have the custom of naming a man "*Atsîs* when none of his children survive." Al-Kâmil then gave this name to his son. The people pronounce it *Aksîs*, with a *k* (ق), but the former is the right pronunciation; so, at least, I have been informed. I have since found, in a written document, the date of the cession of Aleppo : Imâd ad-Dîn Zinki evacuated its citadel on Thursday, the 22nd of Safar, and Salâh ad-Dîn occupied it on Monday, the 26th of the same month.

(1) *Black dirhems* mean silver pieces of base alloy; the *moneta nigra* of the middle ages. Gold pieces alloyed with silver are called *white dinars*.

(2) The original text of this last phrase is so very obscure and ambiguous, that I may probably have missed its real meaning. If the translation be correct, the idea meant to be conveyed is equivalent to the following : the haughty tone of the sovereign encouraged the secretary, Imâd ad-Dîn, to employ insolent language. —It must be acknowledged that the whole passage is singularly difficult, though not more so than most of the other official papers drawn up by al-Kâdi 'l-Fâdil and Imâd ad-Dîn; they strove to outdo each other in what was then considered as fine writing, and, for the sake of far-fetched allusions, expressed in well-turned rhythmical phrases, they never hesitated to sacrifice sense to sound.

(3) See vol. I. page 542. In the fifth line of that page, correct the date 1182 and read 1183.

(4) See vol. II. page 354.

(5) His life will be given by our author.

(6) See Abû 'l-Fedâ's *Annals*, year 604.

(7) In the life of Ibn Ammâr, page 127 of this volume, is a verse in which the same idea is expressed.

(8) This verse applies equally to al-Malik al Aâdil, whose name was Abû Bakr, and to the first khalif.

(9) Literally : *et cujus indicat præstans origo substantiam.* The poet meant to say : *et cujus indicat præstantem originem substantia.* We find frequent examples of such inversions. See de Sacy's *Chrestomathie*, tome II. page 399.

(10) See vol. II. page 349, note (14).

(11) That is : the flesh of the wild ass has the taste of every sort of game. It is a common proverb. See Freytag's *Maidani*, tome II, page 816.

(12) His life will be found in this work. Damietta was taken in A. H. 616 (A. D. 1219).

AL-MALIK AL-KAMIL, *THE SON OF AL-AADIL.*

Abû 'l-Maâli Muhammad, surnamed al-Malik al-Kâmil Nâsir ad-Dîn (*the perfect prince, champion of the faith*), was the son of al-Malik al-Aâdil. We have already mentioned something of his history in the life of his father; see the preceding article. When the Franks (*the crusaders*) arrived at Damietta (*A. D.* 1218), al-Malik al-Kâmil had just assumed the supreme authority. Imâd ad-Dîn Ahmad Ibn al-Mashtûb (*vol. I. p.* 162) and a great number of other grandees were then with him; but they joined the party of al-Malik al-Fâiz Sâbik ad-Dîn Ibrahîm, the brother of al-Malik al-Kâmil, in consequence of a plan concerted with the former of these princes. Though al-Kâmil had discovered from some circumstances of their conduct that they meant to depose him and confide the sultanship to his brother, and though their intention had been divulged, he felt obliged to keep on good terms with them on account of the presence of an enemy in the country, and he acted towards them with great longanimity, it being then impossible to have recourse to expostulation and remonstrance. He continued to pursue this line of conduet till the arrival of his brother al-Malik al-Moazzam, the lord of Damascus (*vol. II. p.* 428). This was on Thursday, the 19th of Dû 'l-Kaada, A. H. 615 (6th February, A. D. 1219). In a secret conference with this prince, he disclosed matters to him and designated Ibn al-Mashtûb as the ringleader of the band. Some days afterwards, he (*al-Moazzam*) proceeded, unexpectedly, to Ibn al-Mashtûb's tent and, having called him out, he expressed the desire of conversing with him in private. Ibn al-Mashtûb immediately mounted on horseback and rode off with him, unaccompanied. Al-Moazzam had previously selected some men on whom he could rely and ordered them to follow. He then entered into conversation with Ibn al-Mashtûb, passing from one subject to another, and continued to keep his attention engaged, whilst he gradually drew him off from the camp. He then said: "Imâd ad-Dîn! this country "is yours but we wish you to give it up to us." Having then furnished him with a sum for his necessary expenses, he told the detachment (*which had now come up*) to take charge of him and conduct him out of the desert. Ibn al-Mashtûb, being alone and unable to resist, was obliged to submit. Al-Moazzam then returned

to his brother and informed him of what had passed. Having then recourse to another stratagem in order to send al-Fâiz out of the country, he despatched him off to Mosul for the purpose of bringing up reinforcements from that city and Mesopotamia. Al-Fâiz died on reaching the city of Sinjâr. These two individuals being thus removed out of the way, the generals who had conspired with them abandoned their projects and acknowledged, though much against their will, the authority of al-Malik al-Kâmil. The Damietta business then came on, but this is a subject on which we need not expatiate. The Franks, on obtaining possession of Damietta, marched out with the intention of reaching Old and New Cairo, and they encamped at the extremity of the isle on which Damietta is situated, the Moslims having already occupied the village of al-Mansûra, on the other side of the river. This river is the Ushmûm (*branch of the Nile*). Almighty God, by his favour and generous bounty, granted the victory to the Moslims, and, on the eve of Friday, the 7th of Rajab, A. H. 618 (27th August, A. D. 1221), the Franks abandoned their position. A peace being concluded between the two parties, on the 11th of the same month, the enemy evacuated the country in the month of Shaabân (September-October) of that year. They had passed forty months and seventeen days in the land of Islamism, part of the time in Syria, and the rest in Egypt, but God averted their evil designs; praise be unto him for so doing! For the particulars of this event, we refer the reader to our notice on Yahya Ibn al-Jarrâh. When al-Malik al-Kâmil was delivered from the uneasiness which the presence of the Franks had given him, he found leisure to think of the emirs who had endeavoured to subvert his authority; and, having expelled them from Egypt, he broke up and dispersed their party. On entering Cairo, he took steps for restoring the prosperity of the country, and proceeded to the recovery of the taxes from all the quarters in which they were due. Al-Malik al-Kâmil was a powerful monarch, and left an honourable reputation; he loved men of learning (*the doctors of the law*), and, being a strict observer of the doctrines of the *sunna* (*the authentic records of Muhammad's acts and sayings*), he adhered with zeal to the orthodox belief: he liked the society of talented men; in all his undertakings he evinced great foresight, never taking an unseasonable measure, and avoiding equally the extremes of parsimony and prodigality. Every Thursday, a number of the learned went to pass the evening with him, and he took a share in their discussions, questioning them on the obscure points of the different sciences, and treating them

as if he was one of themselves. He frequently quoted the following verses which he much admired :

> Before you were mistress of my heart, you never turned away from the sad and afflicted, (*but now you do so!*) and, though you occupy a secure position (*in my heart*), I still hope to conquer (*your disdain*).

He founded at Cairo a school for Traditions (*dâr hadîth*) and established a considerable *wakf* (1) for its support; he built also a large dome over the tomb of as-Shâfi, and, having interred his mother near that *imâm*'s grave, he went to an immense expense in leading to it the waters of the Nile by a canal of great length. When al-Malik an-Nâsir Salâh ad-Dîn Dâwûd succeeded to the government of Syria on the death of his father al-Malik al-Moazzam, (*his uncle,*) al-Malik al-Kâmil, who was brother to the deceased prince, set out from Egypt with the intention of taking Damascus from him. Being joined by his brother al-Malik al-Ashraf Muzaffar ad-Dîn Mûsa, a prince whose life we shall give, they occupied Damascus towards the beginning of Shaabân, A. H. 626 (June-July, A. D. 1229), after some proceedings too long to be related. Al-Kâmil then gave Damascus up to his brother al-Ashraf, and received in return the cities of Harrân, Edessa, Sarûj, ar-Rakka, and Râs Aîn, in Mesopotamia. On the 9th of Ramadân, the same year, he set out to visit his new acquisitions, and, in the month of Shawwâl, A. H. 626 (Aug.-Sept. A.D. 1229), as I was passing through Harrân, I found him established there with the Egyptian army. Jalâl ad-Dîn Khowârezm Shâh was at that time besieging Khalât, which city belonged to al-Malik al-Ashraf. Al-Kâmil then returned to Egypt, and, in the year 629 (A. D. 1231-2), he set out at the head of a large army and took Aamid, Hisn Kaifa, and other cities in the same part (*of Mesopotamia*) from al-Malik al-Masûd Rukn ad-Dîn Maudûd, the son of al-Malik as-Sâlih Abû 'l-Fath Mahmûd, the son of Nûr ad-Dîn Muhammad, the son of Fakhr ad-Dîn Kara Arslân, the son of Rukn ad-Dawlat Dâwûd, the son of Nûr ad-Dawlat Sokmân, the son of Ortok. We have already spoken of Ortok, the ancestor of this dynasty (*vol. I. p.* 171). I learned from a native of Aamid, a well informed man, that Aamid was surrendered to al-Malik al-Kâmil on the 19th of Zû 'l-Hijja of that year (October, A. D. 1232). On the 20th of the same month, his son, al-Malik as-Sâlih Najm ad-Dîn Aiyûb, entered into that city and, on the first day of Muharram, in the following year, al-Kâmil entered also.—Al-Malik al-Ashraf having died (*in A. H.* 635, *A. D.* 1237), and

designated for successor his brother al-Malik as-Sâlih Ismaîl, the son of al-Malik al-Aâdil, (*the other brother*) al-Malik al-Kâmil took the field and occupied Damascus, after concluding a treaty of peace with as-Sâlih. He achieved this conquest on the 9th of the first Jumâda, A. H. 635 (28th December, A. D. 1237), and permitted his rival to retain possession of the town and district of Baalbek, Bosra, the Ard as-Sawâd (2), and other places in the same country. Having established his authority in as-Sharkiya (*Mesopotamia*), Aamid, and the neighbouring places, he left his son al-Malik as-Sâlih Najm ad-Dîn Abû 'l-Muzaffar Aiyûb to rule there as his lieutenant, and he appointed his youngest son, al-Malik al-Aâdil Saif ad-Dîn Abû Bakr, to govern Egypt in the same capacity.—We have already mentioned, in the life of al-Malik al-Aâdil, that that prince sent to Yemen al-Malik al-Masûd, the eldest son of al-Malik al-Kâmil. Al-Masûd then occupied Mekka and united under his sway the provinces of Yemen and Hijâz.—He left Egypt for Yemen on Monday, the 17th of Ramadân, A. H. 611 (20th January, A. D. 1215); he entered Mekka on the 3rd of Zû 'l-Kaada (6th March), the same year, and the *khotba* was then said there in his name; having performed the pilgrimage, he set out for Zabîd and took possession of that capital the 1st of Muharram, A. H. 612 (2nd May, A. D. 1215). In the month of the latter Rabî, A. H. 620 (May-June, A, D. 1223), he took Mekka from the *sharîf* Hasan Ibn Katâda al-Hasani (3). Thus was extended the empire of al-Malik al-Kâmil. I was informed by a person who heard the *khotba* pronounced at Mekka, on Friday, that the orator, on coming to the prayer for al-Malik al-Kâmil, pronounced these words: "(*May the divine blessing be on him who is*) lord of Mekka and its pious inhabitants (4), of Yemen and Zabîd, of Egypt and Saîd, of Syria and its heroes, of Mesopotamia and its sons, the sultan of the two *kiblas* (*Mekka and Jerusalem*), the lord of the two *alâmas* (5), the servant of the two holy and noble cities (*Mekka and Medîna*), Abû 'l-Maâli Muhammad al-Malik al-Kâmil Nâsir ad-Dîn (*the perfect king, the defender of the faith*), the friend of the Commander of the faithful!"—But these digressions are leading us from our subject. In the year 633 (A. D. 1235-6), I saw him (*al-Malik al-Kâmil*) at Damascus on his return from the East, after having delivered the cities of that country from the hands of Alâ ad-Dîn Kaikobâd Ibn Kaikhosrû Ibn Kilîj Arslân Ibn Masûd Ibn Kilîj Arslân Ibn Sulaimân Ibn Kutulmish Ibn Israyîl Ibn Saljûk Ibn Dukâk, the Seljûkide, lord of Asia Minor (*Rûm*). The history of this important event would lead us, however, too far. Al-Kâmil had then in his train upwards of ten kings, one of whom was his brother al-Malik al-Ashraf.

He continued in the height of power and authority till his death. Having fallen ill soon after he had taken possession of Damascus, he ceased riding out, and, during his indisposition, he frequently repeated the following lines :

Tell me, my dear friends! what may be the taste of sleep, for I am ill at ease (6).

His sickness continuing, he died on the afternoon of Wednesday, the 21st of Rajab, A. H. 635 (8th March, A. D. 1238), and his corpse was interred, the following day, in the citadel of Damascus. I was in that city at the time, and was present at the cry raised in the great mosque of Damascus on the Saturday following; his death having been kept secret till then and not announced (*the day before*) Friday, at the public prayer (7). When the hour of prayer drew near, a herald stood up on the throne which is before the pulpit, and, having implored God's mercy on al-Malik al-Kâmil, invoked the divine favour on his son al-Malik al-Aâdil, lord of Egypt. I was there present, and the people uttered one general exclamation : they suspected that the king had died, but they did not acquire the certitude of the fact till then. His brother's son, al-Malik al-Jawâd Muzaffar ad-Dîn (*the generous prince, triumphant in religion*) Yûnus Ibn Shams ad-Dîn Maudûd Ibn al-Malik al-Aâdil, was then installed at Damascus as vicegerent of the sultanship and lieutenant of al-Malik al-Aâdil Ibn al-Malik al-Kâmil, sovereign of Egypt. This nomination resulted from a unanimous decision taken by those emirs who happened to be present in Damascus. A *turba* (*mausoleum*) was erected for the reception of the corpse, and this edifice communicates, by a trellissed window, with the great mosque. Al-Malik al-Kâmil was born on the 25th of the first Rabî, A. H. 576 (August, A. D. 1180); so at least I have found it written in the handwriting of a person who had been engaged in historical researches. Al-Malik al-Masûd, (*the son of al-Malik al-Kâmil and*) sovereign of Yemen, died at Mekka on the 13th of the first Jumâda, A. H. 626 (9th April, A. D. 1229); he was born A. H. 597 (A. D. 1200-1). There was then at Mekka a Kurd from the town of Arbela, a man of great holiness and called the *shaikh* Sadîk (or *Siddîk*) Ibn Badr Ibn Janâh (8), who was making a devotional residence in the neighbourhood of the temple. When al-Malik al-Masûd was on the point of death, he gave directions that none of his own money should be employed for the expenses of his funeral, and that his body should be delivered to the *shaikh* Sadîk, to be buried by him as he thought proper. On Masûd's death, the *shaikh* shrouded the corpse in a cloak (*izâr*) which he himself had worn for many years in his repeated pilgri-

mages and visits to the Omra (9), and had it buried as well as he could afford, giving it a poor man's funeral. Masûd had also directed that no edifice should be raised over his grave and that he should be interred by the side of the cemetery near Mekka called al-Mâla (10), in a tomb bearing the following inscription : " This is the tomb " of one who stands in need of the mercy of Almighty God, Yûsuf, the son of Mu- " hammad, the son of Abû Bakr, the son of Aiyûb." A dome was afterwards erected over the grave by his freedman Sârim ad-Dîn Kâimâz al-Masûdi, who was afterwards governor of Cairo (11). When al-Malik al-Kâmil was informed of what Sadîk had done, he sent him a letter of thanks, and the *shaikh* said, on receiving it: " I do " not deserve thanks for what I have done; a poor man asked me to take charge of " him, and I merely fulfilled a duty incumbent on every individual when I lent him " my services and buried the dead." It was then suggested to him, that he should write an answer to al-Malik al-Kâmil, but he replied: "I have nothing to ask of him." Al-Kâmil had told him to ask for whatever he required, but the *shaikh* did not return an answer. All these circumstances were related to me by an eye-witness, who knew well what he was saying; but God knows best!—Al-Malik al-Aâdil, the son of al-Malik al-Kâmil, continued to govern the empire till Friday, the 8th of Zû 'l-Kaada, A. H. 637 (31st May, A. D. 1240), when his own emirs arrested him outside of Bilbais, and sent for his brother al-Malik as-Sâlih Najm ad-Dîn Aiyûb. Previously to this, as-Sâlih had made an arrangement with al-Malik al-Jawâd, by which he was to receive Damascus in exchange for Sinjâr and Aâna, and, in the beginning of the month of the latter Jumâda, A. H 636 (January, A. D. 1239), he went and took possession of Damascus. Some time after, al-Malik as-Sâlih Imâd ad-Dîn Ismaîl, uncle to al-Malik as-Sâlih Najm ad-Dîn Aiyûb and lord of Baalbek, concerted a plan with al-Malik al-Mujâhid Asad ad-Dîn Shîrkûh, the son of Nâsir ad-Dîn Muhammad, the son of Asad ad-Dîn Shîrkûh (*vol. I. p.* 627), and lord of Emessa, for the purpose of seizing Damascus; and, when al-Malik as-Sâlih Najm ad-Dîn Aiyûb left that city for Egypt, with the intention of dethroning his brother al-Malik al-Aâdil, these two princes burst into Damascus with their troops. This event, which caused a profound sensation, took place on Tuesday, the 27th of Safar, A. H. 637 (28th Sept. A. D. 1239), whilst Najm ad-Dîn was stopping at Nâblus. The soldiers of as-Sâlih-Najm ad-Dîn Aiyûb then returned home to their families in Damascus and left their chief at Nâblus with a few of his pages and followers. Al-Malik an-Nâsir, the son of al-Malik al-Muazzam, and lord of al-Karak, arrived there soon after, and having arrested as-

Sâlih on the eve of Saturday, the 22nd of the first Rabî, the same year, he sent him into confinement at al-Karak. On the eve of Saturday, however, the 27th of Ramadân following, he set his prisoner at liberty. The details of these events would be too long to relate (12). As-Sâlih Najm ad-Dîn and al-Malik an-Nâsir having then united their forces at Nâblus, al-Malik al-Aâdil was arrested, as has been already said. The emirs sent off immediately for al-Malik as-Sâlih Najm ad-Dîn Aiyûb, and that prince, accompanied by al-Malik an-Nâsir, lord of al-Karak, having joined them, they entered Cairo on the second hour of Sunday, the 27th of Zû 'l-Kaada, A.H. 637 (19th June, A. D. 1240). I was residing in Cairo at the time. His brother al-Malik al-Aâdil was placed in a litter, surrounded by a strong guard and taken, by the road outside the city, to the citadel, where he remained a prisoner in the imperial palace. Al-Malik al-Sâlih then extended the sway of justice over all his subjects; he treated the people with kindness, distributed alms, and repaired the mosques which had fallen into ruin. The history of his proceedings would form a long narration. On Monday, the 8th of the first Jumâda, A. H. 643 (1st October, A. D. 1245), he took Damascus from his uncle al-Malik as-Sâlih, but left him in possession of Baalbek. In the year 644, he returned to Syria and entered Damascus on the 19th of Zû 'l-Kaada (28th March, A. D. 1247). He then went back to Egypt, but, in the year 646, he set out again, and, having arrived at Damascus in the beginning of the month of Shaabân (November, A. D. 1248), he sent an army to besiege Emessa, which city had been taken from its sovereign, al-Malik al-Ashraf, by al-Malik an-Nâsir, lord of Aleppo. He returned to Egypt in the beginning of the year 647 (April-May, A.D. 1249), being unwell at the time, and he stopped at Ushmûm to await the coming of the Franks. This people arrived on Friday, the 20th of Safar, the same year (4th June, A. D. 1249), and, on Saturday, having occupied the island on which Damietta is situated, they took possession of that city and established themselves there, on Sunday, the third day. (*This conquest they easily effected,*) as the garrison and all the inhabitants had fled and abandoned it. Al-Malik as-Sâlih then left Ushmûm for al-Mansûra, and his illness was at its height when he arrived. He remained there till his death, which occurred on the eve of Monday, the 15th of Shaabân (22nd November, A. D. 1249). His corpse was borne to the New Castle, in the island (13), and deposited there in a mosque. During nearly three months, his death was kept secret, and the *khotba* continued to be said in his name till the arrival of his son al-Malik al-Muazzam Tûrân Shâh from Hisn Kaifa. This prince arrived at al-Mansûra by the road which passes

through the desert. It was only then that they published as-Sâlih's death and that the *khotba* was said in the name of his son. A mausoleum was afterwards built close to the college which he had founded at Cairo, and his body was transported thither in the month of Rajab, A. H. 648. He was born on the 24th of the latter Jumâda, A. H. 603 (26th January, A. D. 1207); so I saw it written in the handwriting of his father, but I found stated elsewhere that his birth took place on the eve of Thursday, the 5th of the latter Jumâda, and a third account says: On the 4th of Muharram, A. H. 604.—Ward al-Muna (*gratification of wishes*), his mother, was a mulatto of a tawny complexion.—Al-Malik al-Aâdil was born in the month of Zû 'l-Hijja, A.H. 617 (Jan.-Feb. A.D. 1221), at al-Mansûra, where his father had stationed to observe the enemy in Damietta. He died in prison on Monday, the 12th of Shawwâl, A. H. 645 (9th Feb. A.D. 1248), in the castle of Cairo, and was interred in the mausoleum of Shams ad-Dawlat, situated outside the gate of Succour (*Bâb an-Nasr*).—I indicate these events in a summary manner; were I to enter into details, I should be led too far, particularly as my object is concision; I may add, however, that I was present when the greater part of them took place.—Al-Aâdil left a child, a little boy, called al-Malik al-Mughîth; he remained in the castle till his cousin al-Malik al-Muazzam Tûrân Shâh sent from al-Mansûra where he had just arrived, and removed him to the fortress of as-Shaubek. On the catastrophe (14) which befell al-Muazzam, the guardian of the fortress of al-Karak sent to as-Shaubek for al-Malik al-Mughîth and remitted to him the possession of these two places and the neighbouring country. He is still reigning there (15). He continued in possession of that place till A. H. 661 (A. D. 1262-3), when al-Malik az-Zâhir Rukn ad-Dîn Bîbars, having halted in al-Ghaur (*the valley of the Jordan*), wrote to him to give up the fortress and promised to concede him great advantages as an equivalent. Having bound himself by oath (*to act honorably*), he induced al-Mughîth to come to his camp at at-Tûr (*Tabor*) in the province of al-Ghaur. It is said that Bîbars purposely expressed the oath in equivocal terms, as he had not the intention of fulfilling it. Immediately on al-Mughîth's arrival, he arrested him and sent him a prisoner to the castle of the Mountain at Old Cairo. From that moment, nothing more was heard of him (16). He left a son called al-Azîz Fakhr ad-Dîn Othmân; this prince, who was then a mere boy, received an appointment as emir from al-Malik az-Zâhir and continued in his service till the conquest of Antioch, in Ramadân, A. H. 666 (May-June, A. D. 1268). He subsequenty left Syria and proceeded to Egypt; but, on his arrival, az-Zâhir arrested

him and sent him to the castle of the Mountain, where he is still in confinement. Al-Malik al-Muazzam Tûrân Shâh died on Monday, the 27th of Muharram, A.H. 648 (1st May, A. D. 1250).

(1) See vol. I. page 49.

(2) This *Sawâd* must not be confounded with the Sawâd of Irâk. According to the author of the *Marâsid*, it is situated in the Balkâ, the province to the south-east of the Jordan, and was called *Sawâd* (*black*) on account of the colour of its stones.

(3) Ibn Khaldûn gives a notice on the Katâda family in his universal history; MS. No. 2402 C, fol. 46 *v*.

(4) This passage is in rhyming prose, and it is for that reason, probably, that Ibn Khallikân gives it.

(5) See vol. II. page 341. Al-Malik al-Kâmil had probably two *alâmas*, one as sultan of Egypt and the other as sultan of Syria and the East.

(6) Abû 'l-Mahâsin, who quotes this and other passages of Ibn Khallikân in his notice on al-Malik al-Kâmil, (*Nujûm*, year 615), reads the last words of this verse فانى نسيت (*for I have forgotten it*). This is probably the true reading.

(7) The reading which I adopt is لانهم اخفوا موته يوم الجمعة وقت الصلاة. Some of the MSS. offer other readings which are manifestly false.

(8) The *shaikh* Sadîk belonged to the tribe of the Humaidi Kurds. He died at Mekka, A. H. 639 (A. D. 1241-2) and was interred in the Mala.—(*See note* (10)). Ar-Râzi has inserted a short notice on Sadîk in the Biographical History of Mekka. See MS. of the *Bibliothèque impériale*, No. 721, fol. 30 *v*.

(9) The Omra is a small chapel at the distance of an hour and a half or two hours from Mekka. Every pilgrim is required to visit it.—See d'Ohsson's *Tab. gen. de l'emp. Oth.* tome III. p. 238, and Burckhardt's *Travels in Arabia*, vol. I. pages 176 and 322.

(10) In the *Marâsid al-Ittilâ* and al-Azraki's description of Mekka, this name is written المعلاة. See Burckhardt's description of it in his *Travels in Arabia*, vol. I. p. 226. It now forms a quarter of the city.

(11) Sârim ad-Dîn Kâimâz al-Masûdi acted with great cruelty and tyranny when governor of Cairo. In the month of Zû 'l-Hijja, A. H. 664 (September, A. D. 1266), he was stabbed to the heart, in the court of justice, by a person who meant to assassinate the sultan's lieutenant, the emir Izz ad-Dîn al-Mujalli.—(Al-Makrizi's *Khitat*, chapter entitled سويقة المسعودى.)

(12) See Abû 'l-Fedâ's *Annals*, year 637.

(13) The author means the island of ar-Rauda, near Cairo. Al-Makrîzi has a chapter on this island and its castle, in the *Khitat*. He agrees with Ibn Khallikân in stating that the corpse of al-Malik as-Sâlih was deposited there. The castle of the island, called also Kalâ tar-Rauda, Kalâ tal-Mikyâs (*castle of the Nilometer*), and al-Kalâ tas-Sâlihiya, wasan immense fortified palace, embellished with colonnades, plantations, and all the ornaments which art could bestow. It was founded by as-Sâlih and destroyed by the mamlûk sultans.

(14) This catastrophe was the assassination of al-Moazzam by his own officers. See Abû 'l-Fedâ's *Annals*, year 648, tome IV, pages 511 and 517.

(15) What follows is evidently a subsequent addition, and is not to be found in most of the MSS. It was known, however, to al-Yâfi, who gives an abrigment of it in his *Mirât*, year 685.

(16) Abû 'l-Fedâ gives a much more satisfactory account of al-Mugîth's fall in his *Annals*, year 661.

IBN AZ-ZAIYAT *THE VIZIR.*

Abû Jaafar Muhammad Ibn Abd al-Malik Ibn Abi Hamza Abbân, generally known by the appellation of Ibn az-Zaiyât (*son of the oilman*), was vizir to al-Motasim. His grandfather, Abbân, was a native of ad-Daskara (1), a village in the district of Jobbul, and carried oil from the environs of that place to Baghdad; but his own aspiring soul raised him, as we shall see, from the obscurity of a station so humble. His literary acquirements were of the most brilliant description, and his talents of the highest order; he was an able philologer, an eloquent (*writer*), and a learned grammarian. Maimûn Ibn Harûn the *kâtib* relates that, when Abû Othmân al-Mâzini (*vol. I. p.* 264) arrived at Baghdad, in the reign of al-Motasim, his pupils and the persons who attended his lectures entered into the depths of grammatical disquisition, and, when any doubtful point set them at variance, Abû Othmân would tell them to send and consult *the young kâtib*, meaning the Muhammad Ibn Abd al-Malik here mentioned. This they did, and Abû Othmân, to whom they communicated his answers, always acknowledged their correctness and coincided in opinion with him who made them. Dibil Ibn Ali 'l-Khuzâi (*vol. I. p.* 507) mentions Ibn az-Zaiyât in his classified list of the poets (*Tabakât as-Shuwarâ*), and Abû Abd Allah Hârûn Ibn al-Munajjim speaks of him also in the *Kitâb al-Bâri*. The latter writer, whose life will be found in this work, quotes numerous fragments of his poetry. In the beginning of his career, Muhammad Ibn Abd al-Malik was one of the common *kâtibs* (or *clerks in the service of the state*), and it happened that al-Motasim, having received a letter from one of his governors, ordered his vizir Ahmad Ibn Ammâr Ibn Shâdi (2) to read it aloud. In this letter the writer spoke of *al-kalâ* (*fodder*), and al-Motasim asked Ibn Ammâr what the word *al-kalâ* meant. The vizir replied that he did not know; for he possessed, in fact, but a very slight acquaintance with philology. On this, al-Motasim exclaimed: "An illiterate khalif (*is well fitted*) with a low-born vizir!" Al-Motasim himself possessed but little instruction in (*reading and*) writing. He then ordered the attendants to bring in the first *kâtib* they could find in the antechamber, and Muhammad Ibn Abd al-Malik was introduced. "What is the meaning of *al-kalâ?*" said the khalif. — "*Al-kalâ,*" replied Ibn az-Zaiyât, "in its general acceptation, si-

gnifies "*grass*; if it is fresh, it is called *al-kalâ*, and if dry, *al-hashîsh*." He then enumerated the different sorts of herbage, and al-Motasim having thus discovered his merit, raised him to the post of vizir, with juridical and executive authority. We have already mentioned, in the life of the *kâdi* Ahmad Ibn Abi Duwâd al-Iyâdi (*vol. I. p.* 69), what passed between him and Ibn az-Zaiyât. Abû Abd Allah al-Bîmâristâni relates that Abû Hafs al-Kirmâni, the *kâtib* (or *secretary*) of Amr Ibn Masada (*vol. II. p.* 410), wrote the following note to Muhammad Ibn Abd al-Malik: "To come to "our subject: thou art one of those who water when they plant, and who edify the "structure when they lay its foundations; so that the building raised on these foun- "dations is completed, and the fruit produced by these plantations affords an ample "crop. But the edifice which thou hast erected in my love is now tottering and on "the brink of ruin; the plantation which thou hast formed in my heart suffers from "drought and is on the point of being parched up; hasten therefore to repair the "edifice which thou hast founded, and to water what thou hast planted." Al-Bîmâristâni adds that, having spoken of this letter to Abû Abd ar-Rahmân al-Atawi, the latter immediately expressed the same thought in a verse which he designed as a eulogium on Muhammad, the son of Imrân, the son of Mûsa, the son of Yahya, the son of Khâlid, the son of Barmek; I must observe, however, that I have since found the (*first*) three verses in (*Ali Ibn Hamza*) al-Ispahâni's edition of Abû Nuwâs's poetical works (*vol. I. p.* 392):

The generous Barmekides learned beneficence and taught it to the human race; when they planted, they watered, and they never destroyed the edifice which they founded; when they conferred favours on mankind, they clothed their bounties in a raiment which endured for ever. You once gave me to drink from the cup of your love; why do you now present to me the cup of your cruelty? You allayed my apprehensions by kindness; know you not that your estrangement will arouse them?

The same idea is also expressed in (*two verses which we have inserted in*) the life of Abd al-Muhsin as-Sûri (*vol. II. p.* 178).—Ibn az-Zaiyât composed some pleasing poems, such as the following:

Hearken to me, O men! and abstain from casting glances at the fair. Although love begins by exciting joy, it has death for its end. My friends said to me: "Cease to watch the Pleiades! "sleep! for the wing of night is turned black." And I replied: "Has my heart then so far "recovered, that it can distinguish between night and morning?"



I found in the handwriting of (*a person who was evidently*) a man of instruction, the following piece which is there given as Ibn az-Zaiyât's :

(*She was*) a tyrant as long as I knew her; an oppressor, yet may I never be delivered from her! She makes (*me*) hope to gain her love, yet she refuses when I ask. When my tears betrayed the passion I concealed, she said: "Though he should weep all his life, with tears of "blood, I should not have compassion on him." How often did I control my angry feelings and suppress my indignation! how often was I weary of life, and yet I never felt weary of love.

The Khatîb (*vol. I. p.* 75) relates, in his History of Baghdad, that Ibn az-Zaiyât loved a slave-girl who was a professional musician, and his mind was so greatly troubled on learning that she had been sold to a native of Khorâsân and taken away, that his friends feared for his reason. He then pronounced these lines :

How long the nights of the afflicted lover! how long his watching of the Pleiades in the darkness! What now remains for my garments to cover, in me who am consumed with passion, and whose body has become as slender as the letter *alif?* When Jacob exclaimed: "Alas!" (*ya asafa*) (3) in his affliction, he only did so from the length of the sorrow (*al-asaf*) which he had undergone. Let him who wishes to see a man die of love, turn towards az-Zaiyât and observe.

In (*Ibn al-Munajjim's*) *Kitâb al-Bârî* we find an elegy composed by Ibn az-Zaiyât on his slave-girl, who died leaving a son eight years old. He thus expresses his sorrow for her loss and his pity for the child :

Who has seen the child deprived of his mother? sleep is far from him and his eyes pour forth their tears. He sees every mother, but his own, conversing with her child, under the shades of night; but he lies in his solitary bed, holding converse with the sorrows of a heart in constant agitation. Suppose me able, in my strength of mind, to bear her loss with patience; yet who can give patience to a boy but eight years old? his force is weak; he knows not that patience is a merit (*in the eyes of God*), and, in his misforturne, he cannot take example by the conduct of (*grown-up*) men.

Ibn az-Zaiyât left a *divân* of elegantly written letters. Al-Bohtori has celebrated his praises in the *kasîda* rhyming in *d,* wherein he extols his penmanship and eloquence. Towards the end of this poem he says:

I see all mankind, the commanders and the commanded, united in thy praise. The learned appreciate thy talents in the sciences, and, on their word, the ignorant acknowledge thy merit.

Abû Tammâm (*vol. I. p.* 348) and many other contemporary poets praised him in

their verses. There exists a number of fragments by Ibrahîm Ibn al-Abbâs as-Sûli (*vol. I. p.* 22) in which that writer attacks him; such, for instance, are the following:

I had a friend near whom, when I reminded him (*of my distress*), I found such shelter as can be given by a chief, justly proud and lofty in his glory. But the vicissitudes of time passed between me and him, and they left us, one a tyrant and the other an implorer of assistance. In counting on Muhammad as my reliever in adversity, I ressembled him who sought to extinguish the fire by blowing on it.

Forced by the approach of affliction, I called on you to succour me; but in your hatred, you stirred up the fire of misfortune to consume me. In calling on you when danger threatens, I resemble the woman who begged assistance from the inhabitants of the tombs.

I said to her, when she multiplied reproaches: "Alas! what can I do? my honourable feelings "injure my success (4)."—"Where are then the noble princes?" said she.—"Ask me not," I replied, "they are dead."—"How did that happen?"—"Because the khalif has taken an "oilman for his vizir."

Abû Jaafar, now in the height of power! fear a reverse of fortune, and rein in, for a time, thy pride in its career. If you possess to-day the object of thy hopes, think that, to-morrow, my hopes may be crowned like thine.

If, in visiting Muhammad, I sometimes met with a repulse, yet I have always left him in retaining my self-esteem. Am I not placed under an obligation to a man like Muhammad when he spares me the necessity of being grateful for his favours.

Fortune hath procured thee wealth, and, once poor, thou art become rich. But wealth hath disclosed the vile qualities which lay concealed under the robe of thy poverty.

As-Sûli attacks him in other passages besides these, but illustrious men have always been the object of praise and vituperation. Ibn az-Zaiyât composed a satire of ninety verses against the *kâdi* Ahmad Ibn Abi Duwâd, to which the latter replied by the two following lines:

A satire of ninety verses is less to the purpose than its meaning condensed into a single verse:
How much the state requires a shower of rain to wash away that filthy stain of oil!

The author of the *Ikd* (*vol. I. p.* 92) attributes these last verses to Ali Ibn al-Jahm (*vol. II. p.* 294), but the author of the *Kitâb al-Aghâni* gives them as Ibn Abi Duwâd's. When Ibn az-Zaiyât heard of this epigram, he replied:

You defiled the state with your pitch, and nothing could clean it till we rubbed it with our oil (5).



To make this allusion intelligible, it is necessary to observe that Abû Dawûd's grandfather sold pitch at Basra. On the death of al-Motasim and the accession of his son al-Wâthik Hârûn, Ibn az-Zaiyât pronounced the following verses :

When they returned after depositing the best of the dead in the best of tombs, I said: "God "can never repair the misfortune which a people suffer in losing one like thee, but by giving "them (*a prince like*) Hârûn."

Al-Wâthik, in his father's lifetime, had conceived a violent hatred against Ibn az-Zaiyât, but, when he heard these verses, he confirmed him in the possession of all the authority which he had exercised during the reign of al-Motasim. He had even sworn by a most solemn oath (6) that, on his accession, he would cast the vizir down from the height of his power; but, having ordered the *kâtibs*, after he had assumed the supreme command, to draw up a notice relative to the ceremonies to be observed at his inauguration, he was dissatisfied with the draughts which they submitted to his examination, and the only one which met his approval was that which Ibn az-Zaiyât wrote out subsequently to their failure. This document he ordered to be adopted for the model of all the copies of the notice, and he proceeded to expiate the breach of his vow according to the legal formalities. "Money," said he, "can be "replaced, and se can the sum given to redeem a broken vow, but we can have no "equivalent for the empire or for such a man as Ibn az-Zaiyât." Al-Mutawakkil, the successor of al-Wâthik, bore a violent rancour towards the vizir, and, on the fortieth day after his accession, he gratified his animosity by putting him under arrest and confiscating his property. The motive which led him to this act of vengeance was that, on the death of his brother, al-Wâthik, Muhammad Ibn az-Zaiyât had proposed to raise the deceased khalif's son to the throne, whilst the *kâdi* Ibn Abi Duwâd recommended that al-Mutawakkil should be chosen. To accomplish his purpose, the *kâdi* displayed the utmost activity, and he carried his zeal so far that he placed, with his own hands, the turban on al-Mutawakkil's head and the Prophet's mantle on his shoulders, after which, he kissed him on the forehead. Under the reign of al-Wâthik, whenever al-Mutawakkil went to see the vizir, the latter received him with a frowning look, and accosted him in the rudest terms; hoping, by this line of conduct, to ingratiate himself yet more with his sovereign. Al-Mutawakkil's hatred was excited by this treatment, and if, on his accession to power, he abstained for a time from venting his anger on Ibn az-Zaiyât, it was only to allay his apprehensions and

prevent him from concealing his money. In order, therefore, to inspire him with a false security, he chose him for vizir, whilst he complacently listened to the suggestions of the *kâdi* Ibn Abi Duwâd, who pushed him on to vengeance. When he at length arrested Ibn az-Zaiyât and put him to death in the manner which we shall relate lower down, he could only discover, of all his vizir's possessions, farms, and treasures, property to the value of one hundred thousand dinars. He then repented of what he had done, and finding no one capable of replacing him, he said to Ibn Abi Duwâd: "You inspired me with vain hopes, and incensed me against a person "whom I shall never be able to replace." When Ibn az-Zaiyât was vizir, he caused a large lantern (7) to be framed of iron and fastened with nails, the sharp points of which projected inwards, like needles. In this machine he used to torture officers of the civil administration and other delinquents from whom he meant to extort money: as often as the victim turned round or moved from the intensity of his sufferings, the nails entered into his body and put him to excruciating pain. Ibn az-Zaiyât was the first who ever imagined such an instrument of torture. When the sufferer cried out to him: "O vizir! have compassion on me!" he used to answer: "Compas- "sion is mere weakness of character." When he was himself imprisoned by al-Mutawakkil, that khalif ordered him to be chained in irons of fifteen pounds weight and put into the same lantern. To his cry of: "O Commander of the faithful! have "compassion on me!" he answered in the words so often addressed by the vizir to other sufferers: "Compassion is mere weakness of character (8)." Whilst undergoing these torments, Ibn az-Zaiyât asked for ink and paper, and wrote as follows:

> Such is the way of earthly things; from day to day, they fleet on and pass away as visions seen in sleep. Cease repining! such events are the vicissitudes which fortune transmits from man to man.

These lines he sent to al-Mutawakkil, who was prevented by business from attending to them, but, the next morning, he read them and gave orders to deliver the vizir. When they came to take him out, they found him dead. This happened in A. H. 233. He had passed forty days in the lantern. His arrest took place on the 8th of Safar, of that year (September, A. D. 847). After his death, the following lines were found written with charcoal on the side of the lantern, in his own hand:

> Let him who knows where sleep is to be found, direct towards it one who longs for it; may



God have mercy on the compassionate man who will lead sleep to my eyes! I wake, but he sleeps by whom I am despised.

Ahmad al-Ahwal (*vol. I. p.* 20) relates as follows: "When Ibn az-Zaiyât was "arrested, I contrived to gain admittance, and, finding him heavily ironed, I said: "'I am deeply grieved at what I see;' on which he pronounced these words:

"Ask the dwellings of the tribe what changed their aspect and destroyed the traces of their "existence? 'Tis Fortune; when she favours most, her favours turn to afflictions. The "world is like a fleeting shadow; let us praise God! 'twas thus He predestined it to be."

When he was put into the lantern, his slave said to him: "Thou art come, my "lord, to this, and hast not left a single man (*inclined by gratitude*) to speak thy "praise." To this he answered: "Of what use to the Barmekides was their bene-"ficence?"—The slave replied: "It makes you think of them now." Ibn az-Zaiyât acknowledged the truth of his words.

(1) The village of ad-Daskara was situated in the province of Baghdad.

(2) "Ahmad Ibn Ammâr Ibn Shâdi, a native of al-Madâr (المذار, a town near Basra, see al-Idrîsi's Geo-"graphy), removed from that place to Basra, where he purchased large estates and augmented his fortune. "He followed the profession of a miller. Having gone up to Baghdad, his wealth became yet more ample, "and it is said that he gave away, every day, one hundred dinars (?) in alms. Having been described to al-"Motasim by al-Fadl Ibn Marwân (*vol. II. p.* 476) as a man of strict integrity, that khalif raised him to the "vizirate when he deposed al-Fadl. Ibn Ammâr held this post for some time, but a letter having arrived to "al-Motasim in which the writer spoke of the fertility of the country and mentioned that there was a great "abundance of *kalâ*, the khalif asked his vizir what the word meant. Ibn Ammâr, being totally devoid of "the literary information requisite for a vizir, did not know what to say, and al-Motasim then ordered one "of his followers and favorites, Muhammad Ibn Abd al-Malik az Zaiyât, to be brought in. Having proposed "to him the same question, Ibn az-Zaiyât replied; 'Herbage just sprouting up is called *al-bakl*; when it "'grows a little longer, it is called *al-kalâ*, and, when it is dry, they give it the name of *al-hashîsh*.' On "this, al-Motasim said to Ibn Ammâr: 'Take you the inspection of the government offices, and this man "'will read to me the letters which I receive.' He afterwards honorably dismissed Ibn Ammâr from the "place of vizir, and conferred it on Ibn az-Zaiyât."—(*Ad-Dual al-Islâmiya*).

(3) Korân, sûrat 12, verse 84.

(4) The poet's wife or mistress reproached him for not gaining money by celebrating the praises of the great, and he replied that his honorable feelings prevented him from extolling the unworthy.

(5) These verses have been already given, with some variation, in the life of Ibn Abi Duwâd; see vol. I. page 69.

(6) According to the author of the *ad-Dual al-Islâmiya*, he vowed to make a pilgrimage to Mekka, to manumit all his slaves, and bestow large sums in alms, in case he did not wreak vengeance on Ibn az-Zaiyât.



(7) The word is *tannûr:* it appears from M. de Sacy's life of al-Hâkim, *Exposé de l'Histoire des Druzes,* page CCCLXV, that these lanters were sometimes of enormous size.

(8) The author of *ad-Dual al-Islâmiya* states positively that Ibn az-Zaiyât was tyrannical, overbearing, hard-hearted, and inhuman. He alludes also to the story of the lantern.

IBN AL-AMID *THE KATIB.*

Abû 'l-Fadl Muhammad Ibn Abi Abd Allah al-Husain Ibn Muhammad the *kâtib,* surnamed Ibn al-Amîd, was vizir to Rukn ad-Dawlat Abû Ali al-Hasan Ibn Buwaih ad-Dailami, the father of Adûd ad-Dawlat (*vol. I. p.* 407, *and vol. II. p.* 481). The title of *al-Amîd* (*the column*) had been given to his father by the people of Khorasân, in attributing to this word an intensitive signification, according to their custom (1). His father was a man of merit and displayed considerable abilities as an epistolary writer and a philologer. Ibn al-Amîd succeeded Abû Ali 'l-Kummi as vizir to Rukn ad-Dawlat, in the year 328 (A. D. 939-40). He possessed great information in astronomy and the philosophical sciences, and, as he surpassed in philology and epistolary composition all his contemporaries, he was called *the second Jâhiz* (*vol. II. p.* 405). (*As a vizir*) he exercised unbounded authority and great influence. Ibn Abbâd (*vol. I. p.* 212) received the surname of *as-Sâhib* (*the companion*) from the fact of his being the constant companion and follower of Ibn al-Amîd. The abilities of Ibn al-Amîd as an epistolary writer were of the highest order, and ath-Thaâlibi (*vol. II. p.* 129) said, on this subject, in his *Yatîma,* that epistolary writing began with Abd al-Hamîd (*vol. II. p.* 173) and finished with Ibn al-Amîd. The *Sâhib* Ibn Abbâd having made a journey to Baghdad, was asked by Ibn al-Amîd, on his return, how he found that city: "Baghdad," replied the *Sâhib*, "holds the same place "amongst other cities as your lordship (*al-ustâd*) amongst other men." It must be here observed that Ibn al-Amîd was addressed by the title of *al-ustâd*. This vizir was an able ruler and administered the empire with firmness and talent; the most celebrated poets repaired to his court from distant countries and recited poems of the highest beauty in his praise. Abû 't-Taiyib al-Mutanabbi (*vol. I. p.* 102) went to

see him at Arrajân and eulogized him in a number of *kasîdas*, one of them beginning thus:

> Be patient or impatient under suffering, thy passion will still appear; thy tears may flow or not, 'twill still be seen that thou art weeping.

In this poem he manages the transition to his subject in the following manner:

> To Arjân, my rapid steeds! such is my firm resolution, which leaves the spears (*of all opposers*) broken behind it. Had I acted as you (*my slothful steeds*) desired, your troop had never cloven the clouds of dust (*but staid at home in idleness*). Hasten to Abû 'l-Fadl! to him whose aspect relieves me from my vow! no richer ocean in pearls (*virtues*) is ever visited by man (2). The human race gave their opinion (*fatwa*) that his aspect (*would release me from the vow of visiting the ocean*), and God forbid that I should be restrained or should abstain (*from its fulfilment*)! I have formed a bracelet for the hand which first waves to announce Ibn al-Amîd, and for the first servant who (*at his sight*) cries (*with exultation*): *Allah akbar* (*God is great*)!

The same poem contains the following passage:

> Who will tell the Arabs of the desert that, on leaving them, I saw (*in one man*) Aristotle and Alexander? They sacrificed for my table their camels ten months pregnant, but one man gave me hospitality who used to sacrifice bags of gold for his guest. I then heard a deep student in the books of Ptolemy, who ruled with sovereign power, and who understood, equally well, the customs and the life of the desert and of the town; (*united in him*) I met all the men of talent (*of ancient days*); God seems to have restored us their persons and their times; they were first drawn up in order, like sums for calculation; then came the amount, because you (*O learned vizir*)! came the last (3).

This is one of the most exquisite *kasîdas* ever composed! Ibn al-Hamadâni says, in his *Oyûn as-Siar* (4), that Ibn al-Amîd rewarded the poet with three thousand dinars. In this piece, al-Mutanabbi gives but one *r* to *Arrajân*, although it should have two, according to al-Jauhari (*vol. I. p.* 22) in his *Sahâh*, al-Hâzimi (*p.* 11 *of this vol.*) in his *Ma ittafak lafzuhu wa iftarak musammâhu* (or *synonyms*), and Ibn al-Jawâliki (5) in his *Mughrib*. We have already spoken of this *kasîda* in the life of Abû 'l-Fadl Jaafar Ibn al-Furât (*vol. I. p.* 319), and mentioned that it was composed in honour of that vizir when the author was in Egypt; al-Mutanabbi, however, being dissatisfied with his conduct, did not recite it to him, but, having gone to Fars, he changed it to the address of Ibn al-Amîd. Abû Nasr Abd al-Azîz Ibn Nubâta as-Saadi

(*vol. II. p.* 138) went to see Ibn al-Amîd at Rai, and praised him in a poem commencing thus :

(*I suffer from*) the pains of desire and remembrance, from the ardour of burning sighs; deprived of sleep, tears gush from my eyes. Alas! how many anxious thoughts has my heart concealed! The intoxication of youth has passed away, but its hurtful effects still remain : I am too old to gain the love of youthful maidens, and yet I cannot behold them with indifference. How happy were the nights and mornings in which I visited the door of ar-Rusâfa (6), when my youth, inebriated with delight, swept the ground with its robe of pride. I then made my pilgrimage to the stone of as-Sarât (7) and my residence (8) in its shady bowers : the abodes of pleasure were my abodes, and the dwelling of joy was mine.

In the same piece, he says :

Life has no longer any charms for me unless I spend it in passing the wine-cup around, whilst I encourage the female musicians to emulate the strains of the turtle-dove; and then, let Ibn al-Amîd appear, the torrent of his beneficence shames the rain-cloud. The character of that generous prince is formed of the purest molten gold; his gifts flow copious as the ocean-waves, and his renown diffuses around the perfumes of the gilliflower and the *arâr;* he scatters his gifts to us like the comfits scattered at a marriage feast; he keeps so closely the secrets of a friend that his bosom is like the night in which no moon appears.

In the same poem, we remark also the following verse :

Lofty enterprises are achieved by lofty minds, and to Abû 'l-Fadl I sent on their nocturnal journey the inspirations of my heart.

The poet waited vainly (9) in expectation of a recompense for this piece, and he at length followed it up by another poem and then by a letter which, though he arrived at court in a most destitute condition, only served to confirm Ibn al-Amîd in his indifference. He finally succeeded in entering into the vizir's presence on a day in which a levee was held for the reception of the grandees and the chiefs of the civil administration; posting himself then before him, he pointed at him and said : " O " *rats!* I have followed thee as closely as thy shadow; I have abased myself before " thee as humbly as thy shoe, and I have swallowed the burning food of absence " (*from home*) in expectation of thy gift; yet, by Allah! I do not feel my disappoint- " ment; but I dread the sneers of foes, people who gave me good advice, yet I dis- " trusted them; who spoke me truly, yet I suspected their sincerity. With what a " face can I now meet them, and what pretext can I now oppose to them? I have " received for eulogium after eulogium, for prose after verse, nothing else but bitter

"regret and sickening misery. If success have a mark to make it known, where "is that mark and what is it? Those whom thou enviest for the praises which they "received were formed of the same clay as thyself; those whom satire covered with "dishonour were like thee; forward then! and surpass the highest of them in exal- "tation, the brightest of them in lustre, the noblest in station." Astonished and confounded at this address, Ibn al-Amîd remained silent, with his eyes fixed on the ground; but, at length, he raised up his head and replied: "Time is too short "to permit thee to solicit favours in a lengthened discourse, or to allow me to offer "a long apology; and were we to accord to each other what we are led to bestow, "we should only be obliged to recommence the same acts which give us mutual "satisfaction." On this, Ibn Nubâta said: "O *raîs!* these (*words*) are the utte- "rance of a heart which hath long concealed its thoughts, and of a tongue which "hath long been silent; and, moreover, the rich man who defers (*his generosity*) "is a despicable character." These words roused the anger of Ibn al-Amîd, and he exclaimed: "By Allah! I did not deserve this reproach from any of God's crea- "tures; for even less than that I quarrelled with (*my father*) al-Amîd, so that we "were led to mutual ill will (10) and unceasing disputes. But thou art not one "of those to whom I owe an obligation and whose humours I must support, nei- "ther art thou one of my dependents for whom I may have indulgence; nay, a "part of that with which thou hast dinned my ears would provoke the spleen of "the sage and overcome the firmest patience. And, besides, I did not invite thee "hither by letter, I did not sent for thee by a messenger, I did not ask thee to praise "me, I did not impose on thee the task of extolling me." To this, Ibn Nubâta replied: "'Tis true, O *raîs!* thou didst not invite me hither by letter, thou didst "not send for me by a messenger, thou didst not ask me to praise thee, and thou "didst not impose on me the task of extolling thee; but, in as much as thou wert "seated in the midst of thy court, surrounded with all thy splendour (*as if*) to say: "'Let no one give me any other title than that of *raîs* (*chief*), let no creature dis- "'pute my sovereign orders; for I, the *kâtib* of Rukn ad-Dawlat, am the head of "'the courtiers, the lord of the metropolis, the supporter of the welfare of the "'kingdom;' that circumstance alone spoke for itself and was a sufficient invi- "tation, although thou didst not invite me verbally." On hearing these words, Ibn al-Amîd sprang from his seat in a passion and hastened into the vestibule of the palace, whence he gained his chamber: the assembly broke up in confusion,

and Ibn an-Nubâta was heard to say, as he was crossing the vestibule : "By Allah! "it were better to eat dust and walk on burning coals than to endure this; God's "curse upon literature since patrons despise it and those who cultivate it are its "dupes (11)!" The next morning, when Ibn al-Amîd's anger had passed over and his self-possession had returned, he caused search to be made for the poet, with the intention of offering him excuses and removing from his mind the disagreeable impressions left by what had passed; but none could discover whither he had gone (12). The whole occurrence was a constant subject of regret for Ibn al-Amîd, up to the time of his death.—I have since found this poem and the conversation at the vizir's levee attributed to a different person from Ibn Nubâta, and on looking for the *kasîda* in that poet's *diwân*, I could not find it. At a later period, on perusing Abû Haiyân at-Tauhîdi's *Kitâb al-Wazîrain* (13), I found this poem attributed to Abû Muhammad Abd ar-Razzâk Ibn al-Husain, a native of Baghdad, a philologer, a logician, and a poet, generally known by the appellation of Ibn Abî 'th-Thiyâb, and that the discourse (*at the levee*) was held by Ibn Mamûyah, a poet and a native of al-Karkh.—The *kâtib* Abû 'l-Faraj Ahmad Ibn Muhammad enjoyed great favour in the sight of his sovereign Rukn ad-Dawlat Ibn Buwaih and held a high rank in his esteem, but he did not receive from Ibn al-Amîd the respect to which he was entitled. At different times, he complained to him of his behaviour, but finding his remonstrances unsuccessful, he wrote to him these lines :

> What avail your riches if they render you arrogant to the poor? How often, when you came in, have we stood up, and, when we went in, you stirred as if to rise, but did not finish (*the movement*). When I withdrew, you never said : "Let his horse be brought to the door; " as I said when you withdrew. If you possess science, what do you know which is not known by others. You are not mounted on the back of the empire, and we are not placed below thee, at its feet. We also held commandments like you, we deposed others as you did, but we were never haughty nor proud. We are equal in all things. Persevere in a reasonable line of conduct, or else give up your place.

The *Sâhib* Ibn Abbâd composed a great number of poems in praise of Ibn al-Amîd, and, being in Ispahân when the latter went there on a visit, he wrote to him the following lines :

> They said : "Your (*long expected*) spring (14) has come."—"Good news!" I exclaimed, "if "true; is it spring, the brother of winter, or spring, the brother of generosity?"—"'Tis that

"spring," they replied, "whose gifts secure the indigent from poverty."—"'Tis then," said I, "the *rais* Ibn al-Amîd?"—They answered me: "Yes."

Ibn al-Amîd often expressed his admiration of the following verses:

She came, fearing (*discovery*), to the curtain of the door which was closed between us, and at which the slave-girls already stood. She listened to my poetry, whilst her heart was touched by the inspiration of my *kasîdas*. And whenever she heard a tender thought, she heaved a sigh sufficient to burst her necklaces.

Ibn al-Amîd left some poetry, but the only piece of his which pleased me and seemed worthy of insertion, is the following, taken from Ibn as-Sâbi's (15) *Kitâb al-Wuzarâ* (*book of vizirs*):

I remarked on my face a hair which still remained black, and my eyes took pleasure at the sight; and I said to the white hairs, when their aspect struck it with affright: "I conjure you "to pity its loneliness. Seldom does a black female remain in a place when her husband's "other wife is a white."

The emir Abû 'l-Fadl al-Mîkâli (16) gives the following verses as his in the *Kitâb al-Muntahil*:

Choose your friends among strangers, and take not your near relations into favour; relations are like scorpions or even more noxious.

Ibn al-Amîd died in the month of Safar,—some say, of Muharram,—A. H. 360 (December, A. D. 970), at Rai, or, by another account, at Baghdad; but Abû 'l-Hasan Hilâl Ibn al-Muhassin Ibn Ibrahîm as-Sâbi states, in his *Kitâb al-Wuzarâ*, that he died A. H. 359. God knows best! Abû 'l-Fadl Ibn al-Amîd was visited alternately by attacks of gout and cholic; when of one of these disorders left him, it delivered him over to the other. Being asked which of the two was the more painful, he answered: "When the gout attacks me, I feel as if I were between the jaws "of a lion, devouring me, mouthful by mouthful; and when the cholic visits me, "I would willingly exchange it for the gout." It is said that, seeing one day a labourer in a garden eating bread, with onions and sour-milk, and making a hearty meal, he exclaimed: "I wish I was like that labourer, able to eat my fill of whatever "I liked." I may here say, in the words of Ibrahîm as-Sâbi, Hilâl's grandfather (*vol. I. p.* 31), in his *Kitâb at-Tâji*: "Such is human life; it is seldom free from

trouble." I read, in a collection of anecdotes, that some time after the death of Ibn al-Amîd, the *Sâhib* Ibn Abbâd passed by his door, and remarking that the vestibule, which used to be crowded with people, was completely empty, he recited these lines:

> Tell me, thou abode! why art thou covered with sadness? where are the ushers and the door-curtain? Where is he before whom adversity fled? He is now earth enclosed in earth. Say without fear or shame: "My master is dead, and sadness hath overwhelmed me."

I have since observed that al-Otbi, in his *Kitâb al-Yamani* (17), attributes these verses to Abû 'l-Abbâs ad-Dabbi (18); "but," says he, "some state that they were "composed by Abû Bakr al-Khowârezmi, on passing by the door of the *Sâhib* Ibn "Abbâd." This cannot, however, be true, for al-Khowârezmi died before the *Sâhib*, as we have observed in his life (*p.* 109 *of this vol.*)—Similar to this is an anecdote related by Ali Ibn Sulaimân: "I saw," says he, "the ruins of a large palace "at Rai, of which nothing remained but the door way, and on that was written:

> "Wonder at the vicissitudes of fortune, and be instructed; this dwelling is a striking exam-
> "ple of such changes: I once saw it brillant with a crowd of princes (19), and lights shining in
> "every part of it: but solitude is now its only inhabitant: O how desolate the house when
> "the master is gone!"

On the death of Ibn al-Amîd, his son Zû 'l-Kifâyatain (20) Abû 'l-Fath Ali replaced him in the vizirate by the choice of their sovereign Rukn ad-Dawlat. Zû 'l-Kifâyatain was a noble and princely-minded man, eminent for his abilities, talents, and beneficence: it was to him that al-Mutanabbi addressed the five lines rhyming in *d* which are to be found in that poet's *diwân*, and form part of the eulogium composed by him on Ibn al-Amîd. It is not therefore necessary to insert them. Ath-Thaâlibi speaks of him in the *Yatîma*, in the article on Ibn al-Amîd, and he gives there the following note in which Zû 'l-Kifayâtain requests a friend to send him some wine without letting his father, Ibn al-Amîd, perceive it: "May "God prolong your lordship's existence! I have hastened to pass this night in "enjoyment, as if to take advantage of the moment when the eye of adversity slum- "bers; I have seized on one of the opportunities which life offers, to form with my "companions a part of the band of the Pleiades, and, if you do not aid us to main- "tain our rank in that choir by sending us some wine, we shall be (*sad*) like the "*daughters of the hearse* (21). Adieu." Ath-Thaâlibi gives also some pieces of verse composed by the author of this letter. Abû 'l-Fath continued to fill the office

of vizir up to the death of Rukn ad-Dawlat (*vol. I. p.* 407), and the accession of Muwaiyad ad-Dawlat, that prince's son. He was again chosen as vizir by the new monarch, but he held this post for a very short time. A profound jealousy subsisted between him and the *Sâhib* Ibn Abbâd, and it is said that the latter was the person who turned Muwaiyad ad-Dawlat's heart against him. That prince began by expressing his disapproval of Zû 'l-Kifâyatain's conduct and testifying the aversion which he had conceived for him, till, at length, in the year 366, he cast him into prison. There still exist some verses composed by Zû 'l-Kifâyatain during his confinement, and in these, he describes his miserable situation. Ath-Thaâlibi says that he lost all his wealth, and that they tortured him by cutting off his nose and plucking out his beard. Another writer states that one of his hands was cut off also, and perceiving that his case was hopeless and escape impossible, even were he to surrender up all he possessed, he tore open the breast of his robe, and taking out of it a paper containing a list of all the wealth and hidden treasures which he and his father had collected, he cast it into the fire. When he saw it entirely consumed, he said to the man who had him in custody: "Execute thy orders, for, by Allah! "not a single dirhem of our money shall fall into the hands of thy master." He was then put to the torture and kept in suffering till he died. His arrestation took place on Sunday, the 8th of the latter Rabî, A. H. 366 (4th December, A. D. 976). He was born in 307 (A. D. 919-20).—At the time of the expedition, in the year 355 (A. D. 966), when the Khorâsânides departed from Rai after the grave event which occurred there, and when God had delivered (*the country*) from their perversity (22), the *raîs* Abû 'l-Fadl Ibn al-Amîd commenced the construction of an immense wall around the palace of his sovereign. This induced the army inspector to observe that such an undertaking reminded him of the common saying: *Post crepitum ventris stringere podicem;* on which Ibn al-Amîd replied: "And that also is useful "to prevent another from escaping." This answer was considered excellent.—Ibn al-Amîd was appointed to office A. H. 337 (A. D. 948-9). In allusion to (*the death of Abû 'l-Fath*), one of his friends said:

> Family of al-Amîd and family of Barmek! what has befallen you? your friends are few, and your assisters intimidated. Fortune took you for its favourites, but it then thought fit (*to change its mind*); fortune is certainly deceitful and treacherous!

Abû 'l-Fath, the son of Ibn al-Amîd, had the *Sâhib* Ibn Abbâd for successor; see

the life of the latter (*vol. I. p.* 213). He frequently repeated the following lines, some time before he lost his life :

Men entered the world before us, and they departed from it, leaving it to us; we sojourned therein as they did, but we shall leave it to our successors.

The following piece is attributed to Abû 'l-Fath, the son of Ibn al-Amîd :

The delators who watched my conduct asked me how I loved her? and I answered : " With " a passion neither inadequate nor excessive." Had I not mistrusted them, I should have spoken the truth and said : " My passion for her surpasses all that lovers ever felt." How often have my brethren asked me why I was so sad? And I replied : " You see my malady, yet you " ask me what is the matter! "

Abû Haiyân Ali Ibn Muhammad at-Tauhîdi, a native of Baghdad, composed a work entitled : *Mathâlib al-Wazîrain* (*the disgraceful acts of the two vizirs*) in which he inserted all the circumstances which could tend to the dishonour of Ibn al-Amîd and the Sâhib Ibn Abbâd; he attacked them violently in this production, enumerating their faults, stripping them of all the renown which they had acquired by their talents and generosity, displaying the utmost prejudice against them and treating them with great injustice. This book is one of those which bring ill luck (23); no person ever had it in his possession without suffering a reverse of fortune, as I myself have experienced, and as others, on whose words I can place reliance, have experienced also. This Abû Haiyân was a man of talent and an author : he composed some works of great repute, such as the *Kitâb al-Imtinâ wa 'l-Muwânasa* (*aversion and attachment*), in two volumes; the *Kitâb al-Basâir wa 'd-Dakhâir* (*guiding marks and treasures*); the *Kitâb as-Sadîk wa 's-Sadâka* (*the friend and friendship*), in one volume; the *Kitâb al-Makâisât* (*comparisons*). in one volume; the *Mathâlib al-Wazîrain*, in one volume, etc. This writer was still alive in the year 400 (A. D. 1009-10), as we learn from his own words in the *Kitâb as-Sadîk wa 's-Sadâka*. —I have not found the word *Tauhîdi* noticed by any of the authors who have composed treatises on patronymics, not even by as-Samâni; but it is said that Abû Haiyân's father sold *tauhîd* at Baghdad, and that this *tauhîd* is a species of date produced in Irâk. It is this signification which some commentators of al-Mutanabbi's poems assign to the following verse :

They draw from my mouth draughts which are sweeter than *the profession of God's unity* (at-tauhîd).



(1) It is well known that the regular diminutive form *fuail* (فعيل) assumes, in some cases, an intensitive signification; thus *omaid* (*a little column, a pilaster*) may bear the signification of *a large column*. This circumstance induced me to suppose that the name of this vizir should be pronounced *Omaid*, and M. de Sacy was so deeply impressed with the same opinion that, in translating the passage to which the present note refers, he wrote: "Il avait reçu ce surnom d'après l'usage où sont les habitants de Khorasan, d'employer les "diminutifs comme un signe d'estime et de considération." (*Chrestomathie*, t. II, p. 58.) He then adds: "Ceci prouve qu'on doit prononcer *Omaïd* et non pas *Amid*." I must, however, observe that, in the Arabic text of this passage (which I have translated literally), the equivalent of the word *diminutifs* does not exist; and, to prove that the name should be pronounced *Amîd*, not *Omaid*, I need only refer to the versified proverb: Epistolary writing commenced with Abd al-*Hamîd*, and ended with Ibn al-*Amîd*. I shall also refer to the *diwân* of al-Mutanabbi; in all the manuscripts, the poems addressed to this vizir are entitled *al-Amîdiyât*, with the vowel points clearly marked, and in these pieces, the word العميد is *invariably* pointed so as to be read *al-Amîd*. M. de Sacy has therefore misunderstood the observation of Ibn Khallikân, but his error was almost inevitable, owing to the vagueness of our author's expression. I believe Ibn Khallikân meant to say that the people of Khorâsân give to the form *faîl* (فعيل) an intensitive signification, and this we know is an irregularity. The commentators of the *Korân*, and all the grammarians who explain the words *Bism illah ir-rahmân ir-rahîm* (*in the name of God, the merciful, the clement!*) attribue to *rahîm*, in consequence of its form (*faîl*), a much less comprehensive signification than to the word *rahmân*. It is therefore an established principle of Arabic grammar that the form *faîl* expresses less than *fâlân* and some other forms. But it appears that in Khorâsân it was considered to express more and to be really the intensitive form, and this is what our author intended to say.

(2) Humidity and generosity are synonymous in Arabic poetry. To call a generous patron *an ocean* is the highest praise a poet can bestow.

(3) In these verses he means to say that Ibn al-Amîd united in himself the talents of all the great men of former times, and that he, coming last, represented the sum total of which they were the *items*.

(4) The *Oyûn as-Siar* appears, from the short account of it given by Hajji Khalifa, to be a collection of anecdotes or poems. He places al-Hamadâni's death in 521 (A. D. 1127).

(5) His life will be found in this work.

(6) The poet probably means the town of Rusafa. See vol. I. p. 299.

(7) See vol. I p. 318. The poet seems to have compared Ibn al-Amîd to the sacred stone of Mekka, but the meaning of the verse is doubtful.

(8) *Residence*; in the original *itimâr* (*to perform the visit to the* Omra). See note (11), p. 248 of this vol.

(9) I read لا instead of على.

(10) The words قرى عاتم mean: A supper of hospitality for which the guest must wait long, before he gets it. Such a supper is a proof of the ill will of the host.

(11) I read ماكسا.

(12) Literally: But it was as if he had sunk into the hearing and the sight of the earth; that is: as if he had sunk into the earth. No reasonable explanation has ever been given of this expression.

(13) Ibn Khallikân speaks of this work at the end of the present article.

(14) *Spring*; in Arabic *ar-Rabî*. The poet means to quibble on this word, which is also employed as a proper name.

(15) The life of Hilâl Ibn as-Sâbi will be found in this volume.



(16) Ath-Thaâlibi gives, in his *Yatima*, MS. No. 1370, fol. 479, a great number of passages, in prose and verse, composed by the emir Abû 'l-Fadl Obaid Allah Ibn Ahmad al-Mikâli, the most distinguished of all the members of the Mikâl family. Two other persons of the same noble house were eulogised by Ibn Duraid (see p. 38 of this vol.).

(17) The work called *al-Yamini*, or *Tarikh al-Otbi*, is written in a very pompous style and contains the history of the Ghaznevite sultan, Yamin ad-Dawlat Mahmûd Ibn Subuktikin, whose life will be found in this volume. The author, whose names were Abû 'n-Nasr Muhammad Ibn Muhammad Ibn Abd al-Jabbâr al-Otbi, was a contemporary of that prince and brought down his history to the year 428 (A. D. 1036-7). M. de Sacy has given an analysis of this work in the fourth volume of the *Notices et Extraits*.

(18) Abû 'l-Abbâs Ahmad Ibn Ibrahim ad-Dabbi, a favorite of the *Sâhib* Ibn Abbâd, acted as his lieutenant and succeeded him on his death.—(*Yatima*, No. 1370, fol. 307, where numerous passages of his prose writings and poetical compositions are given.)

(19) I read زاهية بالملوك with one of the manuscripts.

(20) This surname signifies: *possessor of the double capacity*. The author of the *Yatima*, MS. No. 1370, fol. 270, gives numerous extracts from his writings.

(21) The *daughters of the hearse* (*Banât Naash*) is the name given by the Arabs to the constellation of *Ursa Major*.

(22) " In the year 355, an army of more than ten thousand men marched from Khorâsân against the Greeks" —(who had penetrated into Mesopotamia and Syria, where they laid siege to Antioch; see Abû 'l-Fedâ's *Annals*) —" and reached Rai. On their arrival, Rukn ad-Dawlat furnished them with provisions in abundance, but " one day, those warriors mounted their horses, and proceeding to the dwellings of Rukn ad-Dawlat's cap- " tains, they slew all the Dailamites whom they met and pillaged the palace of Abû 'l-Fadl Ibn al-Amid, the " vizir of Rukn ad-Dawlat. Ibn al-Amid succeeded, however, in defeating them and putting them to flight. " They retired by the Adarbaidjân road, with the loss of fifteen hundred men, and, having subsequently rea- " ched Mosul, they entered Syria and encountered the Greeks."—(Ad-Dahabi's *Târikh al-Islâm*, MS. No. 646, fol. 237.)

(23) Such is the meaning of the word محلول, in this case. It occurs also with a nearly similar signification in Abd al-Latif's *Relation de l'Égypte*; see M. de Sacy's translation of that work, page 250.

IBN MUKLA.

Abû Ali Muhammad Ibn Ali Ibn al-Hasan Ibn Mukla, the celebrated *kâtib*, commenced his career as administrator and revenue collector in one of the districts of Fars. He successively occupied various situations till he was at length appointed vizir by al-Muktadir billah, who invested him with this office on the 16th of the first Rabî, A. H.



316 (May, A. D. 928). The same khalif arrested him on Wednesday, the 16th of the first Jumâda, A, H. 318 (June, A. D. 930), extorted from him a large sum of money and banished him into the province of Fars. The *imâm* al-Kâhir billah (*al-Muktadir's successor*) sent a messenger to bring him back from that country, and appointed him to act as his lieutenant. On the morning of the Day of Sacrifice, A. H. 320 (December, A. D. 932), Ibn Mukla returned from Fars, and being invested with the pelisse of office, he continued to hold the post of vizir till the month of Shaabân in the following year. At that time, he withdrew into concealment on receiving information that the khalif suspected him of favorising the conspiracy got up by Ali Ibn Balîk (*vol. II. p.* 377). Ar-Râdi Billah, who succeeded to the khalifate on the 6th of the first Jumâda, A. H. 322 (24th April, A. D. 934), chose him for vizir, three days after his accession. Al-Muzaffar Ibn Yâkût, who had acquired the absolute direction of ar-Râdi's affairs, entertained a dislike for the vizir Abû Ali and concerted a plot with the pages of the chambers (1) for the purpose of seizing on him when he entered the palace; assuring them that such a proceeding would meet with no opposition from the khalif and that it would in all probability give him great pleasure. It happened therefore that, when the vizir entered the vestibule of the palace, Ibn Yâkût and the pages seized on him and sent him in to ar-Râdi whom they acquainted with the circumstance; enumerating, at the same time, a number of crimes which they attributed to their prisoner and which forced them to take so decided a measure. The khalif returned an answer in which he gave his approval to their conduct. This occured on Monday, the 16th of the first Jumâda, A. H. 324 (April, A. D. 936). They then agreed that the vizirship should be confided to Abd ar-Rahmân Ibn Isa Ibn Dâwûd Ibn al-Jarrâh (2), and ar-Râdi, in consequence, invested him vith that office and delivered over to him Abû Ali Ibn Mukla. Abd ar-Rahmân caused his prisoner to be scourged with whips, and having put him to the rack and inflicted on him various other tortures, he extorted his signature to a promissory note of one million of dinars (£. 460.000). Ibn Mukla then obtained his liberty, and retired to his house, where he remained unemployed. Abû Bakr Muhammad Ibn Râik having then revolted against the khalifate, ar-Râdi sent to the insurgent chief and propitiated his favour by entrusting him with the government of the empire and creating him *amîr al-umâra* (3). He gave up to him also the administration of the revenue (*kharâj*) and of all the landed estates (*belonging to the khalifate*), besides which, he caused the public prayer (*khotba*) to be said in his name

from all the pulpits of the empire. Ibn Râik having thus attained the height of power and influence, exerted his authority uncontrolled, and seized on the possessions and landed property of Ibn Mukla and his son Abû 'l-Husain. Ibn Mukla then waited on Ibn Râik and his secretary, and requested, in the humblest manner, the restitution of his estates. Being unable to obtain any thing from them but vague promises, he decided on employing against Ibn Râik every possible means of intrigue, and wrote to the khalif advising his arrestation; engaging, at the same time, in case his advice was followed and that he himself was appointed vizir, to force from Ibn Râik the sum of three hundred thousand dinars. The letter containing this communication was in the handwriting of Ali Ibn Hârûn al-Munajjim (*vol. II. p.* 313). Ar-Râdi appeared inclined to give his consent to this proposal, and having then encouraged Ibn Mukla in his expectations, he entered into a correspondence with him, and numerous letters passed between them. Ibn Mukla finally obtained from ar-Râdi the assurance of his co-operation, and it was agreed on between them both that he should proceed secretly to the khalif's palace and remain there till their plan was put in execution. He then cast a horoscope which indicated the eve of the last day of Ramadân as a propitious moment for quitting his house and riding to the palace, because the moon is then (*concealed*) under the rays of the sun, and such epochs are favorable for engaging in affairs requiring secresy. On arriving at the palace, he was detained in a chamber and refused admittance to ar-Râdi. The next morning, the khalif sent a messenger to Ibn Râik, informing him of what had occurred, and stating that this was a stratagem devised by himself for the purpose of getting Ibn Mukla into his power. Frequent communications, in writing, then passed between them both, and, on the 14th of Shawwâl, A. H. 326 (August, A. D. 938), ar-Râdi made known to the public the designs of Mukla; and, drawing him from confinement, he confronted him with Ibn Râik's chamberlain and some of the military chiefs. As Ibn Râik had expressed the wish that Ibn Mukla should be punished by the amputation of the hand with which he had written the horoscope (*just mentioned*), the confrontation was no sooner terminated, than the (*executioners*) cut off his right hand and took him back to prison. Ar-Râdi then repented of what had been done, and sent doctors to attend him and heal his wound. Such was the result of the imprecation which Abû 'l-Hasan Muhammad Ibn Shanabûd, the korân-*reader*, pronounced against Ibn Mukla, as we have already related (*p.* 16 *of this vol.*); it was certainly an extraordinary coincidence. Abû 'l-Hasan

Thâbit Ibn Sinân Ibn Thâbit Ibn Kurra (*vol.* 1. *p.* 289), one of the physicians who attended him, relates as follows: " I went to see him when he was in that state, " and he asked me news of his son Abû 'l-Husain; I informed him that he was " concealed in a place of safety, and these words gave him great comfort. He " then began to lament and weep for the loss of his hand. ' I laboured,' said he, " ' in the service of the khalifs and twice transcribed the Korân; yet they cut it off " ' as if it had been the hand of a thief!' I endeavoured to console him, saying " that it would be the last of his afflictions and that no other mutilation would befall " him. To this he replied by the following verse:

> " When a part of thee perisheth, weep for the loss of another part; for one part is near " unto another."

He at length recovered, and sent from his prison a message to ar-Râdi promising (*to procure for*) him a large sum and requesting to be appointed vizir; he added that the amputation of his hand could be no obstacle to his nomination. He had contrived, in fact, to write with a pen by fastening it to the stump of his arm. When Begkem at-Turki (*vol. I. p.* 431), who had been one of Ibn Râik's partisans, approached Baghdad, Ibn Râik ordered the prisoner's tongue to be cut out. After a protracted confinement, Ibn Mukla was attacked by diarrhea, and having no person to attend him, he was forced to draw water from the well for his own use; this he effected by seizing the rope alternately with his left hand and his teeth. He composed some poems in which he described his miserable fate and deplored the loss of his hand; in these pieces, one of which we here give, he complained of the ingratitude which he had experienced in return for his fidelity:

> (*To act thus*) I was not weary of existence, but I trusted to their good faith and lost my right hand. To obtain worldly rank, I sold to them my spiritual welfare, and they deprived me of one and of the other. I used all my efforts to preserve their lives, but mine they did not preserve. After the loss of my right hand, there is no pleasure in life; my right hand is gone! depart thou also, O my soul!

The following lines are attributed to him.

> I cringe not when pinched by misfortune, neither am I haughty when it spares me. I am fire when blown upon by the deep-drawn sighs of envy; I am a gentle stream with my friends.

It was from this passage that *Sibt* Ibn at-Taâwîzi (*p.* 162 *of this vol.*) borrowed the thought which he has thus expressed in one of his *kasîdas* :

> Seek not to gain my love by (*affected*) scorn; I am stubborn when roughly used. Kindness finds me like limpid water; severity, like the hardest rock.

It was of this vizir that a poet said :

> They say that dismissal from office is the infirmity (*menstrua*) to which noble personages are subject; may God curse it for a hateful thing! but the vizir Abû Ali is one of *those who expect no longer such an infirmity* (4).

According to ath-Thaâlibi (*vol. II. p.* 129), in his *Yatîma*, the following verses were composed by Ibn Mukla :

> When I see a man in an exalted station mounted on the pinnacle of power, I say within myself : "Favours must be appreciated at their just value; what a service he has rendered me "in taking that place (*of danger*)!"

Ibn Mukla continued in this miserable state till his death, which took place on Sunday, the 10th of Shawwâl, A, H. 328 (19th July, A. D. 948). His corpse was buried in the prison where he died, but, after some time, it was disinterred and delivered up to his family. He was born in Baghdad, on the afternoon of Thursday, the 20th of Shawwâl, A. H. 272 (March, A. D. 886). We have already mentioned in the life of Ibn al-Bawwâb (*vol. II. p.* 282), that it was he who derived the present system (*of writing*) from the written characters used by the people of Kûfa and that he gave it its actual form : I mean to say, either he or his brother, because there exists a difference of opinion on this subject. I have observed also that Ibn al-Bawwâb followed the path marked out by Ibn Mukla and ameliorated his system (5). —Ibn Mukla uttered some sayings which are still preserved and employed : such, for instance, are the following : "When I love, I risk death : and when I hate, I "inflict it." "When pleased, I favour; when displeased, I punish." "I like "him who cultivates poetry for self-instruction, not for lucre, and him who practises "music for pleasure, not for gain." He has enounced a number of fine thoughts both in prose and verse. The poet Ibn ar-Rûmi (*vol. II. p.* 297) eulogised Ibn Mukla, and one of the ideas which he expressed respecting him is the following :

> If the pen be master of the sword (, *the sword*) before which all necks are humbled and to

whose edge nations are obedient; (*recollect*) that death also, death which nought can resist, follows (*from*) words traced by the pen (*of fate*). 'Tis thus that God hath decreed, from the time in which pens were first made; (*he decreed*) that swords, from the moment they received their edge, should be servants to the pen.

Abû Abd Allah al-Hasan Ibn Ali Ibn Mukla, the vizirs's brother, was an accomplished and eminent *kâtib*. It was really he who invented that handsome written character. His birth took place on Wednesday, at daybreak, the 30th of Ramadân, A. H, 278 (January, A. D. 892), and his death, in the month of the latter Rabî, A. H. 338 (October, A. D. 949).—As for Ibn Râik, the *hâfiz* Ibn Asâkir (*vol. II. p.* 252) states, in his History of Damascus, that he arrived there in the month of Zû 'l-Hijja, A. H. 327 (Sept-Oct. A. D. 939) (6), and that he was appointed governor of that city by the *imâm* al-Muttaki in the place of Badr Ibn Abd Allah al-Ikshîdi, whom he had expelled. Ibn Râik then set out for Egypt and had an encounter with Muhammad Ibn Toghj (*p.* 217 *of this vol.*), the sovereign of that country. Being defeated in this engagement, he returned to Damascus, whence he proceeded to Baghdad. He was assassinated at Mosul, A. H. 330 (A. D. 941-2). It is said that he fell by the hand of Nâsir ad-Dawlat al-Hasan Ibn Hamdân (*vol. I. p.* 404).

(1) *The pages of the chambers* (*al-Ghilmân al-Hujariya*) formed a numerous body of young slaves who received their education at the court of the Abbaside Khalifs and were afterwards employed in their service; see vol. II. p. 361. Under the Fatimides in Egypt, a similar institution existed, the members of which were called *the youths of the chambers* (*Subyân al-Hujar*); see vol. II. of this work, page 352; and, under the mamlûk sultans, we perceive the existence of a seminary nearly identical, the *as-Subyân al-Hujariya;* see M. de Sacy's *Chrestomathie*, t. I. p. 156. An establishment of the same kind was that of the *Itch Oghlân* (*the youths of the interior*) at Constantinople.

(2) Speaking of this vizir, the author of the *ad-Dual al-Islâmiya* says: "When ar-Râdi arrested Ibn Mukla, "he sent for Ali Ibn Isa al-Jarrâh and offered him the vizirship. Ali refused accepting, and recommended "his brother Abd ar-Rahmân Ibn Isa to be chosen. The khalif followed his advice, but, in a short time, "affairs got embroiled and the new vizir offered his dismission. This led to his arrestation. During his "administration he did nothing worthy of remembrance."

(3) *Amîr al-umarâ* (*emir over the emirs*, or *commander in chief*); this post, the highest in the khalifate, was created for Ibn Râik.

(4) *Korân*, sûrat 65, verse 4.—The poet means to say that the vizir need never apprehend being deprived of his place; a very unfortunate prediction, as we have just seen.

(5) The characters introduced by Ibn Mukla are what we now call *Sharki*, or *Oriental*; they are merely a slight alteration of the so called *Maghribi*, or *Occidental*, which were in use before the promulgation of Islamism.

(6) According to Ibn al-Athîr, the city of Damascus fell into the hands of Ibn Râik in the year 328, and al-Muttaki was proclamed khalif in 329.

IBN BAKIYA *THE VIZIR*.

Abû 't-Tâhir Muhammad Ibn Muhammad Ibn Bakiya Ibn Ali, surnamed Nasîr ad-Dawlat (*assister of the empire*) and vizir to Izz ad-Dawlat Bakhtyâr (*vol. I. p.* 250) the son of Moizz ad-Dawlat Ibn Buwaih, was an eminent *râis* (1), a powerful vizir and a generous patron. We have already spoken of him in our notice on Izz ad-Dawlat and mentioned that the wax-chandler, being asked what quantity of wax lights was allotted by that sovereign to his own service, replied : "The allow-" ance of wax furnished to the vizir for that object was two thousand pounds " weight every month." Now, wax-lights being an object of little necessity, it may be conceived from this single circumstance how great must have been the quantity of things more essential and more requisite with which (*the khalif*) was provided. Ibn Bakiya was a native of Awâna (2), a place in the province of Baghdad. In the commencement of his career, he was appointed superintendant of the kitchen by Moizz ad-Dawlat, and then passed successively through other posts connected with the service of that sovereign. On the death of his master and the accession of Izz ad-Dawlat, his situation became still more prosperous, having merited the favour of the new monarch by the zeal which he had displayed in the service of his father. Possessing a pleasing address and a generous disposition, he advanced to more elevated situations, and, on Monday, the 7th of Zû 'l-Hijja, A. H. 362 (September, A. D. 973), he received from Izz ad-Dawlat his appointment to the place of vizir. At a later period, Izz ad-Dawlat was led to arrest him for reasons too long to be fully related : we may, however, state, in a summary manner, that Ibn Bakiya pushed him to wage war against his cousin Adud ad-Dawlat (*vol. II. p.* 481), that, in the battle which ensued at al-Ahwâz, the troops of Izz ad-Dawlat were defeated, aud that the prince attributed this disaster to the counsels of his vizir. In allusion to this circumstance, Abû Ghassân, a physician of Basra, said :

> He remained fifty days near al-Ahwâz, directing the empire to its ruin. He embarked in an affair which began by blindness, proceeded through misfortune, and ended in disgrace.

His arrest took place on Monday, the 16th of Zû 'l-Hijja, A. H. 366 (August,



A. D. 977), at Wâsit. Being then deprived of his sight by the application of a red-hot plate of metal, he confined himself thenceforward to his house. When in the exercise of the vizirship, he grievously offended Adud ad-Dawlat Ibn Buwaih by some sarcasms which came to that prince's ears; and particularly, in designating him by the name of Abû Bakr al-Ghudadi. This Abû Bakr was a man with blue eyes and a face mottled with red, who sold cat's meat (*ghudad*) at Baghdad and who resembled Adud ad-Dawlat very much. The vizir applied this nickname to him with the intention of gaining increased favour with his own sovereign, Izz ad-Dawlat, who bore a deep enmity to Adud ad-Dawlat, his cousin. When Adud ad-Dawlat took possession of Baghdad, on the death of Izz ad-Dawlat, he sent for Ibn Bakiya and caused him to be trampled to death by elephants, after which he gave orders that the body should be fastened on a cross and exposed to public view before the Adudian hospital (*vol. II. p.* 484) in that city. This happened on Friday, the 6th of Shawwâl, A. H. 367 (17th May, A. D. 978). Ibn al-Hamadâni says, in his *Oyûn as-Siar* : " When Izz ad-Dawlat Bakhtyâr conferred the place of vizir on Ibn " Bakiya, who had formerly been chief of the kitchen, the people said : *min al-ghi-* " *dâra ila 'l-wizâra* (*from the dish to the vizirship*), but all his defects were thrown " into the shade by his generosity. In the space of twenty days, he distributed " twenty thousand robes of honour."—" I saw him one night at a drinking party," says Abû Ishak as-Sâbi (*vol. I. p.* 31), " and, (*during the festivity, he changed fre-* " *quently his outer dress according to custom* :) every time he put on a new pelisse, he " bestowed it on one or other of the persons present; so that he gave away, in that " sitting, upwards of two hundred pelisses. A female musician then said to him : " ' Lord of vizirs! there must be wasps in these robes to prevent you from keeping " ' them on your body!' He laughed at this conceit, and ordered her a present of " a casket of jewels." Ibn Bakiya was the first vizir who ever bore two titles, the *imâm* (*khalif*) al-Mutî lillah having given him that of an-Nâsih (*the sound adviser*), and his son at-Tâî that of Nasîr ad-Dawlat. During the war which was carried on between the two cousins, Izz ad-Dawlat and Adud ad-Dawlat, the former seized on Ibn Bakiya and, having deprived him of sight, delivered him over to Adud ad-Dawlat. That prince caused him to be paraded about with a hood (*burnus*) over his head, and then ordered him to be cast to the elephants. Those animals killed him, and his body was exposed on a cross at the gate called Bâb at-Tâk, near his own house (3). He had passed his fiftieth year. On his crucifixion, an *adl* (4) of Baghdad, called

Abû 'l-Hasan Muhammad Ibn Omar Ibn Yakûb al-Anbâri, deplored his fate in the following lines :

Exalted during life and after death, thou art, in truth, a prodigy! the crowd standing around thee seems like those bands of visitors who courted thy liberality in the days of thy donations. Erect as thou art among them, thou appearest like a preacher, and they stand all erect, as if to pray. Thy arms are openly extended towards them, as thou wert wont to extend them when bestowing gifts. The bosom of the earth being too narrow, after thy death, to contain such glory as thine, they gave thee the sky for a tomb and the robe of the air for a winding sheet. Thy importance was so deeply impressed on people's minds that thou passest even now thy nights closely watched by faithful guards. By night, torches are lighted around thee, and such also was the case in the days of thy life. Thou art mounted on the steed which Zaid once rode in former years (5). Such an advantage is a consolation, as it delivers thee from the envy of thy foes. I never saw a tree, before this, enabled to sustain all that was generous. Thou wert hurtful to adversity (*in warding off its strokes from others*); it therefore sprang upon thee and thou hast fallen a victim to its wrath. 'Twas thy custom to heal the wounds inflicted by misfortune; it therefore turned against thee to take vengeance; and time converted thy beneficence towards us into a crime. Thou wert a cause of happiness for mankind; but, on thy departure, they were scattered by calamities. For thee my heart burneth with a hidden thirst which can only be assuaged by flowing tears. Were I able to perform my duty towards thee and acknowledge all my deep obligations, I should fill the earth with poems in thy praise and recite my lamentations alternately with the cries of the female mourners : but I am forced to restrain my feelings for thy loss, lest I should be taken for a criminal. Thou hast not a tomb on which I may implore the blessed rains to fall; but thou art set up as a target to the impetuous gushing of the showers. On thee be the salutation of the All-Merciful! may his abundant blessings descend upon thee, morning and evening!

The body of Ibn Bakiya remained on the cross till the death of Adud ad-Dawlat; it was then taken down and buried at the spot where it had been exposed. The following verses were recited on his death by Abû 'l-Hasan al-Anbâri, the author of the piece just given :

They inflicted on thee no dishonour when they fixed thee on a cross; they only committed a crime of which they afterwards repented. They then felt that they had acted wrong, in exposing to public view (*one who had been*) a beacon of authority. They took thee down, and, in interring thee, they buried a mountain (*of noble qualities*); and with that mountain they entombed noble worth and generosity. Though thou hast disappeared, thy liberality remains unforgotten; yet how many the dead who are thought of no longer! Mankind share the (*duty of*) repeating thy praises, as thou used, unceasingly, to share thy wealth amongst them.

The *hâfiz* Ibn Asâkir (*vol. II. p.* 252) says, in his History of Damascus, that Abû 'l-Hasan, on composing the first of these elegies, that which rimes in *t*, copied it out and threw it into one of the streets of Baghdad. It fell into the hands of the literati,





who passed it one to another, till Adud ad-Dawlat was at length informed of its existence. He caused it to be recited in his presence, and (*struck with admiration at its beauty*) he exclaimed : " O that I were the person crucified, not he! let that man " be brought to me." During a whole year strict search was made for the author, and the *Sâhib* Ibn Abbâd (*vol. I. p.* 212), who was then at Rai, being informed of the circumstance, wrote out a letter of protection in favour of the poet. When Abû 'l-Hasan heard of this, he went to the court of the *Sâhib* and was asked by him if it was he who had composed these verses. He replied in the affirmative, on which the *Sâhib* expressed the desire to hear them from his own mouth. When Abû 'l-Hasan came to the verse : *I never saw a tree, before this, enabled to sustain all that was generous*, the *Sâhib* rose up and embraced him, kassing him on the lips; he then sent him to Adud ad-Dawlat. On appearing before Adud ad-Dawlat, that prince said to him : " What motive could have induced thee to compose an elegy " on the death of my enemy?" Abû 'l-Hasan replied : " Former obligations and " favours granted long since; my heart therefore overflowed with sorrow, and I " lamented his fate." There were wax-lights burning, at the time, before the prince, and this led him to say to the poet : " Canst thou recollect any verses on " wax-lights?" and to this the other replied by the following lines :

> The wax-lights, showing their ends tipped with fire, seem like the fingers of thy trembling foes, humbly stretched forth to implore thy mercy (6).

On hearing these verses, Adud ad-Dawlat clothed him in a pelisse of honour and bestowed on him a horse and a bag of money. — So far Ibn Asâkir. — I may here observe that the person to whom allusion is made in the verse : *Thou art mounted on the steed which Zaid once rode in former years*, was Abû 'l-Hasan Zaid, the son of Ali Zain al-Aâbidîn (*vol. II. p.* 209) Ibn al-Husain Ibn Ali Ibn Abi Tâlib; he came forward in A. H. 122 (A. D. 740), and summoned the people to espouse his cause. This occurred in the reign of Hishâm Ibn Abd al-Malik, and Yûsuf Ibn Omar ath-Thakifi, governor of the two Irâks, despatched al-Abbâs al-Murri with an army against the insurgent chief. Zaid was struck by an arrow shot by one of al-Murri's soldiers, and he died of his wound. His body was fastened to a cross and set up in the Kunâsa (7) of Kûfa, and his head was carried to the different cities of the empire (*and there exposed*). Ibn Kâni (*vol. I. p.* 374) says : " This took place at Kûfa, in " the month of Safar, A. H. 121 (Jan.-Feb. A. D. 739)" — some say, in Safar,

A. H. 122. — Zaid was then forty-two years of age. (*Hishâm*) Ibn al-Kalbi mentions, in his *Jamhâra tan-Nisab*, that Zaid Ibn Ali was struck by an arrow in the forehead, towards the close of the day, and that his partisans carried him off. They then sent for a surgeon, but, when the arrow was extracted, the patient breathed his last. Abû Omar al-Kindi (*vol. I. p.* 388) states, in his *Kitâb Umarâ Misr* (*history of the emirs of Egypt*), that, on Sunday, the 10th of the latter Jumâda, A. H. 122 (12th May, A. D. 740), Abû 'l-Hakam Ibn Abi 'l-Abyad al-Anasi (8) arrived at Old Cairo, in the quality of *khatîb* (*preacher*), bringing with him the head of Zaid Ibn Ali, and the people assembled at the mosque to hear him. It is this Zaid to whom the mausoleum is dedicated which is situated between Old Cairo and Birka Kârûn, near the mosque of Ibn Tûlûn. It is said, I know not with what certainty, that his head is interred there. His son Yahya lost his life in the year 125 (A. D. 742-3); his history is well known (9). He was slain at Jûzjân (*in the neighbourhood of Balkh*), by Salm Ibn Ahwar al-Mâzini. Some say that he fell by the hand of Jahm Ibn Safwân, the commander of the troops employed to guard the frontier (10). — All learned men agree that the like of this *kasîda*, on such a subject, was never composed. — Abû Tammân (*vol. I. p.* 348) has inserted in the poem which he composed in honour of al-Motasim, a passage relating to persons crucified. This piece was written by him on the crucifixion of al-Afshîn (11) Khâidar Ibn Kâûs, that khalif's general in chief, and on that of Bâbek (12) and Mâzyâr (13), in the year 226 (A. D. 840-1). Their history is well known. We here give the passage from Abû Tammâm's *kasîda* :

> The fever of my heart was cooled when Bâbek became the neighbour of Mâzyâr; he now makes the second with him under the vault of heaven, but he was not like *the second of two, when they were both in the cave* (14). They seem to stand aside that they may conceal some secret news from the curious inquirer. Their clothing is black, and the hands of the *samûm* (15) might be supposed to have woven for them a vest of pitch. Morning and evening they ride on slender steeds, brought out for them from the stables of the carpenters. They stir not from their place, and yet the spectator might suppose them to be always on a journey.

Alluding particularly to al-Afshîn, he says :

> They gaze at him on the top of his tree, as if they were watching for the new moon on the night which ends the fast (*of Ramadân*).

This *kasîda* is remarkable for its high-sounding style. — *Afshîn*, or *Ifshîn*, for so this name may be pronounced, was the surname given to Khaidar Ibn Kâûs. I have

here fixed the orthography of *Khaidar*, because it is often read as if it were *Haidar*. —The Abû 'l-Hasan Ibn al-Anbâri above mentioned composed the following lines on new beans :

Studs of emeralds in cases of pearl, and enclosed in pods shaped like nail-parings; spring has arrayed them in a garment of two colours, white and green.

The *Khatîb* (*vol. I. p.* 75) speaks of Ibn al-Anbâri, in his History of Baghdad, and observes that he composed but little poetry.

(1) The word *râis* (*chief*) was usually employed to designate a person holding a high rank in the civil administration.

(2) " Awâna is a village on the Tigris, surroundel by trees and gardens. It lies at ten parasangs above " Baghdad, and is situated opposite to Akbara, from which it is separated by the river."—(*Marâsid.*)

(3) This account disagrees with that which has been just given.

(4) The *adl* is the *kâdi*'s assistant, and acts as a public notary; see vol. I. page 53.

(5) In page 275, Ibn Khallikân informs us who this Zaid was.

(6) This simile is by no means obvious.

(7) The author of the *Marâsid* mentions Kunâsa as a well known place in Kûfa. It received this name because the *sweepings* and rubbish of the city were deposited there.

(8) Abû 'l-Abyad al-Anasi was one of the *Tâbis*, and particulary renowned for the number of military expeditions in which he bore a share. He died A. H. 87 (A. D. 706).—(*Nujûm.*)—I can discover no information respecting his son.

(9) For a full history of Zaid and his son Yahya, see the *Oyûn at-Tawârikh*, MS. No. 638, fol. 176, vol. III. and an-Nuwairi, MS. No. 702, fol. 73 *v. et seq.* Yahya, the son of Zaid, effected his escape into Khorâsân on the death of his father, but was arrested there by the governor Nasr Ibn Saiyâr (vol. II. p. 104). He was subsequently liberated by order of the khalif Walîd Ibn Yazîd, but was massacred, with all his companions, by a body of troops which Nasr sent after him.

(10) In Arabic : *sâhib al-Hamiya* (الحمية).

(11) See vol. I. pp. 72 and 600. The true prononciation of his name is *Efshîn*.

(12) See d'Herbelot's *Bibliothèque orientale*, under the word *Babek*.

(13) Mâzyâr Ibn Kârûm Ibn Zaid, governor of Tabaristân, revolted against al-Motasim, A.H. 224 (A.D. 839). He was taken prisoner by Abd Allah Ibn Tâhir and put to death by order of the khalif. Ibn al-Athîr gives a long account of Mâzyâr's revolt in his *Annals*.

(14) That is: He was not a holy man, favoured with the divine assistance, like Muhammad. The poet alludes to the passage of the Korân, sûrat 9, verse 40, where it is said, speaking of the departure of Muhammad from Mekka and of his hiding in the cavern of mount Thaur with Abû Bakr: " If ye assist not the Pro- " phet, verily God will assist him, as he assisted him formerly, when the unbelievers drove him (*out of* " *Mekka*), *the second of two : when they were both in the cave.*"

(15) The *samûm* is the burning and poisonous wind which travellers generally call *simoom*. The true pronunciation of this word may be represented by *smoom*, pronuncing the diphthong in the English manner.



FAKHR AL-MULK *THE VIZIR.*

Abû Ghâlib Muhammed Ibn Khalaf, surnamed Fakhr al-Mulk (*glory of the empire*), was successively vizir to Bahâ ad-Dawlat Abû Nasr, the son of Adud ad-Dawlat Ibn Buwaih, and to his son Sultân ad-Dawlat Abû Shujâa Fannakhrosrû. With the exception of Abû 'l-Fadl Ibn al-Amîd (*p.* 256 *of this vol.*) and of the *Sahîb* Ibn Abbâd (*vol. I. p.* 212), Fakhr al-Mulk was certainly the greatest vizir ever employed in the service of the Bûide dynasty. His family belonged to Wâsit, and his father followed the profession of a money-changer. Possessing a large fortune, he gave an ample career to his generous disposition, and the accomplishments of his mind were equalled only by his beneficence. Poets of the highest reputation visited his court and extolled his merit in *kasîdas* of exquisite beauty, and Abû Nasr Abd al-Azîz Ibn Nubâta (*vol. II. p.* 138) celebrated his praises in some beautiful poems, one of which, rhyming in *n*, contains the following passage :

> Every man who aspires to eminence has rivals, but Fakhr al-Mulk remains without an equal : alight at his residence and make known to him thy wishes ; I answer for their fulfilment.

I have been informed by a literary man that, after the publication of this *kasîda*, a certain poet composed a piece of verse in honour of Fakhr al-Mulk, and not receiving a recompense equal to his expectations, he went to Ibn Nubâta and said; " It " was you who encouraged me, and I should not have eulogised him, had I not " trusted to the engagement which you took (*that my expectations should be fulfilled*). " Pay me therefore the value of my *kasîda.*" Ibn Nubâta satisfied, out of his own purse, the demand of the poet, and Fakhr al-Mulk, on being informed of his generous conduct, sent him a large sum of money as a present. Another poet who sung the praises of this vizir was al-Mihyâr Ibn Marzawaih, a *kâtib* whose life shall be given (*in this volume*). He composed in his honour the *kasîda* rhyming in *r*, which contains this passage :

> When my heart feels a slight relief (*from cares*), I inquire if grief be dead and if joy have returned to life, or if misfortune fears to assault me because I fled from it to the protection of Fakhr al-Mulk.



The poems written in praise of Fakhr al-Mulk are very numerous. It was for this vizir that the accountant Abû Bakr Muhammad Ibn al-Hasan al-Karkhi (1) composed his treatise on algebra, entitled *al-Fakhri* (*the Fakhrian*), and his arithmetical work, the *Kâfi* (*sufficient*). — I read in a certain compilation that an elderly man having presented to Fakhr al-Mulk a memorial in which he accused another person of a capital crime, the vizir perused it and wrote these words on the back of the paper : "Delation is vile, even though well founded; and if you meant it as a coun-" sel, your failure therein is greater than your success. God forbid that (*the accu-" sation made by*) a man dishonoured against a respectable person should be received! " and were you not protected by your grey hairs, I would inflict on you the punish-" ment which you invoke on others, and thus prevent persons like you from acting " in the same manner. Hide this disgraceful (*passion of calumny*) and fear Him " from whose knowledge nothing is hidden. Adieu."—Abû Mansûr ath-Thaâlibi (*vol. II. p.* 129) has inserted the following lines in his *Yatîma* as the production of al-Ashraf, Fakhr al-Mulk's son :

> The splendid train passed by me, but I saw not there (*him who in beauty was as*) the moon among the stars. Say to the emir of the troops : " Tell me, sir! what hinders the lord " of beauty from riding out ? "

Numerous anecdotes are related illustrative of Fakhr al-Mulk's noble character. He continued in the enjoyment of rank, power, and honours till he incurred the displeasure of his sovereign, Sultân ad-Dawlat; and, being imprisoned by his orders, he was executed some time after, at the foot of the hill which is near al-Ahwâz. This occurred on Saturday, the 27th of the first Rabî, A. H. 407 (3rd September, A. D. 1016). His corpse was interred on the spot, but was torn up and devoured by dogs. His bones were then restored to the tomb, and, on the following year, they were removed, through the intercession of a friend, and buried in a funeral chapel which stands there. Abû Abd Allah Ahmad Ibn al-Kâdisi (*vol. I. p.* 290) says, in his history of the vizirs (*Akhbâr al-Wuzarâ*) : " The vizir Fakhr al-Mulk was guilty " of a negligence in the discharge of his duty, and he received a speedy chastise-" ment. One of his favourites had killed a man out of malice, and the wife of the " person murdered applied to the vizir for redress. He paid no attention to her " complaint, and one night, as he went to make a devotional visit to the funeral " chapel near the gate called Bâb at-Tîn, she met him there and said : ' O Fakhr

" ' al-Mulk! the request which I addressed to you, imploring for vengeance, and to
" ' which you paid no attention, that request I have referred to Almighty God, and
" ' I am now expecting the announcement of His decision!' The vizir being then
" called into the sultan's tent, was arrested by his orders. ' Now,' said he, ' there
" ' is no doubt but that God's decision has been pronounced on the woman's com-
" ' plaint.' When the sultan rose to retire, they led off the vizir, and conducted
" him to another tent, after seizing on his wealth, treasures, and equipages, and
" imprisoning his sons and companions. He was then executed on the date" —
above mentioned. — " His confiscated wealth amounted to six hundred and thirty
" thousand dinars (£. 300.000), besides a vast quantity of furniture. It is even said
" that one million two hundred thousand dinars, in specie, were found in his pos-
" session." The *sharîf* al-Murtada (*vol. II. p.* 256) composed an elegy on his
death, but, as I neglected to make extracts from it, I am unable to quote any part of
it here. May He be exalted, the Being subtle and all-knowing, who worketh what
he pleaseth! — Fakhr al-Mulk was born at Wâsit on Thursday, the 22nd of the later
Rabî. A. H. 354 (27th April, A. D. 965).

(1) Abû Bakr al-Karkhi bore the surname of Fakhr ad-Dîn. His *Fakhri* is a highly valuable treatise.—My deceased friend, Mr. Woepcke, published an analysis of it under the title of *Extrait du Fakhri*; Paris, 1853

FAKHR AD-DAWLAT IBN JAHIR *THE VIZIR*.

Abû Nasr Muhammad Ibn Mohammad Ibn Jahîr, surnamed Fakhr ad-Dawlat (*glory of the empire*) Muwaiyad ad-Dîn (*strengthened in religion*), was a member of the tribe of Thalaba and a native of Mosul. Gifted with judgment, intelligence, foresight, and aptitude for business, he left Mosul for reasons too long to be related, and obtained the place of director in chief (*nâzir*) in the board of public administration (*diwân*) at Aleppo. Having lost this situation, he proceeded to Aamid, where he remained some time unemployed, but he had at length sufficient interest to pro-

cure from the emir Nasr ad-Dawlat Ahmad Ibn Marwân al-Kurdi (*vol. I. p.* 157), lord of Maiyâfârikîn and Diâr Bakr, his nomination to the post of vizir (1). He continued to govern with absolue authority till the death of his master Nasr ad-Dawlat and the accession of Nizâm ad-Dîn, that prince's son. Being then admitted into the favour of the new sovereign, who treated him with the highest marks of honour, he brought the affairs of the empire into order and reestablished the administration of the state on the same plan as it had been under the reign of Nasr ad-Dawlat. Having subsequently conceived the project of removing to Baghdad, he directed his measures towards that object, and, opening a correspondence with the *imâm* (*khalif*) al-Kâim bi-amr illah, he never ceased intriguing and lavishing money till Ibn Tirâd az-Zainabi (2), the *nakîb an-nukabâ* (3), came to him and entered into arrangements. The preliminaries being terminated to his entire satisfaction, he left the city with the (*ostensible*) intention of bidding farewell to his visiter, but (*instead of returning*) he continued his route towards Baghdad. (*Nizâm ad-Dîn*) Ibn Marwân sent after him to bring him back, but his efforts were unsuccessful. On arriving at Baghdad, Fakhr ad-Dawlat replaced Abû 'l-Ghanâim Ibn Dârest (*p.* 153 *of this vol.*), A. H. 454 (A D. 1062), and continued to act as vizir to al-Kâim during the lifetime of that khalif. Under al-Muktadi bi-amr illah, al-Kâim's (*grand-*)son and successor, he remained in place two years longer, but, on the Day of Arafa (*the 9th of Zû 'l-Hijja*), he was deposed by the khalif in pursuance of the counsels of the vizir Nizâm al-Mulk (*vol. I. p.* 413), and Ibn Dârest was reinstated in the vacant place.—Amîd ad-Dawlat Sharaf ad-Dîn (*column of the empire, nobleness of religion*) Abû Mansûr Muhammad, the son of Fakhr ad-Dawlat, had acted as his father's lieutenant in the vizirship, but, on the removal of his parent from office, he went to the court of Nizâm al-Mulk, the vizir of Malak Shâh Ibn Alp Arslân the Seljûkide, and, having conciliated his favour, he continued with him in high credit, for some time, and then returned to Baghdad, where he occupied the place formerly held by his father. In the year 476 (A. D. 1083-4), Fakhr ad-Dawlat accepted the invitation of the sultan Malak Shâh and visited the court of that sovereign, where he received his nomination to the government of Diâr Bakr. He proceeded to that province accompanied by the emir Ortuk Ibn Aksab (*vol. I. p.* 171), lord of Hulwân, and a numerous troop of Turkomans. Kurds, and emirs. Soon after his arrival, the city of Aamid fell into the power of his son Abû 'l-Kâsim Zaîm ar-Ruwasâ (*chief of the râises*), after sustaining a severe siege, and three months later, he himself took the

city of Maiyâfârikîn from Nâsir ad-Dawlat Abû 'l-Muzaffar Mansûr, the son of Nizâm ad-Dîn (*Nasr ad-Dawlat*), and seized on the treasures of the Merwanide dynasty. This took place in the year 479 (A. D. 1086) (4). We may here notice a prediction which chance happened to fulfil. An astrologer went to Nasr ad-Dawlat Ibn Marwân and foretold to him, among other things, that a man of whom he had been the benefactor would attack the kingdom and take it from his (*Nasr ad-Dawlat's*) children. The prince, after some moments' reflexion, raised his head, and, looking at Fakhr ad-Dawlat, he said : "If these words be true, this *shaikh* is the man!" He then turned towards him and recommended his children to his care. Things fell out as was foretold; Fakhr ad-Dawlat having invaded the country and taken its cities, as we have already related, but the details would lead us too far (5). This vizir was a *râis* of the greatest influence : his family produced a number of vizirs and *râises* whose praises were celebrated by eminent poets. When Fakhr ad-Dawlat (*Ibn Jahîr*) was raised to the vizirship, the poet Abû Mansûr Ali Ibn al-Hasan, generally known by the appellation of Surr-Durr (*vol. II. p.* 321), addressed to him from Wâsit the celebrated *kasîda* which begins thus :

To satisfy the longing of a heart which will never recover from the seductions (*of love*), and the longing of a soul whose slightest wishes remain ungratified, we stopped in ranks at the (*deserted*) mansions, — dwellings which appeared like volumes cast on earth whilst we presented the aspect of their written lines. My friend then said, as the gazelle passed by : "Is that the object "of thy love?" and I replied : "One like to it; but, if its neck and eyes resemble those of "my beloved, it differs from her in the hips and in the breast." Strange that in this desert, she with whom we are acquainted should avoid our approach, whilst the most timid of its animals foregoes its fears and approaches near us! But the gazelles of Aâmir (6) know well that lovers who visit them are the falcons (*which they have to dread*). Was it not sufficient for these dwellings that their suns (*youths*) have tormented our hearts? why then should their moons (*maidens*) have assisted to afflict us? We turned away through fear of their females : why then should their males call us to combat? By Allah! I know not whether, on the morning those females looked at us, their glances were arrows or cups (*of intoxication*) which they passed around! If they were arrows, where was their rustling sound! if wine(-*cups*), where was their joy! O my two companions! permit me to approach the wine they offer, for before this, I was permitted to approach even to them (7). Suppose that they shun the lover whom they dread, what am I but the mere shadow (*of a lover*) which visits them (*in their dreams*). You two have told me that no paradise exists on earth; but do I not here behold the large eyed maids of paradise seated upon the pillions of these camels? Think not that my heart is free; my bosom is its prison, and there it remains a captive (*unable to follow my beloved*). 'Tis difficult for lovers to assuage their ardent thirst (8) when the source at which they try to quench it is the lips of the fair. Acacia-tree of these reserved grounds! tell me by what means you gained her favour so that you were kissed by her lips (9)?

In the eulogistic part of the same *kasîda*, the poet says :

Thou hast restored to the body of the vizirship its soul (*in occupying that post again*), at a time when no hopes were entertained of its being ever raised to life and revived. For a season it remained in a state of impurity, with another man, but now is the time of its cleanness and purity (10). It is but just that it should be given (*yuhba*) to him who deserved it, and that he who lent it should take it back again. When a handsome female is matched to a man beneath her, prudence recommends a divorce.

The same poet recited to him the following verses on his restoration to the vizirship, in the month of Safar, A. H. 461 (December, A. D. 1068), by the khalif al-Muktadi (11). This was previous to the departure of (*Ibn Jahîr*) for the court of the sultan Malak Shâh.

Justice has been rendered to (*you who were*) its source; and you, of all mankind, deserved it best. You were like the sword, drawn from its scabbard to be sheathed again. The hand of its master brandished it to try its edge, and its brightness dispensed him from putting its sharpness to the test. How noble the post of vizir! it maintains its efficacy, only when confided to competent hands. From the moment you left it, it was impelled towards you by a desire like that of the aged man for the restoration of his youth. Men like you are exposed to (*the strokes of*) envy, but it is impossible to strike the thunderer in his cloud. Many desire that place, but who dare expel the lion from his den? The sire of many whelps rends with teeth and claws the man who presses him too closely in his covert. Hast thou ever seen or heard of one who arrays himself in the skin cast off by the serpent? (12).

In the same piece, we remark the following passage :

On seeing the (*vizirship*) become his field (*of action*), they received the conviction that to his eagle alone belonged (*the empire of*) the air. The moon is expected to appear again after its disappearance, when the month is ended; and never do men despair of the sun's rising again, although he may be enveloped in the shades of night. How sweet is home! and sweeter is it yet for him who returns from a distant land! How often has a man's return conducted him to a perpetual sojourning; so that, coming back, he remains at home for ever. Were pearls to draw near the merchant, the diver would not prosper; were they to remain for ever in their shells, they had never been valued as ornaments for crowns (13). No pearl of the sea, no coral can be had, but by traversing the dangers of its waters.

This *kasîda* being of great length, we shall confine ourselves to these extracts. In the life of Sâbûr Ibn Ardashîr (*vol. I. p.* 554), we have given three verses addressed to him by Abû Ishak as-Sâbi (*vol. I. p.* 31), in which he congratulates him on his restoration to the vizirship; nothing of the kind has ever been composed to equal them. Another poet who celebrated the praises of Ibn Jahîr was the general (*al-*



kâid) Abû 'r-Rida al-Fadl Ibn Mansûr Ibn az-Zarîf al-Fâriki (*native of Maiyâfârikîn*), who composed on him the celebrated piece of verse rhyming in *h* (ح). We give it here :

O you who speak in verse! I gave you good counsel, but I am never so unfortunate as when I give advice : time has removed (*from the world*) all the generous men; and thereby hangs a tale long to relate. You extol for beauty and comeliness the ugliest faces to be seen, and you seek for liberality in a man whose soul was formed in the mould of avarice; hence you lose your pains, for your praises are falsehoods. Spare your verses; for, in such attempts, I never saw the hopes of any man even by accident successful. If you doubt my words, prove me a liar by citing a single patron who has acted generously; with the exception of that vizir whose rule offers a series of noble acts to charm the ear of time.

Fakhr ad-Dawlat (*Ibn Jahîr*) was born at Mosul in the year 398 (A. D. 1007-8); he died there in the month of Rajab—some say of Muharram—A. H. 483 (Sept. A. D. 1090), and was interred at Tall Tauba (*vol. I. p.* 406), a hill opposite to Mosul and separated from it by the river (*Tigris*). In the year 482 (A. D. 1089-90), he returned to Diâr Rabîa as viceroy to Malak Shâh, and, in the month of Ramâdan, he commenced his campaign by occupying Nasîbîn; he subsequently took possession of Mosul, Sinjâr, ar-Rahaba, al-Khâbûr, and Diâr Rabîa, and prayers (*the khotba*) were then offered up for him from the pulpits, as lieutenant of the sultan. From that time, he continued to reside at Mosul till his death.—As for his son Amîd ad-Dawlat (*see p.* 281) he is spoken of in these terms by Muhammad Ibn Abd al-Malik al-Hamadâni, in his historical work : " He acquired a wide renown by his gravity, dignity, " integrity, and wisdom; he served under three khalifs, and acted as vizir to two of " them. The pensions which he enjoyed and the presents received by him were " immense. Nizâm al-Mulk always spoke of him in the highest terms, and looked " upon him as a man of the greatest ability and intelligence; he took his advice in " every affair of importance and preferred it to that of the most prudent and distin- " guished members of the council. The chief defect to be found in him was his " advanced age. His words, of which he was very sparing, were treasured up in " the memory (*of his hearers*), and a verbal assurance from him was equivalent to " the accomplishment of the suitor's wishes. One of his remarkable sayings " was that which he addressed to the son of the *shaikh* and *imâm* Abû Nasr Ibn " as-Sabbâgh (*vol. II. p.* 164) : ' Study and be diligent, or you will become a " ' dyer (*sabbâgh*) without (*the necessity of deriving that epithet from*) a father.' " —The vizir Nizâm al Mulk gave his daughter Zubaida in marriage to Ibn Jahîr, who

was at that time out of place, and this alliance procured his reappointment to the vizirship. In allusion to this circumstance, the *sharîf* Abû Yala Ibn al-Habbâriya (*p.* 150 *of this vol.*) composed the following lines :

> Say to the vizir, without being deterred by the gravity of his aspect, though he appears grand and exalted in his station : " Were it no for the daughter of the *shaikh*, you had not been " appointed vizir a second time; thank then the thing (14) which created thee lord-vizir. "

I read the following anecdote in the handwriting of Osâma Ibn Munkid (*vol. I. p.* 177), who states that the poet as-Sâbik Ibn Abi Mahzûl al-Maarri (*p.* 154 *of this vol.*), related as follows : " Having gone to Irâk, I joined Ibn al-Habbâriya and he said " to me one day : ' Let us go and pay our respects to the vizir Ibn Jahîr.' This vizir " had been just restored to power. When we presented ourselves before him, Ibn " al-Habbâriya handed him a small piece of paper. Ibn Jahîr read its contents, and " I perceived his countenance change and express displeasure. We immediately " left the hall of audience, and I asked my companion what was in the paper? He " replied that we could expect nothing better than to have our heads cut off (15). " These words filled me with trouble and apprehension : ' I am a stranger here,' " said I; ' I have kept your company for the last few days only, and yet you seek my " ' death!' To this he merely replied : ' What has happened has happened!' We " then went to the door with the intention of going out, but the porter prevented us, " saying that he had received orders to stop us. On this I exclaimed : ' I am a stran- " ' ger here, from Syria, and the vizir does not know me; the person whom he " ' wants is this man.' The porter merely replied : ' It is useless to talk; thou " ' shalt not go out.' I then felt certain that my last hour was come. The company " had nearly all departed when a page came to the door with a paper containing fifty " dinars, and said (*in his master's name*) : ' We have already given thanks; give thou " ' also thanks (16).' We then went off and he (*Ibn al-Habbâriya*) handed me ten of " these dinars, on which I asked him what was in the paper? He replied by reciting " to me"—the two verses just mentioned—" and I swore that I would keep company " with him no longer." Amîd ad-Dawlat (*the son of Ibn Jahîr*) left some poetry which (*Imâd ad-Dîn*) has inserted in the *Kharîda*, but it is by no means satisfactory. Ibn as-Sâmani (*vol. II. p.* 156) speaks of him in his *Zail*, and a great number of contemporary poets have celebrated his praises. It was in his honour that Surr-Durr (*vol. II. p.* 321) composed the celebrated *kasîda* rhyming in *aîn*, which begins thus :

When the caravan took their leave, (*we saw the object of thy love, and*) thy excuse (*for loving*) was evident; all the passions of thy soul were borne off in those palanquins. Wherever caravans direct their course, thither thou turnest thy eyes; dost thou see full moons (*fair maids*) arising in every valley? In the caravan which departed from the grounds of the tribe is a gazelle (*maiden*) for whom my heart is a pasturage and my eyes a watering-place. From the regions of her beauty we are debarred access, and, to protect her from all eyes, a veil is her guardian. She mistook the nets (*the ties of love*) for huntresses and yielded to fear; therefore she broke every tie. The protector of her path knew not that, when discourse with her was forbidden, I spoke with my fingers, and that, when she sent her image to visit my couch and salute me (*in my dreams*), I heard with my eyes.

This is a long *kâsida* of great brilliancy. The verse: *She mistook the nets for huntresses, etc.*, bears some resemblance to the words of Ibn al-Khammâra, a Spanish poet:

Why ask news of sleep from these eyes which, for so long a time, knew it not; it came seldom, and those nights were rare. When the bird of sleep thought my eyes a nest, it saw the eyelashes and yielded to fear, mistaking them for nets.

As I have not been able to discover the date of Ibn al-Khammâra's death, so as to determine the age in which he lived, I know not which of these poets has copied the other. It may be, however, that both fell upon the same thought, and that neither of them borrowed it from the other.—Amîd ad-Dawlat was deposed from the vizirship and imprisoned in the month of Ramadân, A. H. 492 (July-August, A. D, 1099), and he died, the same year, in the month of Shawwâl. The poet Abû 'l-Karam Ibn al-Allâf addressed to him the following lines:

Without our eulogiums, the deeds of the good would not be distinguished from those of the wicked. Thinkest thou, because thou art hidden from our eyes, that thou art sheltered from our tongues?

His wife, the daughter of Nizâm al-Mulk, died in the month of Shaabân, A. H. 470 (February-March, A. D. 1078). Her marriage took place in the year 462 (1069-70). Surr-Durr composed on Zaîm ar-Ruwasa Abû 'l-Kâsim, the son of Fakhr ad-Dawlat, the poem rhyming in *kâf* (ق) which commences thus:

Tears visit my eyes by day, and sleeplessness by night; between them both, how can sight escape?

It is an exquisite poem, full of originality and highly celebrated, but we need

not lengthen this article by inserting it. Zaîm ar-Ruwasâ Abû 'l-Kâsim was appointed to the vizirship under the *imâm* (*khalif*) al-Mustazhir billah, in the month of Shaabân, A. H. 496 (May-June, A. D. 1103); he then received the surname of Nizâm ad-Dîn (*maintainer of religion*).—The word جهير must be pronounced *Jahîr;* as-Samâni being mistaken when he says that it should be pronounced *Juhair*. They say of a man that he is *jahîr* and that he displays the quality called *jahâra* when he has an agreeable countenance. They say also of a man's voice that it is *jahîr* when it sounds clear and loud.

(1) " Fakhr ad-Dawlat Abû Nasr Muhammad Ibn Muhammad Jahîr was a native of Mosul. He entered " into the service of the concubine of Kirwâsh (vol. I. p. 455) and then into that of Baraka, the sister of Kir- " wâsh. He was sent by the latter with presents to the king of the Greeks, and, on his return, he passed " into the service of Kuraish Ibn Badrân (p. 143 of this vol). Discovering that his master had the intention " of casting him into prison, he took refuge under the protection of another member of the Okail family and " then passed to Aleppo, where he became vizir to Moizz ad-Dawlat Abû Thumâl Ibn Sâlih. He afterwards " removed to Malatiya, where he met Nasîr (*read* Nasr) ad-Dawlat Ibn Marwân, who chose him for vizir."—(Ibn Khaldûn, MS. No. d'entrée 2402, fol. 145.)

(2) We must read *Tirâd*, or suppose that Ibn Tirâd was the family name. Ali Ibn Tirâd az-Zainabi (p. 154 of this vol.) did not obtain the place of *nakîb an-Nukabâ* till A. H. 491, whereas Fakhr al-Mulk received the visit here spoken of in the year 454.

(3) See note (7), page 154 of this volume.

(4) Abû 'l-Fedâ and Ibn Khaldûn (MS. No. 2402, fol. 145 *v.*) place the fall of the Merwanide dynasty of Diâr Bakr in the year 478.

(5) Ibn Khaldûn, *loc. laud.*, has consecrated a chapter to the Merwanides.

(6) A mountain near Mekka. By *gazelles* are meant *maidens*.

(7) Literally: *to their curtains*, or *chambers*.

(8) Literally: It is difficult for bewildered beings, kept from water during five days, to drink at their source, etc. The epithets are here figurative; being properly applied to camels.

(9) The thorn of the acacia is used as a toothpick.

(10) This metaphorical language refers, in its primitive acceptation, to the periodical infirmity of females.

(11) There is here an anachronism: al-Muktadi did not become khalif till A. H. 467.

(12) The poet means: Behold in Ibn Jahîr a man arrayed in terrors equal to those of the serpent.

(13) Literally: Crowns had never been taken into account.

(14) The Arabic word here employed designates the female sexual organ.

(15) Literally: The best moment (*for us*) strikes off my head and thine.

(16) This is an allusion to the words in the last verse.

AR-RUDRAWARI.

Abû Shujâa Muhammad Ibn al-Husain Ibn Muhammad Ibn Abd Allah Ibn Ibrahîm, surnamed Zahîr ad-Dîn (*champion of religion*) ar-Rûdrâwari, was born at al-Ahwâz, but his family belonged to Rûdrâwar. Having studied jurisprudence under the *shaikh* Abû Ishak as Shîrâzi (*vol. I. p.* 9) and cultivated the belles-lettres, he was appointed vizir to the *imâm* (*khalif*) al-Muktadi bi-amr illah, on the deposition of Amîd ad-Dawlat Ibn Jahîr. We have spoken of this person in the life of his father Fakhr ad-Dawlat; see the proceding article. Ar-Rûdrâwari's nomination took place in the year 476 (A. D. 1083-4), and he was dismissed from office on Thursday, the 19th of Safar, A. H. 484 (April A. D. 1091). Amîd ad-Dawlat was then reinstated in the vizirship. When ar-Rûdrâwari read the ordinance (*taukîa*) of the khalif proclaiming his deposition, he recited the following verse :

He entered into office without an enemy ; he retired without a friend.

The Friday following, he proceeded on foot from his house to the mosque, and the people flocked about him, offering up prayers for his welfare and all anxious to take him by the hand. In consequence of this occurrence, he received orders to remain at home and not to appear in public. Being then exiled to Rûdrâwar, the ancient seat of his family, he resided there for some time and, in the year 487 (A. D. 1094), he undertook the pilgrimage to Mekka. On reaching the vicinity of ar-Rabada (1), the caravan which he accompanied was attacked by the Arabs of the desert, and not one of the travellers escaped except himself. Having performed the pilgrimage, he went to make a devotional residence in the City of the Apostle (*Medîna*), and remained there till his death. He expired towards the middle of the latter Jumâda, A. H. 488 (June, A. D. 1095), and was interred in the Bakî cemetery, near the dome which covers the tomb of Ibrahîm, the Prophet's son. He was born in the year 437 (A. D. 1045-6). The *kâtib* Imâd ad-Dîn mentions him in the *Khârida*, and speaks of him in these terms : "The age in which he lived was the "happiest of ages, and the time in which he existed the most prosperous of times. "No vizir had ever displayed such zeal as he for the service of religion and the

" observance of the law. In all affairs connected with religion he was strict and " severe, but, in temporal matters, easy and indulgent. Never did he incur the " slightest reprehension for remissness in his duty towards God." He then adds : " Ibn al-Hamadâni has spoken of him in the *Muzaiyel* (*appendix*) (2) : ' His days,' " says he, ' were the most fortunate of days for the two empires (3), the most happy " ' for the people, the most complete for the security, prosperity and welfare of the " ' country; no misfortune came to trouble those (*days*), no terror to alloy them. " ' Under his administration, the khalifate recovered that respect and veneration " ' which it received in former times. As a penman and an orator, he was highly " ' accomplished.'" The *hâfiz* Ibn as-Samâni says of him in his Supplement : " He drew his renown from a fund of consummate merit, vast intelligence, dignified " conduct, and unerring foresight. He left some poems remarkable for their natural " elegance. Adversity having given him a moral lesson, he was deposed from the " vizirship and obliged to confine himself to his house; but he subsequently removed " from Baghdad and took up his abode at Medîna, in the neighbourhood and under " the protection of the Prophet's tomb. He remained in that city till his death. I " went to visit his grave, which is near that of Ibrahîm, the son of our Prophet, in " the Bakî cemetery. Farther on, he says : " I have been informed by a person " on whose word I can rely, that Abû Shujâa, on the approach of death and on the " point of departing from this world, was carried to the mosque of the Prophet, and " being placed near the enclosure which surrounds the tomb, he wept and said : " ' O Prophet of God! Almighty God has said : *But if they, after they have injured* " ' *their own souls, come unto thee and ask pardon of God, and the Apostle ask pardon* " ' *for them, they shall surely find God easy to be reconciled and merciful* (4). Now " ' I have come unto thee, acknowledging my faults and transgressions, and hoping " ' for thy intercession.' He here wept again and returned to his house, where he " died the same day." His poetical productions have been collected into a *diwân* and are very fine. Here are some extracts from it :

I shall punish my eyes, heedless whether they shed tears or drop blood; and I shall forego the pleasure of sleep till it become for my eyelids a thing forbidden. My eyes cast me into the nets of temptation, and, had they not looked (*on beauty*), I should have remained a pious Moslim. They shed my blood (5), therefore shall I shed their tears; 'twas they which commenced (*to trangress*) and are therefore more culpable (*than I*).

Though I love thee, I seem insensible, but this heart of mine is filled with pain and anguish. Think not that I have forgotten thee; a man may appear in health and yet be unwell.

Must the best part of my life and yours pass away without our meeting? that would be a severe infliction! but if deceitful fortune ever grant me to meet you, then, despite my poverty, I shall be happy.

Ar-Rûdrâwari drew up a continuation to Abû Ali Ahmad Ibn Muhammad Ibn Miskawaih's (*vol. I. p. 464*) *Tajârib al-Umam,* the celebrated historical work which is in every body's hands. Ibn Abd al-Malik al-Hamadâni says in his History: "Arrayed "in piety, a supporter of religion, a patron and kind protector of pious men, a "chastiser of perversity, he displayed virtues which remind me of the equity of the just. "He never went out of his house without transcribing a portion of the Korân and "reading part of that sacred volume; he paid the legal alms-tax on all his real "property, such as goods, estates, and fiefs. He gave large charities in secret: "having one day received a note mentioning that, in such a house, in the street of "the Pitch-seller (*darb al-Kaiyâr*) there was a woman with four orphan children, "naked and hungry, he called for one of his followers and said: 'Go clothe that "'family and give them to eat.' He then took off his clothes and, having sworn "not to put them on nor warm himself till the messenger returned and informed "him that his orders had been executed, he waited, trembling with cold, till that "person came back. His charities were immense."—*Rûdrâwari* means *belonging to Rûdrâwar* (روذراور), a village in the neighbourhood of Hamadân.

(1) See vol. II. page 201.

(2) The title of this work sufficiently implies that it was a *continuation* of some biographical or historical treatise. It is not noticed by Hajji Khalifa.

(3) Probably the Seljûkide empire and that of the khalif.

(4) Korân, sûrat 4, verse 67.

(5) That is: My eyes exposed my heart to the wounds inflicted by beauty.

AL-AMID AL-KUNDURI.

Abû Nasr Muhammad Ibn Mansûr Ibn Muhammad, surnamed Amîd al-Mulk *column of the empire*) al-Kunduri, was one of the most eminent men of the age for

beneficence, liberality, acuteness of mind, and abilities as a *kâtib*. Having been chosen for vizir by the Seljûk sultan Toghrulbek, he rose to the highest rank in the service of that monarch and administered the state with uncontrolled authority (1). He was the first who filled the place of vizir under this dynasty, and, had he no other merit (2) but that of his intimacy with the *imâm* al-Haramain Abd al-Malik al-Juwaini (*vol. II. p.* 120), the Shafite doctor and author of the *Nihâya tal-Matlab* (*that alone would have sufficed for his reputation*). It is as-Samâni (*vol. II. p.* 156) who mentions the fact in the notice on the *imâm* which he has inserted in his Supplement. After enlarging on the character of this doctor and noticing the journeys which he undertook to different countries, he says : "And, having gone to "Baghdad, he became a companion of Abû Nasr al-Amîd al-Kunduri and accom-"panied him in his (*official*) circuits (*through the empire*); he met also at his court "the most eminent jurisconsults (*of the country*) and attained great skill in contro-"versy by the conflict (3) of his genius with theirs in learned discussions. He then "got into reputation." I must here observe that as-Samâni's words are in contradiction with the statement of our *shaikh* Ibn al-Athîr (*vol. II. p.* 288), in his History. This writer says, under the year 456 (A. D. 1064) : "The vizir (*al-Amîd al-Kun-*"*duri*) displayed a violent prejudice against the Shafite sect and frequently inveighed "against (*its founder*) the *imâm* as-Shâfi; to such lengths was he carried by the spirit "of party, that, having obtained permission from the sultan Alp Arslân to have "curses pronounced against the Rafidites (*the Shîites*) from the pulpits of Khorâsân, "he caused the Asharites (*vol. II. p.* 227) to be included in the same malediction (4). "This proceeding gave such scandal to the *imâms* (*doctors of law and of divinity*) "of Khorâsân, that some of them, including Abû 'l-Kâsim al-Kushairi (*vol. II.* "*p.* 152) and the Imâm al-Haramain al-Juwaini left the country. The latter then "passed four years at Mekka, teaching (*jurisprudence*) and giving opinions, as a "*mufti*, on points of law. It was for this reason that he received his surname (5). "When Nizâm al-Mulk (*vol. I. p.* 413) came into power, he recalled the emigrants "and treated them with marked honour and kindness. It is said that, at a later "period, al-Kunduri repented of his invectives against as-Shâfi; if this be true, "'tis so much the better for himself." The praises of Amîd al-Mulk al-Kunduri were celebrated by numerous poets who came to visit his court, and the greatest masters of the age in the art of verse, such as Abû 'l-Hasan Ali 'l-Bâkharzi (*vol. II. p.* 323) and the *râis* Abû Mansûr Ali Ibn al-Hasan Ibn Ali Ibn al-Fadl Surr-Durr

(*vol. II. p.* 321), extolled him in their poems. The latter composed in his honour the following *kasîda* rhyming in *n* :

Is (*disdain*) the reward which all (*my*) fellow-men receive for their love? or rather, is this the nature of the large-eyed gazelles (*maidens*)? Relate to me the history of those who fell victims to love; the afflicted live only in their sympathy for other's woes. You may conceal from me their fate through apprehension; but (*every lover*) knows the fate of the Ozrite and of Majnûn (6). Mounted on their camels—but let me avoid long comparisons,—yet I shall say that theirs were charms which ravished every soul and every eye. Gracefully bending their taper waists, they said in sportive mood to the zephyr : "Does the willow bear branches as pliant as "ours?" Behind those lips is a source of which the pebbless are pearls (*teeth*) hidden from view; is it honey which is contained between them or rather intoxicating wine (7)? (*Companion of my journey!*) you cast your eyes to the right and left, over these paths; but even were you gifted with the sharp sight of Zarkâ tal-Yamâma (8), (*you could distinguish nothing, for even*) she never saw a living cloud darting its lightnings over Jîrûn (9). You complain of long and weary nights, but I am deprived of sleep by the shades which the dark locks and ringlets of my mistress spread around. A censor rebuked me for my passion, and I replied : "Be not so "prompt! those tears are my own and so are my sighs. If they avail me not (*to gain her* "*heart*), what will avail me the vigour of youth and the intercession of my twenty years?" (*But come, my heart!*) be not cast down by the blame of thy censor; thou art not the first which, though resolute, yielded to temptation. Can I require from strangers that they conform to my wishes whilst my heart within my bosom obeys me not? My devotion to their gazelles (*maidens*) was not exacted from me; by what right then should they exact from me pledges (*of fidelity*)? For a moment I feared that my heart would fly and join them, but I forced it to give bail. I can support every affliction except dishonour; contempt is a torture for noble minds. As grains of dust pain my eyes, so also does the sight of men who, devoid (*of virtue*), notwithstanding their wealth and (*the precepts of*) religion, only ressemble the human race in being formed of a (*yet more*) fetid clay; whose looks are ill-omened and whose aspect defiles; so that, after seeing them, I must cleanse my eyes and exhaust all their waters to make them pure. If they count their treasures, there they surpass me; but if they enumerate their virtues, I am their superior. Let not the environs rejoice in the disappointment of my hopes; the moon does not round its orb till it has appeared like a palm-leaf in thinness. Yet this noisy road (*of human life*) speeds forward the camel (*of my worldly course*), and this ocean impels before it the ship laden (*with my hopes*). And, when the abode of Amîd al-Mulk is adorned by victory, we exclaim : "A happy "omen!" When the resolution of that prince spurs on his generous steeds, they hasten forward with their brilliant riders of bold and lofty bearing. Seldom did I see his shining forehead but mine compelled me to fall prostrate before him. Men's eyes perceive on his throne and on his saddle, the lion in his den, and the moon which dispels the darkness. His beneficence extends to all mankind, and he receives the thanks of the rich accompanied by the blessings of the poor. When they direct their attacks towards his (*generosity*), they exclaim (*struck with his prompt liberality*) : Are these sums given from his bounty or paid to us as a debt? Had he lived in ancient times, riches would have complained of his tyranny and appealed to Kârûn (10). The treasures of his wealth are free to every man; then ask him only for the treasures of his learning. To obtain favours at his court, asking is superfluous, and the reward of services is never granted with regret. I swore to meet all the virtues, knowing well that, in

seeing him, I should fulfil my oath. He sways the state and abandons not his intentions through fear, neither does he exchange courage for weakness. Like the sword, the marks of his splendour appear on his blade (*his exterior*), and his sharpness in his well-protected edge (*acuteness of mind*). His glory bears witness that the substance of his person is musk, whilst that of other men's is clay.

He recited this *kasîda* to Amîd al-Mulk on the arrival of the latter at Irâk, where he appeared on the throne of the vizirate and in the height of his exalted rank. I have given here the whole of this excellent and exquisite poem, with the exception of three verses which did not please me. A number of poets have composed imitations of it in the same rhyme and measure, Ibn at Taâwîzi (*p.* 162 *of this vol.*), for instance, whose *kasîda* begins thus :

If thy custom, when in love, resembles mine, stop thy camels at the two sand-hills of Yabrîn (11).

This poem, which displays extraordinary talent, was composed in praise of the sultan Salâh ad-Dîn, who was then in Syria, and the author sent it to him from Irâk. Did I not wish to avoid prolixity, I should give it here. I have (*since*) inserted it in my notice on Salâh ad-Dîn Yûsuf Ibn Aiyûb, and there the reader will find it. Ibn al-Muallim (*p.* 168 *of this vol.*) imitated it also in a *kasîda* beginning thus :

Why does the camel-rider stop at Yabrîn ? is not his heart free from the pains inflicted by the large-eyed gazelles ?

This also is a good poem, and I have given a part of it in the life of the author. Al-Ablah (*p.* 159 *of this vol.*) also composed a piece in imitation of it; but, on the whole, Ibn at-Taâwîzi's is the only one which comes near it. These remarks have led us away from our subject, but discourse naturally runs into digressions which we cannot help inserting.—Amîd al-Mulk continued in high power and credit during the reign of Toghrulbek; on the death of that sovereign, his nephew and successor Alp Arslân confirmed the vizir in his post and raised him to a higher rank and additional honours. Some time afterwards, this monarch resolved on contracting an alliance with Khowârezm Shâh, and sent Amîd al-Mulk to demand for him that prince's daughter in marriage. The vizir's enemies then spread the report that he had asked her hand for himself, and this news having reached his ears, he conceived so serious an apprehension of his master's displeasure, that he shaved off his beard and

eradicated from his body every attribute of manhood. By this act he saved his life. Some say that he was castrated by the sultan's orders. In allusion to this, Abû 'l-Hasan Ali 'l-Bâkharzi composed the following lines :

They say that, in your absence, the sultan deprived that rampant stallion of every mark of virility. I replied : " Be silent! he is now increased in virility since the removal of his testicles. " Every male scorns that any part of him should be called *female* (12), and he therefore cut " them away by the roots."

This idea is singularly original. In the month of Muharram, A. H. 456 (Dec.-Jan. A. D. 1063-4), Alp Arslân dismissed him from office, for motives too long to relate, and confided the vizirship to Nizâm al-Mulk Abû Ali al-Hasan at-Tûsi (*vol. I. p.* 413). He afterwards imprisoned Amîd al-Mulk at Naisâpûr, in the palace of the governor (*amîd*) of Khorâsân, whence, at a later period, he was removed to Marw ar-Rûd and confined in a house, a closet of which was allotted to his only daughter and the other members of his family. On discovering that his death had been resolved on, he went into the closet and, having bid a last farewell to his relatives, he took out a shroud (*which he kept ready prepared*); he then locked the door of the closet, and having performed his ablutions and offered up a prayer of two *rakas*, he gave one hundred Naisapurian dinars to the executioner and said to him : " What I require " of you is, that you shroud my corpse in this cloth, which I washed in the (*holy*) " waters of (*the well*) Zemzem, and that you say to the vizir Nizâm al-Mulk : You " have acted wrong in teaching the Turks to put to death their vizirs and the chiefs " of the civil administration ; he that digs a pit shall fall into it ; he that traces out " and acts by an evil line of conduct shall bear the sin of it and the sins of all those " who follow his example." He then yielded with resignation to the sealed decree of God, and was executed on Sunday, the 16th of Zû 'l-Hijja, A. H. 456 (29th november, A. D. 1064), being then aged upwards of forty years. In allusion to this event, the poet al-Bâkharzi composed the following lines in which he addresses Alp Arslân :

Thy uncle took him into favour and, raising him to honours, he gave him a spacious residence in (*the edifice of*) the empire. Every prince in thy family did justice to his servants ; (*thy uncle*) therefore bestowed on him prosperity, and thou hast bestowed on him paradise.

It is worthy of remark that his testicles were buried in Khowârezm, his blood was shed at Marw ar-Rûd, his body was interred at Kundur, his native village, his skull and

brain at Naisâpûr, and his *scrotum* was stuffed with straw and sent to Nizâm al-Mulk, at Kirmân, where it was committed to the earth. What a lesson for those who are capable of reflexion, that a man who was the first *râis* of his time should meet with such a fate!—*Kunduri* means *belonging to Kundur*, a village in *Turaithîth*, a district in the neighbourhood of Naisâpûr which has produced a number of eminent men, some of them remarkable for learning.

(1) Literally: And to none of his colleagues (*it pertained to bandy*) words with him.

(2) I read with one of the MSS. ولو لم يكن له منقبة الا صحبة الخ. The corresponding member of the phrase is لكفاه; it has disappeared from the text in consequence of the additional observations inserted afterwards by the author, and which made him lose sight of this word, which is indispensable.

(3) Or more literally: By the rubbing يحتك.

(4) The Asharites were the scholastics of the musulman religion. It was from them that our scholastics of the middle ages learned, indirectly, the method of demonstrating the dogmas of the faith by means of principles drawn from human reason. They followed, in general, the doctrines of Aristotle. Most of them belonged to the sect, or school of divinity and law, which had been founded by the *imâm* as-Shâfi. In their belief, they were perfectly orthodox.

(5) See vol. II. page 120.

(6) By the *Ozrite*, he means the poet Jamîl; see vol. I. page 331. For *Majnûn*, see d'Herbelot's *Bibliothèque Orientale*, art. *Megnoun*, and M. de Sacy's *Anthologie grammaticale*, page 150.

(7) Literally: Are not the houses of the bee arranged within these lips, or else do they contain a shop for wine?

(8) See M. de Sacy's *Chrestomathie*, tome II. page 446.

(9) The poet here compares to flashes of lightning the glances shot from the eyes of his mistress. Jîrûn is a village outside Damascus.

(10) Kârûn, the Korah of the Bible (Numb. xvi), possessed immense riches, carefully locked up, if we are to believe the legend given in the Korân, sûrat 28, verse 76 *et seq.*

(11) Yabrîn is a sandy region in the south-east of Arabia.

(12) *Unthiâni*, the Arabic term for testicles, is the dual of *untha*, a word which signifies *female*.

THE VIZIR JAMAL AD-DIN AL-JAWAD AL-ISPAHANI.

Abû Jaafar Muhammad Ibn Ali Ibn Abi Mansûr al-Ispahâni, surnamed Jamâl ad-Dîn (*beauty of religion*) and generally known by the appellation of al-Jawâd (*the bounti-*

ful), was vizir to the sovereign of Mosul. His grandfather Abû Mansûr was one of the persons employed in the hunting establishment of the sultan Malak Shâh Ibn Alp Arslân, as keepers of the onces. His father, Ali, received a good education, and being ambitious of distinction, he rose to several high offices in the state and contracted matrimonial alliances with families of the first rank. Jamâl ad-Dîn was educated under his parent's tuition, and having obtained a situation in the service of the sultan Mahmûd Ibn Muhammad Ibn Malak Shâh, as member of the military inspection office, he gave great satisfaction by his conduct and the abilities which he displayed in that post. When the *atâbek* Zinki Ibn Ak Sunkur (*vol. I. p.* 539), obtained the sovereignty of Mosul and the neighbouring countries, he took Jamâl ad-Dîn into his service and honoured him with his particular favour. Having then proceeded with him to Mosul, he conferred on him the government of Nasîbîn, and, in consequence of the able manner with which he filled the duties of that office, he augmented his jurisdiction by the addition of ar-Rahaba. Here the talents and integrity of Jamâl ad-Dîn appeared conspicuous and, having been admitted into the intimacy of his sovereign and received into the number of his boon companions, he was appointed by him inspector (*musharrif*) of the entire principality and authorised to act with unlimited power. Diâ ad-Dîn Abû Saîd Bahrâm Ibn al-Khidr al-Kafratûthi, whom the *atâbek* Zinki had chosen for vizir in the year 528 (A. D. 1133-4), having died in office, on the fifth of Shaabân, A. H. 536 (March, A. D. 1142), Abû 'r-Rida Ibn Sadaka was appointed to succeed him, and Jamâl ad-Dîn continued to occupy his former post. The amiable disposition of Jamâl ad-Dîn, and his conversation, equally elegant and amusing, gave such pleasure to the *atâbek* Zinki, that he admitted him into the number of his boon companions; and in the latter part of his reign he confided to him the presidency of the *diwân* (*board of administration*). Jamâl ad-Dîn thus acquired great wealth, but, during the lifetime of Zinki, he neither displayed the generosity and beneficence nor any other of the qualities (*for which he was afterwards distinguished*). When the *atâbek* Zinki met with his death at the siege of Kalât Jaabar (A. H. 541, A. D. 1146), part of the troops attempted to slay the vizir and plunder his wealth; they attacked his tent and shot arrows against it, but were repulsed by some of the emirs who took his defence. Having then led the army back to Mosul, he was confirmed in the vizirship by Saif ad-Dîn Ghâzi (*vol. II. p.* 440), the son of the *atâbek* Zinki, who entrusted to him and Zain ad-Dîn Ali Ibn Baktikîn the entire administration of the empire. Of Zain ad-Dîn we have already

spoken in the life of his son, Muzaffar ad-Dîn, lord of Arbela (*vol. II. p.* 535). From that moment, the vizir displayed the generous disposition of his heart; he gave away with open hand, and he continued lavishing his wealth and spending immense sums, till his reputation for beneficence was so universally established, that he became known by the name of Jamâl ad-Dîn al-Jawâd (*the bountiful*). A number of poets celebrated his praises, and one of them, Muhammad Ibn Nasr Ibn Saghîr al-Kaisarâni (*p.* 155 *of this vol.*), went and recited in his presence the celebrated *kasîda* which begins by this verse :

> Blessings on those (*fair*) gazelles in the western borders of az-Zaurâ (1), who quenched their thirst with the life's water of our hearts !

Amongst the numerous monuments which he left of his beneficence, we may mention the aqueduct by which water was brought from a great distance to Arafât during the days of the pilgrimage, the stairs leading from the foot to the summit of that mountain (2), the wall around Medîna, and the reparations of the mosque of the Prophet. Every year he sent to Mekka and Medîna money and clothing sufficient for the wants of the poor and destitute during the next twelve months : he had a special register-office for the persons to whom he granted pensions or who applied for pecuniary assistance. So various were his deeds of beneficence that, during a famine which afflicted Mosul, he spent all he possessed in alleviating the misery of the people. His *iktâ* (*grant from government*) consisted in the tenth part of the produce of the soil; such being the usual allowance to vizirs under the Seljûk government. One of his intendants related that the vizir, whom he went to see one day, handed him his *bakyâr* (3) and told him to sell it and give the money to those who were in need. The intendant observed to him that he had only two *bakyârs* remaining, that, and the one which was on his head, so that, if he wished to change (*his head-dress*), he would not then have another to put on. To this the vizir replied : " The " times are hard, as you see, and perhaps I may not again find a moment so favo- " rable as the present for doing an act of charity; as for the *bakyâr*, I can easily find " something to supply its place." The intendant then withdrew and, having sold the *bakyâr*, he distributed the money to the poor. A great number of similar anecdotes are related of Jamâl ad-Dîn. He continued in office till the death of his master Ghâzi (*in A. H.* 544, *A. D.* 1149) and, on the accession of that prince's brother, Kutb ad-Dîn Maudûd, he acquired great influence over the new sovereign. After some

time, however, Maudûd judged his *iktâ* too great, and, being weary of the preponderance which he had acquired, he had him arrested in the month of Rajab, A. H. 558 (June-July, A. D. 1163). In the history of Zain ad-Dîn, lord of Arbela, will be found a short account of al-Jawâd's arrestation and his imprisonment in the citadel of Mosul (4). He died in confinement on one of the last ten days of Ramadân— some say, of Shaabân—A. H. 559 (August, A. D. 1164), and was interred at Mosul. When the funeral service was said over his corpse, crowds of poor persons, widows, and orphans attended the ceremony and made the air resound with their lamentations. The following year, his body was conveyed to Mekka and borne in procession around the Kaaba, after having been taken to the top of Mount Arafât on the night during which the pilgrims station there (5). Every day that they remained at Mekka, they carried his body around the Kaaba at different times. On the day of its arrival at that city, crowds assembled about it, weeping and lamenting. It is said that the like of such a day was never witnessed at Mekka. There was a man appointed to accompany the corpse and proclaim the noble deeds and virtues of the deceased at every sacred spot which the pilgrims are accustomed to visit: when they arrived at the Kaaba, that man stood forward and said:

> O Kaaba of Islamism! he who cometh here to visit thee was a kaaba (*centre*) of beneficence. Thou art visited once a year, but not a day passed without his receiving visits (*from the needy*).

The corpse was then borne to Medîna and interred in the Bakî cemetery, after having been taken into the city and carried, a number of times, around the enclosure of the Prophet's tomb. On this occasion the same person pronounced these lines:

> His bier was borne on men's shoulders, but how often did they bear (*the load*) his gifts! When he passes by the valley, its sands speak his praise, and when he passes by the assembled people, the widows bewail his loss.

These verses are taken from a *kasîda* which shall be noticed in the life of Mukallad Ibn Nasr Ibn Munkid as-Shaizari.—Jalâl ad-Dîn Abû 'l-Hasan Ali, the son of Jamâl ad-Dîn al-Jawâd, was an accomplished scholar, a man of merit, eloquent and liberal. I have seen the *diwân* (*collection*) of his epistles, in which species of composition he displayed great talent. This collection was made by Majd ad-Dîn Abû 's-Saâdât al-Mubârak, surnamed Ibn al-Athîr al-Jazari (*vol. II. p.* 551,) the author of the *Jâmi al-Osûl*. He entitled it: *Kitâb al-Jawâhir wa 'l-Laâli min al-*

Imlâ il-Maulawi 'l-Wazîri 'l-Jalâli (*jewels and pearls from the dictations of the lord vizir Jalâl ad-Dîn*). Majd ad-Dîn commenced life as private secretary to Jalâl ad-Dîn, being employed, not only to write down, under his dictation, the epistles and other productions of his mind, but to sign (*official papers*) in his name. He alludes to this circumstance towards the beginning of the book, and praises him in the highest terms, extolling him above all preceding writers for the elegance of his style. He speaks also of an epistolary correspondence carried on between Jalâl ad-Dîn and Hais-Bais (*vol. I. p.* 559); some of these letters he gives, and I should insert part of them here were I not afraid of being led too far. I shall only notice one, because it is very short; it was composed by Hais-Bais in the name of a man greatly in debt: "(*Thy*) generosity is flourishing, thy renown wide-spread; to succour against mis-"fortune is the noblest support (*of a generous man's reputation*), and to assist the "afflicted (*is his*) richest treasure. Adieu." Jalâl ad-Dîn was vizir to Saif ad-Dîn Ghâzi (*vol. II. p.* 441), the son of Kutb ad-Dîn. He died A. H. 564 (A. D. 1168-9) at Dunyaser, and his body was taken to Mosul and thence to Medîna; on the dweller therein (*Muhammad*), the best of blessings and salutations! where it was interred in the funeral chapel of his father (*Jamâl ad-Dîn al-Jawad*).—*Dunyaser* is a city in Mesopotamia, between Nasîbîn and Râs Aîn; merchants resort thither from all quarters, as it is situated at a point where the roads of that country meet. Hence it derives its name; *Dunyaser* being a Persian compound word altered from *Dunyâ Ser* (*the world's head*); it being the custom of the Persians to place the consequent before antecedent when in the relation of the genitive case. *Ser* means *head* in Persian.—*Kafratûthi* means *belonging to Kafratûtha* (6), a village in Mesopotamia, between Râs Aîn and Dârâ.

(1) A number of places in Arabia bear the name of *az-Zaura* (*inflexa, incurva*). It is also one of the names of the river Tigris, and is poetically used to designate the city of Baghdad.

(2) These stairs are still in existence. See Burckhardt's *Travels in Arabia*, vol. II. page 41.

(3) Meninski gives, on the authority of Castel, the following explanation of this word, which he indicates as Persian: Tapeti non villosi genus, *nigrum, ex pilis camelinis*. In the passage of Ibn Khallikân, it evidently denotes a sort of covering for the head; perhaps a shawl. See, however M. Dozy's *Vêtements des Arabes*, p. 87.

(4) An account of Jamâl ad-Dîn al-Jawâd's fall will be found in Imâd ad-Dîn al-Ispahâni's *History of the Atabeks*; MS. of the *Bibliothèque impériale*, ancien fonds, No. 818, page 266.

(5) *Station* (*wakfa*); see Burckhardt's *Travels in Arabia*, vol. II. page 46.

(6) According to Abû 'l-Fedâ, this name is pronounced *Kafartûtha*.

THE KATIB IMAD AD-DIN AL-ISPAHANI.

Abû Abd Allah Muhammad Ibn Safi 'd-Dîn Abi 'l-Faraj Muhammad Ibn Nafîs ad-Dîn Abî 'r-Rajâ Hâmid Ibn Muhammad Ibn Abd Allah Ibn Ali Ibn Mahmûd Ibn Hibat Allah, known by the appellation of Aluh (1), and surnamed Imâd ad-Dîn (*pillar of religion*) al-Kâtib al-Ispahâni (*the scribe of Ispahân*), was distinguished by the appellation of Ibn Akhi 'l-Azîz (*the nephew of Azîz ad-Dîn*). We have already spoken of his uncle (*in our first volume, p.* 170), under the letter *hamza*. Imâd ad-Dîn al-Ispahâni was a doctor of the Shafite Sect; he studied the law, for some time, at the *Nizâmiya* college (*vol. II. p.* 164) and mastered the science of polemic divinity and the various branches of polite literature. His poems and epistles are so well known that we need not enlarge on the subject. Having passed his first years in Ispahân, he removed to Baghdad while yet a boy and took lessons in jurisprudence from the *shaikh* Abû Mansûr Saîd Ibn Muhammad Ibn ar-Razzâz (2), a professor of the *Nizamiya* college. He learned Traditions in the same city from Abû 'l-Hasan Ali Ibn Hibat Allah Ibn Abd as-Salâm, Abû Mansûr Muhammad Ibn Abd al-Malik Ibn Jîrûn, Abû 'l-Makârim al-Mubârak Ibn Ali as-Samarkandi, Abû Bakr Ahmad Ibn Ali Ibn al-Ashkar, and other masters. Having resided there till he completed his education and attained a great proficiency in erudition, he courted the patronage of the vizir Aûn ad-Dîn Yahya Ibn Hubaira (3), who was then at Baghdad, and obtained from him the inspectorship (*of the administration in the province*) of Basra. Some time after, he received his appointment to the same post in Wâsit, and thenceforward he continued removing from one place to another, during the remainder of his life. After the death of Aûn ad-Dîn (*in A. H.* 560, *A. D.* 1165), the band of his followers and of all connected with him was dissolved; some had to encounter the strokes of adversity, and Imâd ad-Dîn remained for a time in poverty and misery (4). He then proceeded to Damascus, where he arrived in the month of Shaabân, A. H. 562 (May-June, A. D. 1167), and obtained an introduction to the *kadi* Kamâl ad-Dîn Abû 'l-Fadl Muhammad Ibn as-Shahrozûri (*vol. II. p.* 646) who, at that time, acted as chief magistrate, governor of the city and minister of the empire, in the name of the sultan al-Malik al-Aâdil Nûr ad-Dîn Abû 'l-Kâsim Mahmûd (5), the son of the



atâbek Zinki. Happening, then, to discuss a question of controversy in the presence of the *kâdi*, on a day in which he received company, Imâd ad-Dîn was recognised by the grand emir Najm ad-Dîn Abû 's-Shukr Aiyûb (*vol. I. p.* 243), the father of the sultan Salâh ad-Dîn, who had known his uncle al-Azîz at the castle of Tikrît (*vol. I. p.* 170). From that moment, Najm ad-Dîn treated him with the kindest attention and granted him such marks of honour as placed him on a rank with the men the most eminent and the most distinguished. Through his means, Imâd ad-Dîn became known to the sultan Sâlah ad-Dîn, who was then at Damascus, and obtained an opportunity of celebrating the praises of that prince. Imâd ad-Dîn mentions these particulars in his work entitled *al-Bark as-Shâmi*, and he there gives the *kasîda* which he composed in honour of Salâh ad-Dîn. The *kâdi* Kamâl ad-Dîn then extolled his merit and capacity in the presence of the sultan Nûr ad-Dîn and recommended him as person perfectly well qualified to draw up the state correspondence (*kitâba tâl-Inshâ*). "I hesitated," says Imâd ad-Dîn, "engaging in an occupation "which lay completely out of my line and out of my profession, and for which I "had no previous experience;" but it is nevertheless certain that he posseded all the talents requisite for this office, only he had not yet applied them. At first, he was afraid of undertaking the duties of such a place, but he had no sooner commenced than every difficulty disappeared, and the ability with which he filled it was testified by the excellence of his productions. He drew up epistles equally well in Persian and in Arabic. A close and intimate friendship was then formed between him and Salâh ad-Dîn. Having risen into high favour with Nûr ad-Dîn, he became the depositary of that prince's secrets, and was sent by him on a mission to the court of the *imâm* al-Mustanjid, at Baghdad. On his return, he was appointed by Nùr ad-Dîn to a professorship in the college now called after him *al-Imâdiya*. This nomination took place in the month of Rajab, A. H. 567 (Feb.-March, A. D. 1172). The following year, Nûr ad-Dîn conferred on him the presidency of the council of state (*ishrâf ad-diwân*). Imâd ad-Dîn's prosperity and tranquillity of mind continued untroubled till the death of his sovereign (*A. H.* 569, *A. D.* 1174) and the accession of his son al-Malik as-Sâlih Ismaîl. This prince, who was quite a boy, allowed himself to be circumvented and governed by some individuals who bore a deep enmity to Imâd ad-Dîn, and the latter was forced by their encroachments and threats to give up all his places and depart for Baghdad. On arriving at Mosul, he had a severe illness and, learning that the sultan Salâh ad-Dîn had left Egypt with the intention

of occupying Damascus, he gave up his journey to Irâk and resolved on returning to Syria. Having left Mosul on the 4th of the first Jumâda, A. H. 570 (1st December, A. C. 1174), he took the road which leads across the desert, and arrived at Damascus on the eighth of the following month, whilst Salâh ad-Dîn was encamped outside of Aleppo. He then set out to pay his respects to that prince, who had already taken possession of Emessa since the month of Shaabân, and, being admitted into his presence, he recited to him a *kasîda* in which he displayed great elevation of mind. From that time, he continued to follow the court, journeying when the sultan journeyed and stopping when he stopped. A considerable period elapsed before he could obtain a situation, and, during that time, he attended the levees of Salâh ad-Dîn and recited eulogiums to him on every fitting opportunity, alluding occasionally to their former acquaintance. Having at length succeeded in entering the sultan's service, he became the secretary, and obtained the confidence of his master. The high favour which he now enjoyed placed him on a level with the most eminent men at court, enabled him to assume the state of a vizir and to engage in that career. As for al-Kâdi 'l-Fâdil (*vol. II. p.* 111), he was generally absent from court, being wholly engaged in directing the administration of Egypt, whilst Imâd ad-Dîn, whom the sultan had now chosen as the depositary of his most secret thoughts, never left the imperial presence, but accompanied his sovereign to Syria and the other provinces of the empire. It was he who composed the *as-Sirr al-Maktûm* (6). He wrote also a number of useful works, such as the *Kharîda tal-Kasr wa Jarîda tal-Asr* (*the virgin of the palace and palm branch of the age*), designed by him as a continuation to Abû 'l-Maâli Saad al-Hazîri's *Zîna tad-Dahr* (*vol. I. p.* 563), which work was meant as a continuation of al-Bâkharzi's *Dumya tal-Kasr* (*vol. II. p.* 323), which was written as a continuation to ath-Thaâlibi's *Yatîma tad-Dahr* (*vol. II. p.* 130). Ath-Thaâlibi meant his work to serve as continuation to Harûn Ibn Ali 'l-Munajjim's *Kitâb al-Bârî*: we shall give the life of this author. The *Kharîda* of Imâd ad-Dîn contains an account of the poets who flourished between the years 500 (A. D. 1106) and 572 (A. D. 1176); it includes, with the exception of a few obscure individuals, all the poets of Irâk, Syria, Mesopotamia, Egypt, and Maghrib (7), and attests the great abilities of the author. It forms ten volumes (8). His work, *al-Bark as-Shâmi* (*the Syrian Lightning*), in seven volumes, is devoted to historical subjects. The author commences with the history of his own life and gives an account of his journey from Irâk to Syria, and of what happened to him when in the service of the

sultan Nûr ad-Dîn Mahmûd. He then relates by what means he got attached to the service of the sultan Salâh ad-Dîn, and notices some of the conquests achieved in Syria. He entitled this useful book *the Syrian Lightning*, because the hours he spent in those days resembled the lightning flash in the pleasure which they gave (9) and the rapidity with which they passed away. His *al-Fath al-Kussi fi 'l-Fath al-Kudsi* (*the Kossian* (10) *elucidation on the conquest of Jerusalem*), forms two volumes and contains an account of the manner in which Jerusalem was taken (*from the Crusaders* (11). His *Sail ala 'z-Zail* (*torrent after the train*, or *after the rain*) was designed by him as a supplement to the work which Ibn as-Samâni (*vol. II. p.* 156) composed as a continuation (or *supplement*, zail) to the Khatîb's (*vol. I. p.* 75) History of Baghdad. So, at least, I heard said, but, having met with the work, I found it to be a continuation of the *Kharîda tal-Kasr*. In his *Nusra tal-Fitra wa Osra tal-Fetra* (*succour against languor and asylum for the human race* (?)), he relates the history of the Seljûk dynasty (12). He left also a *diwân* (*collection*) of epistles, and another of poems, in four volumes. In these *kasîdas*, he displays a lofty mind. Another *diwân* of his, a small one, is composed entirely of quatrains (*dûbait*). Numerous interesting letters and conversations passed between him and al-Kâdi 'l-Fâdil: it is related that, meeting him one day on horseback, he said: "Proceed, and may thy "horse never stumble with thee (Sir fala kaba bik al-Faras)!" to which the *kâdi* replied: "May the glory of Imâd ad-Dîn endure (Dâm ala al-Imâd)!" These phrases may be equally read backwards and forwards (13).—They were one day riding in the suite of the sultan and, being struck with wonder at the clouds of dust raised by the numerous horsemen and hiding all the plain, Imâd ad-Dîn recited to him extempore the following lines:

> The dust is raised by the horses' hoofs (*as-sanâbik*); the sky is darkened by it, but it receives light from the brightness of thy presence (anâra bihi *as-sanâbik*). O fortune! (*spare*) me Abd ar-Rahîm (24), and I shall not fear the touch of thy fangs (*massa nâbik*).

In these three verses he has hit on a beautiful play of words.—Al-Kâdi 'l-Fâdil having set out from Egypt in the year 574 (A. D. 1178-9), to perform the pilgrimage, he took shipping on his way, and Imâd ad-Dîn addressed in the following letter: "Happiness to the *Hijr* and to al-Hajûn (15) from the possessor of caution and "intelligence (16), from him whose glory reaches the stars and whose presence en-"lightens the darkness! (*Happiness*) to the assembly at the Kaaba from (*him who is*)

" the pivot (*kaab*) of generosity, and to the sacred offerings from one who points out
" the true path! (*Happiness*) to the noble station (*of Abraham*) from that noble pre-
" sence, and to the *hatîm* (17) from him who breaketh the back of poverty. When
" he appears, he seems a pyramid in the sacred territory, and a bird hovering around
" him who draws the Zemzem waters; on sea, he is a sea (*of generosity*); on land,
" beneficence itself. Koss has now returned to his Okâz (18), and Kais has come
" back with his Traditionists. Admire a *kaaba* visited by one who is a kaaba (*centre
" or source*) of bounty and munificence; (*admire*) a *kibla* (19) towards which advances
" one who is the central point of (*universal*) favour and regard. Farewell." This note is composed with singular art and ingenuity, but the writer is evidently mistaken when he speaks of Kais and his Traditionists; he should have said ***Anas with his Traditionists***, in accordance with the well known saying: *Anas* (master) *of the Traditionists* (*Anas al-Huffâz*) (20). They were four brothers, each bearing a particular surname. Their history I should give here were I not afraid of lengthening this notice and being led away from my subject.—On the death of the vizir Aûn ad-Dîn Ibn Hubaira, the government of the khalifate (*ad-dîwân al-azîz, the majestic board*) arrested a number of his followers and, amongst them, Imâd ad-Dîn, because he was then acting as his deputy at Wâsit. In the month of Shaabân, A. H. 560 (June-July, A. D. 1165), Imâd ad-Dîn addressed from his prison a *kasîda*, containing the following lines, to Imâd ad-Dîn Ibn Adud ad-Dîn Ibn Raîs ar-Ruwasâ, who was then acting as mayor of the palace (*ustâd ad-dâr*) to the khalif al-Mustanjid:

> Say to the *imâm*: " Wherefore the emprisonment of your client (*wali*)? let your kindness be " shewn to one who always served you faithfully. " When the cloud withheld its showers (*wali*), did not his father, by his prayers, set them free?

(*On hearing these lines, the khalif*) ordered him to be set at liberty. They contain an original thought and an allusion to the history of Omar Ibn al-Khattâb and al-Abbâs, the son of Abd al-Muttalib and the uncle of the Prophet. Under the khalifate of Omar, a drought prevailed which threatened the earth with steritily, and he went out accompanied by the people to pray for rain. Having taken his station, he pronounced these words: " Almighty God! when we suffered from drought we used to " solicit thy assistance through thy favour for our Prophet, but, to day we implore " it through thy favour for the uncle of our Prophet; grant us rain." And rain was granted. The word *wali*, in the verses just given, signifies the rain which comes

after the *wasmi*, or first rains of spring; it is called *wali* (*follower*) because it *follows* the *wasmi;* and the *wasmi* is so called because it marks (*wasam*) the surface of the earth with plants. It is the adjective formed from *wasm* (*mark*). Al-Mutanabbi has employed both terms in the following verse :

Will that gazelle (*maiden*) grant me the favour of renewed affection, the first shower (*wasmi*) of whose kindness was never followed by a second (*wali*)?

He means that her first visit was not followed by a second.—Imâd ad-Dîn continued to hold the place of secretary and maintain his high rank at court till the death of the sultan Salâh ad-Dîn (*A. H.* 589, *A. D.* 1193). This event reduced him to ruin and deprived him of all his influence. Finding every door shut against him, he withdrew to his house and remained there, occupied in the composition of his works. He mentions something of this in the beginning of his *al-Bark as-Shâmi*. In the life of Ibn at-Taâwîzi (*p.* 162 *of this vol.*) we have noticed the epistle and *kasîda* in which he requested from Imâd ad-Dîn the gift of a furred cloak, and we have spoken of the answer returned to both documents. Imâd ad-Dîn was born at Ispahân on Monday, the 2nd of the latter Jumâda—some say of Shaabân—A. H. 519 (6th July, A. D. 1125), and he died at Damascus, on Monday, the first of Ramadân, A. H. 597 (5th June, A. D. 1201). He was interred in the cemetery of the *Sûfis*, outside the gate called Bâb an-Nasr. A person who held an eminent rank in the administration and who remained with him during his last illness, informed me that, whenever a visitor came to see him, Imâd ad-Dîn recited the following lines:

I am come as a guest to your dwelling; where, O where is the host? My acquaintances know me no longer, and those whom I knew are dead!

Aluh is a Persian word signifying *eagle*, *okâb*, in Arabic. It is said that no male eagles exist, all being females which are impregnated by a bird of another species. Some say that they are impregnated by the fox. But this is merely a marvellous story. Ibn Onain (*p.* 176 *of this vol.*) the poet has the following line in a satire directed against a person called Ibn Sîda :

Thou art a mere eagle; we know who thy mother was, but no one knows who was thy father.

This alludes to the opinion of which we have just spoken, but God alone knows whether it be true or false.

(1) This appears to have been the family name. Its meaning is given by our author at the end of the article.

(2) Abû Mansûr Saîd Ibn Muhammad ar-Razzâz (*the rice-merchant*), an *imâm* and chief president of the shâfite sect at Baghdad, studied jurisprudence under Abû Saad al-Mutawallî (vol. II. p. 90), Abû Bakr as-Shâhsi (vol. II. p. 625), Abû Hâmid al-Ghazzâli (vol. II. p. 621), al-Kiyâ al-Harrâsi (vol. II. p. 229), and Asaad al-Mîhani (vol. I. p. 189). He was, for some time, professor in the *Nizâmiya* college. Born A. H. 462 (A. D. 1069-70); died in Zû 'l-Hijja, A. H. 539 (May-June, A. D. 1145).—(*Tabakât as-Shâfiyîn.*)

(3) The life of the vizir Aûn ad-Dîn Ibn Hubaira is given by our author.

(4) Literally : A miserable life and a waking eye.

(5) His life will be found in this volume.

(6) The work entitled *as-Sirr al-Maktûm* (*the hidden secret*) treated of judicial astrology.

(7) *Maghrib* (*the west*) here designates North Africa, Spain, and Sicily.

(8) An incomplete copy of this work, made up with volumes belonging to different sets, is preserved in the *Bibliothèque impériale.*—Our author is mistaken in saying that the *Khârida* contains notices on those poets only who lived subsequently to A. H. 500. We find in it a considerable number of articles concerning poets who flourished before that epoch. The work is merely a collection of poetical extracts to which the compiler has joined observations written in his usual pretentious style and of very little real importance. A fact or a date is seldom to be met with in these phrases which are all pomp and glitter, alliteration and affectation.

(9) See vol. I. p. 464.

(10) See vol. II. p. 25, note (5).

(11) Several copies of this work are preserved in the *Bibliothèque impériale;* a very old and well written one belongs to the *Supplement* of the same library.

(12) This work, of which a copy exists in the *Bibliothèque impériale,* fonds St. Germain, No. 327, is written in Imâd ad-Dîn's swollen and extravagant style. Its tone has been softened down by al-Fath Ibn Ali Ibn Muhammad al-Bundâri al-Ispahâni, who entitled his work : *Zubda tal-Nusra wa Nukhba tal-Osra* (*cream of the* Nusra *and extract of the* Osra. See MS. of the *Bibliothèque impériale,* No. 767 A.

(13) In transcribing them, I have put in italics the vowels which are not represented in the Arabic writing.

(14) This was al-Kâdi 'l-Fâdil's real name.

(15) *Hajûn* is a hill near Mekka. The *hijr* is a semicircular area on the west side of the Kaaba, and enclosed by a wall called *hatîm.* See Burckhardt's *Travels in Arabia,* vol. I. p. 252.

(16) This piece derives its sole merit from the numerous quibbles and puns with which it is filled. Such futilities being of no interest to the ordinary reader, I abstain from indicating them and confine myself to the task of rendering intelligible Imâd ad-Dîn's obscurities of style.

(17) See note (15).

(18) See vol. II. p. 25, note (5).

(19) The *Kaaba* is the name of the temple at Mekka. For *kibla,* see vol. I. p. 37.

(20) The celebrated traditionist Anas Ibn Malik had for disciples four of his sons : an-Nadr النضر, Abd Allah, Mûsa, and Mâlik. A very considerable number of Traditions are given on his authority.

ABU NASR AL-FARABI.

Abû Nasr Muhammad Ibn Muhammad Ibn Tarkhân Ibn Auzalagh al-Fârâbi the Turk, a celebrated philosopher, the greatest, indeed, that the Moslims ever had, composed a number of works on logic, music, and other sciences. No Musulman ever reached in the philosophical sciences the same rank as he, and it was by the study of his writings and the imitation of his style that Avicena (*vol. I. p.* 440) attained proficiency and rendered his own works so useful. Al-Fârâbi passed his youth in Fârâb, the place of his birth, and then set out to travel. After various peregrinations, he visited Baghdad, where he arrived well acquainted with Turkish and some other languages, but ignorant of Arabic. Having then commenced learning the latter language, he mastered it completely and devoted his mind to the philosophical sciences. On arriving at Baghdad, he found the celebrated philosopher Abû Bishr Matta Ibn Yûnus (1), who was then far advanced in age, teaching logic in that city and possessing the very highest reputation : every day crowds of pupils attended the lectures in which he explained Aristotle's treatise on that subject, and al-Fârâbi filled seventy volumes with the observations which he wrote down from the lips of that master. As a logician (*Matta*) stood unrivalled; in his writings, he shone by precision of style and subtility of elucidation, and he aimed at simplifying his meaning by developments and annotations. It was therefore said by an able logician that the abilities which Abû Nasr al-Fârâbi displayed in rendering the most abstract ideas intelligible and expressing them in the simplest terms, could only be attributed to the tuition of Abû Bishr (*Matta*). Al-Fârâbi attended his lessons, and always took his station among the crowd of students who surrounded the professor. Having thus passed a considerable time, he removed to Harrân, where he met Yûhanna Ibn Khailân (2), a Christian and an able philosopher, from whom he learned some particular applications of the art of logic. He then returned to Baghdad and studied the philosophical sciences. Having mastered all Aristotle's treatises, he acquired a great facility in comprehending the ideas and the scope of that author's writings. It is related that the following note was found inscribed, in Abû Nasr al-Fârâbi's handwriting, on a copy of Aristotle's treatise on the soul : " I have read over this book two hundred

" times." Il it related also that he said: " I read over the philosopher Aristotle's " Physics (3) forty times, and I feel that I ought to read it over again." It is stated that, having been asked whether he or Aristotle was the more learned in this branch of science, he replied: " Had I lived in his time, I should have been the chief of " his disciples." Abû 'l-Kâsim Sâîd Ibn Ahmad Ibn Abd ar-Rahmân Ibn Sâîd al-Kortubi mentions him in his *Tabakât*, or *classified list* of philosophers (4), and says: " Al-Fârâbi, who was really the philosopher of the Moslims, learned the art of logic " from Yûhanna Ibn Khailân, who died at Madîna tas Salâm (*Baghdad*) in the reign " of al-Muktadir; he then excelled all the people of Islamism and surpassed them by " his real acquirements in that science; he explained its obscurities, revealed its " mysteries, facilitated its comprehension and furnished every requisite for its intel- " ligence, in works remarkable for precision of style and subtility of elucidation; " noticing in them what al-Kindi (*vol. I. p.* 355) and others neglected, such as " the art of analysis (*tahlîl*) and the proper modes of conveying instruction (5). In " these treatises he elucidated in plain terms the five main principles (6) of logic, in- " dicating the manner of employing them with advantage and the application of the " syllogistic forms (*soura tal-kiyâs*) to each of them. His writings on this subject are " therefore highly satisfactory and possess the utmost merit. He afterwards com- " posed a noble work in which he enumerated the sciences and indicated the object " of each; this treatise, the like of which had never before been composed and " the plan of which had never been adopted by any other author, is an indispens- " able guide to students in the sciences." Sâîd then proceeds to mention some of his works and the subjects of which they treat (7). Abû Nasr continued, at Baghdad, to labour in the acquisition of this science till he attained in it a conspicuous rank and surpassed all his contemporaries. It forms the subject of most of his works. He then set out for Damascus, but did not stop there, having turned his steps towards Egypt. He mentions in his work, entitled *as-Siyâsa tal-Madaniya* (*administration of the city, i. e. political economy*), that he commenced it at Baghdad and finished it in Egypt. Having then returned to Damascus, he settled there and met with a kind reception from the reigning sultan, Saif ad-Dawlat Ibn Hamdân (*vol. II. p.* 334) (8). I read in a miscellany that, when Abû Nasr went to Saif ad-Dawlat's levee, which was a point of union for all persons distinguished by their acquirements in any of the sciences, he appeared in his usual attire, which was that of the Turks (9). Saif ad-Dawlat having invited him to sit down, he said: "(*Shall I sit*

"*down*) where I am, or where thou art?" Saif ad-Dawlat replied: "Where thou "art;" on which Abû Nasr stepped over the shoulders of the persons (*seated before him*), till he reached the prince's throne and sat down so close to him that he forced him out of his place (10). Saif ad-Dawlat had some mamlûks standing behind him, with whom he was accustomed to hold private communications in a particular language known to very few persons. On this occasion, he said to them: "This *shaikh* "has committed an offense against politeness; I shall now propose him some ques- "tions, and, if he does not reply to them in a satisfactory manner, turn him into "ridicule." Abû Nasr immediately answered, in the same language: "Consider "of it, O emir! for every proceeding is appreciated according to its result." These words filled Saif ad-Dawlat with astonishment: "How!" said he, "you know this "language?" — "Yes;" replied Abû Nasr, "I know upwards of seventy (11)." From that moment, the prince conceived a high opinion of him. Abû Nasr then began to converse with the learned men of the company on all the different sciences, and he continued to harangue till he reduced them to silence and had the whole discourse to himself. They had even commenced writing down his (*learned*) observations when Saif ad-Dawlat dismissed them and remained alone with the philosopher. "Would you like to eat any thing?" said he.—"No."—"Or to drink!"— "No."—"Or to hear (*music*)?"—"Yes." The prince then ordered some of the most eminent performers of instrumental music to be brought in, but not one of them could touch his instrument without exciting Abû Nasr's disapprobation. "Have "you any skill in this art?" said Saif ad-Dawlat.—"I have," replied the other, and drawing a case from beneath his waistband, he opened it and produced a lute. Having tuned it, he began to play and cast all the company into a fit of laughter. He then undid the strings and, having tuned it in another manner, he played again and drew tears from their eyes. Mounting it a third time, in a different key, he played and set them all asleep, even the doorkeepers, on which he took the opportunity of retiring and left them in that state. It is stated that the instrument called the *kânûn* (12) was of his invention and that he was the first who mounted it in its present form. Al-Fârâbi led a solitary life and never went into company; during his residence at Damascus, he passed the greater part of his time near the borders of some rivulet or in a shady garden; there he composed his works and received the visits of his pupils. He wrote most of his works on loose leaves and very few in quires, for which reason nearly all his productions assume the form of detached

chapters and notes; some of them exist only in fragments or unfinished. He was the most indifferent of men for the things of this world; he never gave himself the least trouble to acquire a livelihood or possess a habitation. Saif ad-Dawlat settled on him a daily pension of four dirhems (*two shillings*) out of the public treasury; this moderate sum being the amount to which al-Fârâbi had limited his demand. He continued to live with the same frugality up to the moment of his death. He died at Damascus, A. H. 339 (A. D. 950-1), aged upwards of eighty years, and the funeral service was said over his body by Saif ad-Dawlat accompanied by four officers of the court. He was interred in the cemetery outside the gate called al-Bâb as-Saghîr (13). — Matta Ibn Yûnus died at Baghdad under the khalifate of ar-Râdi; so, at least, it is stated by Ibn Sâîd al-Kortubi, in his classified list (*Tabakât*) of physicians (14). I found in a miscellany the following verses attributed to al-Fârâbi, but have no proof of their authenticity :

> Quit, O brother! the place of the frivolous and frequent the place of (*heavenly*) truths. This (*earthly*) dwelling is not for us a lasting abode; no human being on earth can avert (*the stroke of fate*). This man envies that one, even for (*things which endure*) less than (*the time for uttering*) the shortest words. What are we but a drop of sperm on which various fortunes have descended? fortunes always ready to depart! The circuit of the heavens is our fittest place; why therefore so much eagerness for its central point (*the earth*).

In the *Kharîda* I found these verses attributed to the *shaikh* Muhammad Ibn Abd al-Malik al-Fâriki, an inhabitant of Baghdad, whom Imâd ad-Dîn, the author of that work, says that he met on Friday the 18th of Rajab, A. H. 561 (May, A. D. 1166), and that he died a few years later. — *Tarkhân* and *Auzalagh* are Turkish names. — *Fârâbi* means *belonging to Fârâb*, the modern *Otrâr* (اطرار); this city lies beyond as-Shâsh and near the city of Balâsâghûn. All its inhabitants follow the doctrines of the *imâm* as-Shâfi. It is one of the capital cities of the Turkish nation, and was called the Inner Fârâb (*Fârâb ad-Dâkhila*) to distinguish it from the Outer Fârâb (*Fârâb al-Khârija*) which is situated on the border of the province of Fars. — *Balâsâghûn* is a town on the Turkish frontier, beyond the river Saihûn (*p. 229 of this vol.*), and lying near Kâshghar. — *Kâshghar* is a large city, situated, it is said, within the limits of the Chinese empire (*as-Sîn*).

(1) Abû Bishr Matta Ibn Yûnus (*Mathew the son of Jonas*), a Christian and a native of Baghdad, held a high reputation as a logician and as a teacher of that science. He died at Baghdad under the khalifate of



ar-Râdi, (A. H. 322-329, A. D. 934-941). He composed a commentary on the *Isagoge* of Porphyry and a number of other works, the titles of which are given in az-Zûzeni's *Tabakât al-Hukamâ*.

(2) In the MS. of the *Tabakât al-Hukamâ*, this name is written جبلاد (*Jablâd*).

(3) The Arabic title is *as-Samâa at-Tabîi*, a literal translation of the Greek φυσικὴ ἀκρόασις.

(4) Hajji Khalifa entitles this work *Sawân al-Hukm fi Tabakât il-Hukamâ*. The author, Abû 'l-Kâsim Sâid Ibn Ahmad Ibn Abd ar-Rahmân Ibn Muhammad Ibn Sâid at-Taghlabi was born at Almeria in the year 420 (A. D. 1029), but his family belonged to Cordova. He was appointed *kâdi* of Toledo by al-Mâmûn Yahya (*Ibn Ismail*) Ibn Zi 'n-Nûn, and he continued to fill this office till his death. This event occurred in the month of Shawwâl, A. H. 462 (July-August, A. D. 1070).—(*Ibn Bashkuwâl's Silat.*)

(5) The original text has أنحاء التعالم (*mathematical processes*). The same passage occurs in the life of al-Fârâbi, given by az-Zûzeni in his *Tabakât al-Hukamâ*, but there we read أنحاء التعليم, which is a well known expression and is probably the right reading.

(6) The MSS. read موادّ, but the *Tabakât al-Hukamâ* has طرق. If the writer meant *the five predicables*, why did he not employ the word الالفاظ which is the usual term?

(7) Az-Zûzeni, or rather al-Kâdi al-Akram Ibn al-Kifti, whose work he abridged, has given a life of al-Fârâbi in his *Tabakât al-Hukamâ*, which life is evidently extracted from that composed by the *kâdi* Sâid al-Kortubi. The list of works alluded to by Ibn Khallikân fills more than a page in the *Tabakât*.

(8) Saif ad-Dawlat took possession of Damascus in the year 334 (A. D. 946).

(9) According to az-Zûzeni, he wore the *sûfi* dress.

(10) Had Saif ad-Dawlat answered: *Where I am*, Abû Nasr would have sat down without quitting the place where he stood. Having designated that place by the words *where I am*, and Saif ad-Dawlat's by the words *where thou art*, he pretended that these terms had the same acceptation when uttered by the prince. To be logically exact, Saif ad-Dawlat's answer should have been: *Sit down on the floor where thou art now standing*.

(11) I avow that I consider this narration and the following as fictions.

(12) The *Kânûn* is a sort of dulcimer. Mr. Lane has given a figure of it in his *Modern Egyptians*.

(13) M. Munk's *Mélanges de philosophie juive et arabe* (Paris, 1859, in-8°) contains a very good article on al-Fârâbi and another on al-Kindi.

(14) Az-Zûzeni makes the same statement.

ABU BAKR AR-RAZI (*RHASES*).

Abû Bakr Muhammad Ibn Zakariyâ ar-Râzi (*native of Rai*) was a celebrated physician. Ibn Juljul (1) says, in his *History of the Physicians*: "He (*ar-Râzi*) di-"rected the hospital at Rai and afterwards, under the khalifate of al-Muktafi, the



"hospital at Baghdad. In his youth, he played on the lute and cultivated vocal "music, but, on reaching the age of manhood, he renounced these occupations, "saying that music proceeding from between mustachoes and a beard had no charms "to recommenced it. Having then applied himself to the study of medicine and "philosophy, he read the works on these subjects with the attention of a man who "seeks to follow the author's reasonings step by step; and he thus acquired a perfect "acquaintance with the depths of these sciences and appropriated to himself what-"ever truths were contained in the treatises which he perused. He then commenced "attending the sick and composed a great number of books on medicine." Another writer says: "He was the ablest physician of that age and the most distin-"guished; a perfect master of the art of medecine, skilled in its practice and tho-"roughly grounded in its principles and rules. Pupils travelled from distant "countries to receive the benefit of his tuition. He composed a number of useful "works on medicine, such as the *Hâwi* (*comprehensive*), a large treatise in about "thirty volumes, which remains a standard authority for physicians and to which "they refer in every doubtful case. His *Jâmi* (*collector*) is also a large and useful "work, and his *Kitâb al-Aktâb* (2) is a voluminous production." His abridged treatise on medicine, the *Kitâb al-Mansûri*, is a work of great repute, and though of small extent, is highly appreciated; in this treatise, he combines theory with practice and furnishes essential information for persons of all classes (3). He composed it for Abû Sâlih Mansûr Ibn Nûh Ibn Nasr Ibn Ismaîl Ibn Ahmad Ibn Asad Ibn Sâmân, one of the Samanide kings, and for this reason, he entitled his book *al-Mansûri* (*the Mansurian*). Besides these works, he composed many others, all of them indispensable (*to physicians*). One of his sayings was: : When you can cure by a regimen, avoid "having recourse to medicine; and when you can effect a cure with a simple me-"dicine, avoid employing a compound one." He said again: "With a learned "physician and an obedient patient, sickness soon disappears." And again: "Treat an incipient malady with remedies which will not prostrate the strength." Till the end of his life, he continued at the head of his profession. He began the study of medicine at an advanced age, being then, it is said, upwards of forty years old. Towards the close of a long life, he lost his sight, and he died A. H. 311 (A. D. 923-4). He studied medicine under the physician Abû 'l-Hasan Ali Ibn Rabn at-Tabari (4), the author of the *Firdûs al-Hikma* and other useful works. At-Tabari was at first a Christian (*a Jew*), but he subsequently embraced Islamism.—We have

already (*vol. I. p.* 101) explained the meaning of the word Râzi (*native of Rai*). — As for the Samanide kings, they were sultans of Transoxiana and Khorâsân, and one of the best dynasties which ever ruled. The reigning monarch was styled the Sultan of Sultans, and this title came to be considered as the real name of the sovereign. They were distinguished by their justice, piety and learning. This dynasty was overthrown by Mahmûd Ibn Subuktikîn, a sultan whose life we shall give (*in this volume*). The Samanides reigned during one hundred and two years, six months and ten days. — Abû Sâlih Mansûr, the prince mentioned in this article, died in the month of Shawwâl, A. H. 365 (June, A. D. 976); he was a boy when ar-Râzi drew up the *Mansûri* for his instruction. — Since writing the above, I have seen a copy of this work bearing on the title-page an inscription, stating that it was composed for and named after Abû Sâlih al-Mansûr Ibn Ishak Ibn Ahmad Ibn Nûh, prince of Kirman and Khorâsân, and a descendant of Bahrâm Kûsh (5). God knows best which of these statements is true.—Ibn Juljul relates also, in his History, that ar-Râzi composed for the same al-Mansûr a treatise establishing the certainty of alchemy, and set out from Baghdad to present it to him. Al-Mansûr testified great satisfaction on receiving the work and, having rewarded the author with the sum of one thousand dinars, he said to him : " I wish you to produce the thing of which " you speak in this book."—" That is a task," replied ar-Râzi, " for the execution " of which ample funds are necessary, as also various implements and drugs of ge- " nuine quality; and all this must be done according to the rules of art; so, the " whole operation is one of great difficulty."—" All the implements you require," said al-Mansûr, " shall be furnished to you, with every object necessary for the ope- " ration; so that you may produce (*the substance*) mentioned in your book." Perceiving the prince to be in earnest, ar-Râzi hesitated to undertake the task and shewed himself unable to perform it. On this, al-Mansûr said : " I should never have thought " a philosopher capable of deliberate falsehood in a work represented by him as a " scientific treatise, and which will engage people's hearts in a labour from which " they can draw no advantage. I have given you one thousand dinars as reward " for this visit and the trouble which you have taken, but I shall assuredly pu- " nish you for committing a deliberate falsehood (6)." He then struck him on the head with a whip and sent him off to Baghdad with a stock of provisions for the journey. That stroke caused a descent of humour into ar-Râzi's eyes, but he would not permit them to be lanced, declaring that he had seen enough of the world. —

Abû Muhammad Nûh Ibn Nasr, the father of (*Mansûr*), died in the month of the latter Rabî, A. H. 343 (August, A. D. 954). Abû 'l-Hasan Nasr Ibn Ismaîl, his grandfather, died in the month of Rajab A. H. 331 (March-April, A. D. 943), and his great grandfather Abû Ibrahîm Ismaîl Ibn Ahmad, on the eve of Tuesday, the 14th of Safar, A. H. 295 (24th Nov. A. D. 907), at Bukhâra : he was born, A. H. 234 (A. D. 848-9), at Farghâna. Abû Ibrahîm took pleasure in writing down Traditions and honouring men of learning. Ahmad Ibn Asad Ibn Sâmân died at Farghâna in the year 250 (A. D. 864). These observations are foreign to our subject, but we were led into them by the drift of this discourse : they furnish also some necessary information (7).

(1) Abû Dâwûd Sulaimân Ibn Hassân, surnamed Ibn Juljul, was physician to Hishâm al-Muwaiyad billah, the Omaiyide sovereign of Spain. Ibn Abi Osaibia's notice on this physician will be found in M. de Sacy's *Abd Allatif*, p. 495.

(2) In Arabic كتاب الاقطاب. The right pronunciation and the meaning of this title are unknown to me.

(3) An article on Abû Bakr ar-Râzi will be found in M. Wüstenfeld's *Geschichte der Arabischen Aerzte* (*history of the Arabian physicians*).

(4) Abû 'l-Hasan Ali Ibn Rabn at-Tabari, an able physician, belonged to a Jewish family and was a native of Tabaristân. Having been forced by the troubled state of his native country to take refuge in Rai, he had there Abû Bakr ar-Râzi for disciple. He then proceeded to Sarra-man-râa and composed his work entitled *Firdûs al-Hikma* (*garden of wisdom*). He had been secretary to Mâzyâr (see p. 277 of this vol.), and afterwards made his profession of Islamism to the khalif al-Motasim. He then proceeded to the court (*of Baghdad* and became one of al-Mutawakkil's boon companions. The words *Rabn* (ربن), *Rabîn* (ربين), and *ar-Rabb* (الرب) are names given by the Jews to the chief doctors of their law.—(*Târîkh al-Hukamâ*, pp. 195, 160.) —*Rabn* is therefore the equivalent of *Rabbi*. There can be no doubt respecting the orthography of this word, as the author of the dictionary here cited, places *Rabn* after *Rizk Allah* and before the chapter of names beginning with Z. In some Arabic MSS. this word is erroneously written *Zain* (زين).

(5) In the MSS. the word *Kûsh* is written كوش or كوس. Mirkhond and Abû 'l-Fedâ write this name جوبين *Tchûpîn* or *Jûbîn*. Ibn Khallikân may have perhaps written كوبين.

(6) Literally : For considering falsehood as licit على تحليل الكذب.

(7) A new and much improved edition of ar-Râzi's treatise on the small-pox and measles was published in London, 1848, with a very carefully made translation and instructive notes, by Dr. Greenhill.

MUHAMMAD IBN MUSA IBN SHAKIR.

Abû Abd Allah Muhammad Ibn Mûsa Ibn Shâkir was one of the three brothers after whom the art of engineering was called the *contrivances of the sons of Mûsa* (*hial bani Mûsa*): he and his brothers, Ahmad and al-Hasan, being celebrated for their talents in that line. Animated with the noble ambition of learning the sciences of the ancients and acquiring their books, they laboured to effect this object and sent persons to bring them such books from the country of the Greeks (1). By the offer of ample rewards, they drew translators from distant countries, and thus made known the marvels of science. Geometry, engineering, the movements (*of the heavenly bodies*) (2), music, and the science of the stars were the principal subjects to which they turned their attention; but these were only a small number (*of their acquirements*). They composed on engineering an original and singular work, filled with every sort of curious information. I met with a copy of it, in one volume, and found it to be an excellent and highly instructive book. A thing which they, the first, in Islamic times, brought from theory into practice (3) (*was the measurement of the earth*); for, although astronomical observers in ancient times, anterior to the promulgation of Islamism, had done so, yet no statement exists to prove that it had been attempted by any person of this religion, except by themselves (4). Here is the fact: (*the khalif*) al-Mâmûn had a strong predilection for the sciences of the ancients (*the Greeks*) and a great desire of putting their exactness to the test: having read in their productions, that the circumference of the globe is twenty-four thousand miles, or eight thousand parasangs,—three miles make a parasang,—and that, if one end of a cord were placed at any point on the surface of the earth and the cord passed round the earth till the two ends met, that cord would be twenty-four thousand miles long, he wished to prove the truth of this assertion and asked the sons of Mûsa what was their opinion. They replied that the fact was certain, and he then said: "I wish "you to employ the means indicated by the ancients, so that we may see whether "it be correct or not." On this, they inquired in what country a level plain could be found, and, being informed that the desert of Sinjâr was perfectly level, as also the country about Kûfa, they took with them a number of persons on whose veracity

and skill in this art al-Mâmûn placed reliance, and set out for Sinjâr. On arriving in the plain just mentioned, they stopped at a spot where they took the altitude of the north pole by means of certain instruments, and drove a picket into the place where the observation was made. To this picket they fastened a long cord and walked directly towards the north, avoiding, as much as possible, any deviation to the right or to the left. When the cord was run out, they set up another picket, and tied to it a cord, after which they walked towards the north as before. They continued the same operation till they came to a place where they took the altitude of the pole and found it to surpass by one degree the altitude observed at the first station. Having measured the intermediate space by means of the cords, they found the distance to be sixty-six miles and two thirds. From this they learned that every degree of the Zodiac (5) corresponded to a space of sixty-six miles and two thirds on the surface of the earth. They then returned to the place where they had driven in the first picket, and, having fastened a cord to this picket, they went directly towards the south, operating as they had previously done when going towards the north; that is, in setting up pickets and fastening cords. When the cords employed in the operation directed towards the north were again run out, they took the altitude of the pole and found it one degree less than the altitude first observed. Their calculations was thus verified and (*the result of*) their undertaking confirmed. Persons acquainted with astronomy will easily understand this. It is well known that the number of degrees in the Zodiac is three hundred and sixty; for the Zodiac is divided into twelve signs, and each sign into thirty degrees. There are therefore three hundred and sixty degrees in all, and this sum being multiplied by sixty-six and two thirds, which is the number of miles in a degree, we obtain twenty-four thousand miles, or eight thousand parasangs (*for the circumference of the earth*). This is certain and indubitable. When the sons of Mûsa returned to al-Mâmûn and informed him that what they had done corresponded with what he had read in the books of the ancients relative to the deductions of that people, he wished to verify the fact elsewhere, and sent them to the territory of Kûfa, where they operated as they had done at Sinjâr. The two calculations agreeing, al-Mâmûn acknowledged the truth of what the ancients had written on that subject.—This is the passage to which I referred in the life of Abû Bakr Muhammad Ibn Yahya as-Sûli, where I said (*p.* 71 *of this vol.*) : *Were I not apprehensive of extending this article to too great a length, I should render this evident.*—The sons of Mûsa were the authors of various extraordinary inventions, some

of which I should notice, did I not wish to avoid prolixity (6). Muhammad Ibn Mûsa died in the month of the first Râbi, A. H. 259 (January, A. D. 873).

(1) Or: *from Asia Minor* (Bilâd ar-Rûm).

(2) The term *harakât* is the equivalent of *harakât an-nujûm*.

(3) Literally: *De potestate in actum*; an Aristotelian expression.

(4) The author has here made a long phrase and forgotten to finish it. I have supplied the ellipse.

(5) The author should have said: *of the meridian* or *of a great circle of the sphere*.

(6) Our author would have done better to suppress some of his poetical citations and give us more information about the inventions of the Bani Mûsa. He had before him documents which we have not.

MUHAMMAD IBN JABIR AL-BATTANI (*ALBATEGNIUS*).

Abû Abd Allah Muhammad Ibn Jâbir Ibn Sinân, a native of Harrân and an inhabitant of ar-Rakka, surnamed al-Battâni, was a famous calculator and astronomer, and the author of (*the astronomical work entitled*) *the Sabean Tables* (*as-Zîj as-Sâbi*). He executed many curious (*astronomical*) operations and made correct observations. His observations were commenced in the year 264 (A. D. 877-8), and he continued them till the year 306 (A. D. 918-9). In his table, he marked the positions occupied by the fixed stars in the year 299 (A. D. 911-2). He was the paragon of the age in the art which he cultivated, and his operations furnish a proof of his great talents and extensive information. He died in the year 317 (A. D. 929-30), at a place called Kasr al-Hadr (*the fortress of al-Hadr*), on his return from Baghdad. I know not if he professed the doctrines of Islamism; his name, however, indicates that he was a Moslim (1). He made two editions of his *Zîj*, the second of which is better than the first. His others works are: the *Marifat Matâli 'l-Burûj* (*knowledge of the rising-places of the zodiacal signs*) in the interval between the quarters the sphere (2); a treatise on the quantity of the conjunctions (*fi Mikdâr il-Ittisâlât*); a treatise in which he described the four quarters of the sphere; a treatise on the appreciatiation of the quantity of the conjuctions; an explanation of Ptolemy's *Quadri-*

partitum (3), etc. — *Battâni*, or, according to Abû Muhammad Hibat Allah Ibn al-Akfâni (4), *Bittâni*, means *belonging to Battân* or *Bittân*, a place in the province of Harrân. — *Al-Hadr* is an ancient city near Tikrît, and situated in the desert between the Tigris and the Euphrates (5). As-Sâtirun (الساطرون), the lord of al-Hadr, was besieged by Ardashîr Ibn Bâbek, the first (*Sasanide*) king of Persia, who took the city and slew him. Alluding to this event, Hâritha Ibn Hajjâj, better known by the appellation of Abû Duwâd al-Iyâdi (6), said :

> I see that death has descended from al-Hadr upon the lord of its people, as-Sâtirûn. The vicissitudes of time have overthrown him, after his possessing a kingdom, prosperity, and pearls hidden (*from sight*).

Some attribute these verses to Hanzala Ibn Sharki (7). Adi Ibn Zaid al-Ibâdi (8) also mentions this place in the following verse :

> And the brother of al-Hadr, when he built that place, and when the Tigris and al-Khâbûr (9) paid him tribute.

The name of al-Hadr frequently occurs in poems. According to a statement repeated by Ibn Hishâm (*vol. II. p.* 128) in his *Sîra tar-Rasûl*, it was Sâpûr Zû 'l-Aktâf who besieged al-Hadr; but this is an error. — *Sâtirûn* is a Syrian word signifying *king;* the real name of as-Sâtirûn was *Daizan* (ضيزن) Ibn Moawîa. Daizan was an idol adored in the times of ignorance (*anterior to the promulgation of Islamism*), and its name was given to different men. As-Sâtirûn belonged to the tribe of Kudâa and was one of the provincial kings (*p.* 72 *of this vol.*). When these princes met, with the design of waging war against the other kings, they chose as-Sâtirûn for their chief, on account of his power. Ardashîr besieged him during four years without being able to subdue him. As-Sâtirûn had a daugther of extreme beauty called *Nadîra* (نضيرة) the same of whom a poet said :

> Al-Hadr, al-Mirbâa, and the hank of ath-Tharthâr (10) are deprived of the presence of Nadîra.

The custom of the people there was, that, when a female had her periodical indisposition, they lodger her in the suburb. Nadîra, being unwell, was lodged in the suburb of al-Hadr, and, looking out one day, she saw Ardashîr, who was a very handsome man, and fell in love with him. She then sent to him, offering to open



the fortress and admit him, provided he married her. Having made her conditions, (*she betrayed the city*) and Ardashîr fulfilled his promise. (*Authors*) differ as to the means which she pointed out to Ardashîr, so that he was enabled to take the fortress. At-Tabari says that she directed him to a talisman which was kept there : the people knew that he could not take the place till he found a grey pigeon, which after its legs had been stained with the *menstrua* of a blue-eyed virgin, would alight, when let loose, on the wall of the fortress; the talisman would then fall and the fortress be taken. Ardashîr did so, and devastated the fortress after giving it up to pillage, and exterminating the inhabitants. He then departed with Nadîra, and married her. It happened afterwards that, one night, as she was unable to sleep and turned from side to side in the bed, Sâbûr (11) asked her what prevented her from sleeping? She replied : "I never yet, since the first moment of my existence, slept "in a rougher bed than this; I feel something annoy me." Sâbûr ordered the bed to be changed, but she was unable to sleep, and the next morning she complained of her side. On examination, a myrtle leaf was found adhering to a fold a the skin, from which it had brought blood. Astonished at the circumstance, Sâbûr asked her if it was that which had kept her awake? She replied in the affirmative. "How then," said he, "did your father bring you up?" — "He spread me a bed "of satin, and clothed me in silk, and fed me with marrow, and cream, and the "honey of virgin bees, and he gave me pure wine to drink."—"The same return "which you made your father for his kindness," replied Sâbûr, "would be made "much more readily to me!" He then ordered her to be tied by the hair to the tail of a horse, which galloped off with her and killed her. The ruins of al-Hadr are still in existence with the remains of various edifices, but, since that time, it has never been inhabited. —This is a long narration, and I insert it only on account of its singularity. — I read in another historical work, that al-Battâni went to Baghdad, whence he set out again and died on his way, at the fortress of al-Hadr, in the year already mentioned. Yâkût al-Hamawi (*see vol. IV*) says in his ***Mushtarik*** : "The fortress of al-Hadr is in the neighbourhood of Samarrâ, the city erected by "al-Motasim." God knows best!

(1) The ancestors of al-Battâni were Sabeans and he was probably so himself.

(2) This is perhaps a treatise on the mode of calculating the amplitude of the signs of the Zodiac for every latitude. Such a work would be useful for the history of spherical trigonometry.

(3) The Arabic title is *Arbâ Mâkâlât* (*four discourses*). Ptolemy's treatise on judicial astrology entitled *Tetrabiblion* was first translated into Arabic by Ibrahîm Ibn as Salt, whose version was reviewed and corrected by Hunain Ibn Ishak.

(4) Ibn Khallikân speaks of al-Akfâni in vol. I. p. 252 of this work. According to the author of the *Nujûm*, he died A. H. 523 (A. D. 1129).

(5) In the *Memoirs of the Geographical Society*, vols. IX and XI, will be found an account of the present state of al-Hadr. It was the capital of the celebrated az-Zabbâ. See Rasmussen's *Additamenta ad. hist. ar.* page 2.

(6) For the history of Abû Duwâd, see M. Caussin de Perceval's *Essai sur l'Histoire des Arabes*, t. II, p. 112, 113.

(7) See M. Caussin's *Essai*, tome I. p. 330 *et seq*.

(8) See vol. I. p. 189, note (9).

(9) Al-Khâbûr, a river of Mesopotamia, falls into the Euphrates at al-Karkîsiya.

(10) The river ath-Tharthâr passes near al-Hadr and falls into the Tigris.

(11) The author meant to write *Ardashîr*. He commits the same fault lower down.

ABU 'L-WAFA AL-BUZJANI.

Abû 'l-Wafâ Muhammad Ibn Muhammad Ibn Yahya Ibn Ismaîl Ibn al-Abbâs al-Bûzjâni, the celebrated calculator, was one of the most distinguished masters in the science of geometry, and he deduced from it certain corollaries which had till then remained undiscovered. Our *shaikh*, the very learned Kâmal ad-Dîn Abû 'l-Fath Mûsa Ibn Yûnus (1), (may God be merciful to him!) was deeply skilled in that branch of knowledge and he highly extolled Abû 'l-Wafâ's works, taking them as guides in most of his investigations and citing the author's words as a conclusive authority. He possessed a number of Abû 'l-Wafâ's books. Abû 'l-Wafâ composed a good and useful treatise on the manner of finding the value of the chords of arcs (*fi Istikhrâj al-Autâr*) (2). He was born on Wednesday, the first of Ramadân, A. H. 328 (10th June, A. D. 940), at Bûzjân, and he died A. H. 387 (A. D. 997) (3).—*Bûzjân* is a small town of Khorâsân, between Herât and Naisâpûr. — Abû 'l-Wafâ visited Irâk in the year 348 (A. D. 959-60). I found the date of his birth, as given above, in the *Kitâb al-Fihrest*, by Abû 'l-Faraj Ibn an-Nadîm (*vol. I. p.* 630), but that writer does not mention the year of his death. I therefore left it in blank when drawing

up this article, hoping to find it later; as it was my main object in this work, as I have already said in the preface, to mark the dates on which distinguished individuals died. I afterwards found the year of his death in the historical work (*the Kâmil*) of our *shaikh* Ibn al-Athîr (*vol. II. p.* 288), and I inserted it here. Upwards of twenty years elapsed from the time in which I commenced this biographical work till I discovered the date of Abû 'l-Wafâ's death.

(1) His life will be found in this volume.

(2) The *Bibliothèque impériale* possesses an almagest, that is, a treatise on astronomy, attributed to Abû 'l-Wafâ. In the *Târîkh al-Hukamâ*, we find the following list of his works: the *Manazil* (*stations*), a good arithmetical treatise; an explanation of al-Khowârezmi's treatise on algebra; an explanation of the work of Diophantus on algebra; an explanation of Ibn Yahya's work on algebra; the *Mudkil*, or *introduction* to arithmetic: the *Kitab al-Barâhîn fi 'l-Kadâya fi ma stamalahu Diofantos fi kitâbih* (*proofs of the rules employed by Diophantus in his work*), the *Kitâb Istikhrâj mablagh il Kaab bi-mâl mâl wa ma yatarakkab minha* (*the obtaining of the amount of the cube by a double multiplication, and of the other combinations effected by that operation*),—can this be a treatise on the resolution of cubic equations?—an almagest, a treatise on the use of the sexagesimal table.

(3) Abû 'l-Wafâ continued to reside in Baghdad till his death. He died in the month of Rajab, A. H. 388 (June-July, A. D. 998).—(*Târîkh al-Hukamâ.*)

JAR ALLAH AZ-ZAMAKHSHARI.

Abû 'l-Kâsim Mahmûd Ibn Omar Ibn Muhammad Ibn Omar al-Khowârezmi az-Zamakhshari, the great master (*imâm*) in the sciences of koranic interpretation, the Traditions, grammar, philology, and rhetoric, was incontrovertibly the first *imâm* of the age in which he lived, and he attracted students from all quarters by his lessons in various branches of knowledge (1). He learned grammar from Abû Modar Mansûr. Az-Zamakhshari was the author of those admirable works, the *Kashshâf* (*revealer*), a production the like of which had never before appeared on the interpretation of the Korân, the *Muhâjât bal-Masâil in-Nahwiya* (*grammatical discussions*); the *al-Mufrad wa 'l-Murakkab* (*the simple and compound* [expressions]) in the Arabic language (2); the *Fâik* (*surpassing*), on the interpretation of the Traditions; the *Asâs*

al-Balâgha (*principles of eloquence*), a philological work; the *Rabî 'l-Abrâr* (*the vernal season of the just*) (3); the *Fusûs al-Akhbâr* (*the signet-stones of histories*) (4); the *Mutashâbih Asâma 'r-Ruwât* (*names of historical traditionists which are liable to be confounded with others*); the *an-Nasâih al-Kibâr* (*the great book of counsels*); the *an-Nasâih as-Sighâr* (*the lesser book of counsels*); the *Dâlla tan-Nâshid* (*the stray camel of the seeker*); the *ar-Râid fi Ilm il-Farâid* (*the instructor in the science of inheritance-shares*): the *Mufassal* (*drawn up in sections*, [fasl], a treatise on grammar) (5); the *al-Mufrad wa 'l-Muwallaf* (*simple and compound terms*), a grammatical treatise; the *Anmudaj* (*specimen*), a treatise on grammar (see de Sacy's *Anthologie grammaticale*); *the Ruûs al-Masâil* (*leading questions*), on jurisprudence; an explanation of the verses cited in the grammar of Sîbawaih (*vol. II. p.* 396); the *Mustaksi* (*profound investigator*), treating of the proverbs of the desert Arabs; the *Samîm al-Arabiya* (*the quintessence of the Arabic language*); the *Sawâir al-Amthâl* (*current proverbs*); the *Diwân at-Tamaththul* (*collection of similes*); the *Shakâik an-Nomân fi hakâik an-Nomân* (*anemonies, being a treatise on the merits* [of Abû Hanifa] *an-Nomân*); the *Shâfi 'l-Iyi min Kalâm as-Shâfi* (*the remedy of hesitation in speech, taken from the sayings of as-Shafi*); the *Kistâs* (*balance*), on prosody; the *Mojam al-Hudûd* (*lexicon of definitions* (?)); the *Minhâj* (*highway*), a treatise on the fundamentals (*of theology* (?)); the *Mukaddama tal-Adâb* (*introduction to the philological sciences*), a *diwân* of epistles; a *diwân* of poetry; the *ar-Risâla tan-Nâsiha* (*epistle of good advice*); *Aâmli* (*dictations*) on various branches of science, etc. He commenced the composition of his *Mufassal* on the first of Ramadân, A. H. 513 (December, A. D. 1119), and he finished it on the first of Muharram, A. H. 515 (March, A. D. 1121). Previously to this, he had travelled to Mekka and resided there for some time, whence he derived the title of *Jâr Allah* (*neighbour, or client, of God*), and he was designated by this appellation as by a proper name. I heard a certain *shaikh* say that az-Zamakhshari had lost one of his feet, and that he walked with a wooden crutch (6). He lost it in Khowârezm, where he happened to be travelling; having encountered on his way a heavy storm of snow joined to an intense frost, his foot fell off. He carried with him a certificate attested by a great number of persons who knew the fact to be true; (*this he did*) lest those who were not acquainted with the real nature of the accident which had befallen him, might suppose that his foot had been cut off in punishment of some crime. The snow and frost frequently affect the extremities of the body in those regions and cause them to fall off. This is particularly the case in Kho-

wârezm, the cold being excessive in that country. I myself have seen numbers who lost the extremities of their body from that very cause; therefore the persons who have never witnessed such things should not consider them as improbable. I read in a historical work composed by a writer of later times, that, when az-Zamakhshari went to Baghdad, he had an interview with the Hanifite doctor ad-Dâmaghâni (7), who asked him how he lost his foot. To this question az-Zamakhshari replied: "Through an imprecation uttered by my mother: when a child, I caught a sparrow "and tied a string to its leg; it escaped, however, into a hole, and, in trying to draw "it out, I pulled its foot off with the string. My mother was so deeply grieved at "this that she exclaimed: 'May God cut of the foot of that wretch (8) as he has "'cut off the foot of the sparrow!' When I reached the age at which students "set out on their travels, I proceeded to Bokhâra in pursuit of knowledge, and "broke my leg by a fall off the animal which I was riding. The results of this "accident were so grave, that amputation became necessary." Almighty God best knows which of these statements is true! Az-Zamakhshari publicly professed the opinions of the Motazelites, and it is related that, whenever he went to see any of his acquaintances, he used to have himself announced by the door-keeper as Abû 'l-Kâsim the Motazelite. When he first composed his *Kashshâf*, he commenced the introduction of it with these words: *Praise be unto God who hath* created *the Korân* (9), and on being told that, if he let the passage stand so, the public would reject his book and no one would wish to procure it, he altered the phrase thus: *Praise be unto God who hath* established (*jaala*) *the Koran;* the verb *to establish* bearing, with them (*the Motazelites*), the signification of *to create*. The examination of this point would lead us, however, too far. In a great number of copies I have read: *Praise be unto God who hath* sent down (*anzala*) *the Korân*, but this is a correction made by other persons, not by the author. The *hâfiz* Abû Tâhir Ahmad as-Silafi (*vol. I. p.* 86) addressed a letter from Alexandria to as-Zamakhshari, who was then making a devotional residence at Mekka, requesting from him a licence to teach his works and also the information which he had gathered from as-Zamakhshari's own lips. The latter returned an unsatisfactory reply, and, the following year, as-Silafi wrote to him by a pilgrim, renewing his application, and requesting a licence in the most pressing manner. Towards the conclusion of his letter, he said: "Let "not (*your reverence*), and may God continue to favour you! place me under the "necessity of renewing my application; for the distance is great, and already, last

"year, you answered in a manner which did not satisfy my wishes. In acce-
"ding to my request, you will lay me under a deep obligation (10)." I shall here give a part of az-Zamakhshari's reply, and were I not unwilling to lengthen this article, I would give both the request and the answer: "I, amongst the illustrious "learned, am like a dim star amongst the luminaries of the heavens; like a "cloud devoid of rain compared with those of morning which cover the plains "and the hills with their fertilizing showers; like the race-horse distanced by his "competitors; like the kite among the nobler birds. To entitle a man *the very* "*learned* (*allâma*) is like placing the points on the *alâma* (11). Learning is a city "which none can enter but by knowledge acquired from books or oral transmission: "these are its two gates, and at either I should appear with a very slight stock of "acquirements, and (*in that place*) my shadow (*appearance*) would be even less than "that of a pebble (*in the plain*). As for the knowledge I have acquired from oral "transmission, I derived it from a low and shallow source (12), and it cannot be "traced up to men versed in erudition or illustrious for talent; as for the know-"ledge I have acquired from books, it is the residue of a bottle and not great "enough to reach the mouth; a slight drop, insufficient to wet the lips." Further on he says, mentioning at the same time the pieces of verse composed in his praise by poets and men of talent; pieces which it is unnecessary to reproduce: "Let not "the words of such a one or of such a one respecting me lead thee into delusion, "for that proceeded from their being deceived by the varnished exterior (*of my re-*"*putation*) and from their ignorance of my foul interior; and perhaps they might "have been led into error by the good services which they saw me render to the "true believers, by my extreme condescension for those who sought instruction, "by my disinterested conduct towards them, by the kindness and the favours which "I bestowed on them, by my independent spirit which scorned worldly cares, by "my attending to my own concerns and avoiding to meddle in those of others, I "may have thus appeared a great man in their eyes, and they, being mistaken as to "my real worth, attribute to me (*virtues*) which I have not the slightest right to "claim. In saying this, I do not mean to depreciate my real merit nor act accord-"ing to the saying of al-Hasan al-Basri (*vol. I. p.* 370) who observed, in allusion to "Abû Bakr's addressing (*the Moslims*) in these words: *I have become your chief, but* "*I am not the best of you* (13), that it was the duty of the true believer to depre-"ciate his own merits. (*This is by no means my case*); I only tell the truth to one

"who asks respecting my character and my acquirements in oral and written learn-"ing, who desires to know the masters whom I met and under whom I studied, and "to appreciate the extent of my learning and the limits of my talent. I have "therefore acquainted him with my real character, communicated to him the secret "which I kept concealed, displayed to him all my hidden defects, and told him of "my origin and rise (14). The place of my birth is an obscure village in Khowâ-"rezm, called Zamakhshar; and I heard my father, to whom God be merciful! say: "'An Arab of the desert who happened to pass by, asked the name of this place and "'of its chief man; having received for answer, *Zamakhshar* and *ar-Riddâd*, he "'observed that there was no good either in *sharr* (*evil*) or in *radd* (*repulse*), and "'would not go near it. I was born in the month of Rajab, 467. To God all "'praise is due; may the divine blessing be on Muhammad, his family, and his "'companions (15)!'"—Such was the termination of this certificate in which az-Zamakhshari expatiated widely without returning a positive answer to as-Silafi's request (16). I do not know if he gave him a licence at a later period. In traditional information, one person only intervened between me and az-Zamakhshari: he had given a licence to Zainab, the daughter of as-Shâri, and I received one from her, as I have already mentioned (*vol. I. p.* 551). Amongst the verses of az-Zamakhshari which are in general circulation, we may notice the following: speaking of them, as-Samâni (*vol. II. p.* 156), who mentions the author in his *Supplement*, says: "The following lines were dictated to me from memory, at Samarkand, by Ahmad "Ibn Mahmûd al-Khowârezmi, who stated that they had been recited to him at "Khowârezm by az-Zamakshari as his own:"

> Tell Soda that we want her not; and that she need not borrow the large eyes of the gazelles (*to tempt us still*). For we now bound our desires to one whose eyes are narrow (17), and God will reward those who bound their desires. She (*whom I love*) is fair (18) and scornful; but I have never yet found, in this world, pure enjoyment, unmixed with pain. Never shall I forget the time when I courted her near the meadow, on the bank of the lake which received the waterfall: "Bring me a rose," said I, meaning the rose of her cheeks; but she understood me not and answered: "Wait for me; in the twinkling of an eye I will bring it."—"Nay," I replied, "I cannot wait."—"There is no rose here," said she, "except these cheeks."—"'Tis well," said I, "what you have there will do."

In an elegy on the death of Abû Modar Mansûr, the (*grammarian*) above-mentioned, he said:

> She said: "What pearls (*tears*) are those which fall in two lines from your eyes?" I re-

plied : "These are the pearls (*maxims*) with which Abû Modar filled my ears and which now fall from my eyes."

This is similar to the following, by the *kadi* Abû Bakr al-Arrajâni (*vol. I. p.* 134) : as they were contemporaries, I am unable to say which of them borrowed the thought from the other :

I wept, merely on hearing the news of their departure whispered to me by one who bade me adieu. Those (*tears*) are the pearls which they deposited in my ears, and which I now pour forth from my eyes.

These verses are taken from a long and brilliant *kasîda*. The following piece, attributed to al-Kâdi 'l-Fâdil (*vol. II. p.* 111), contains a similar idea :

Bestow not on me a second glance; the first sufficed to repay my love. I have words of yours treasured in my heart; never shall I deny the treasure which love confided to my care. Receive now in drops from my eyes those treasures which you deposited in my ears.

Amongst the passages from other poets which he has cited in the *Kashshâf*, he introduces the following, in his commentary on these words of the *sûrat* of the Cow : *God is not ashamed to propose any parable whatsoever ; a gnat, or an object surpassing it* (*littleness*) (Korân, *sûrat* 2, *verse* 24) :

O thou who seest the gnat spread its wings in the darkness of the gloomy night, who observest the veins in its neck and the marrow in those slender bones,—pardon a servant who hath repented of the faults committed in his youth.

A man of talent who recited these lines to me in Aleppo, told me that az-Zamakhshari had given directions that they should be inscribed on his own tomb. The same person then recited to me the verses which follow, and informed me that the author designed them for his own epitaph :

Almighty God! here, in the bosom of the earth, I have become thy guest; and the rights of the guest are acknowledged by every generous host. As a gift of hospitality, bestow on me the pardon of my sins; the gift is great, but great is thy hospitality.

A friend of mine mentioned to me that he found the following lines inscribed, at Sawâkin, on the tomb of Azîz ad-Dawlat Rîhân, the prince of that island :

Know, O men! that death hindered me from obtaining the object of my hopes. Let that



man who hath the power of acting, before the arrival of death, fear the Lord. I am not the only person brought to this state; all shall be brought to the same state as mine.

Az-Zamakhshari was born on Wednesday, the 27th of Rajab, A. H. 467 (18th March, A. D. 1075), at Zamakhshar, and he died on the 9th of Zû 'l-Hijja, A. H. 538 (13th June, A. D. 1144), at Jurjâniya, in Khowârezm, subsequently to his return from Mekka. An elegy composed on his death contained the following line :

The land of Mekka drops tears from its eyes through grief for the departure of Jâr Allah Mahmûd.

Zamakhshar is a large village in Khowârezm. *Jurjâniya* is the capital of Khowârezm; Yâkût at-Hamawi says, in his *Kitâb al-Buldân* : "This city is called *Korkânj* in the language of the inhabitants, but this name has been arabicized into "Jurjâniya. It is situated on the bank of the Jaihûn (*Oxus*) (19)."

(1) Literally : And the saddle-bags were tied (*on, to go*) unto him on account of his branches (*of science*). The tying on of saddle-bags is a very usual expression.

(2) This is a very vague title; it may signify: 1st, the simple and compound propositions; 2dly, the simple and compound numerals (see de Sacy's grammar, second edition, t. I. p. 417); 3dly, the simple and compound proper names.

(3) Some copies of this work are in the *Bibliothèque impériale.* It is a large collection of anecdotes, classed according to their subjects.

(4) Perhaps historical facts and anecdotes which leave a lasting impression on the mind.

(5) I discovered two copies of this excellent grammatical treatise in the *Bibliothèque impériale.* The Arabic text has since been printed at Christiania, in 1859, by Mr. Broch.

(6) Or perhaps : With a wooden leg. The word جاون has been already rendered by *crutch,* in the first volume of this work, page 547, but it does not occur in our dictionaries.

(7) Abû Jaafar Muhammad Ibn Ali Ibn Muhammad ad-Dâmaghâni, a jurisconsult of the Hanifite sect, acted for some time as *kâdi* of al-Karakh (*the suburb of Baghdad*). Having resigned his office, he cast aside the *tailasân*, (doctor's hood or scarf), and entered into the service of the khalif as chamberlain (*hâjib*). He was of a noble and generous character, and an able statesman. He died A. H. 518 (A. D. 1124-5).—(*Nujûm.*)

(8) The word أبعد, the superlative of بعيد, is frequently employed with the sense of *accursed wretch.*

(9) According to the orthodox Moslim doctrine, the Korân is the uncreated, or eternal, word of God. The Motazelites taught the contrary.

(10) Literally : And to him (*to you*) in return for that (*may there be*) an ample recompense.

(11) To understand this, it must be recollected that certain official papers must receive the sultan's *alâma* before they can be considered as valid. The *alâma* consists in a short phrase or motto written in large characters on the document. As each prince has a particular *alâma* which he never changes, every person knows it and can read it at first sight, even though the diacritical points, so essential in Arabic writing, be omitted,



as is usually the case. Az-Zamakhshari here means to say that *allâma* (*the very learned*) is as vain an addition to a man's name as the points are to an *alâma*; if the man be really learned, every one knows it, and the title is needless.—As-Silafi had evidently styled him *the very learned* in the address of the letter and this title az-Zamakhshari, with affected modesty, disclaims.

(12) Literally: It is recent in origin and inferior in authority.

(13) Abû Bakr's address to the Moslims is given in Kosegarten's *Tabari*, part I. p. 21.

(14) Literally: *Of my seed and of my tree.*

(15) M. Hamaker has given the text of Ibn Khallikân's notice on az-Zamakhshari, with a Latin translation and learned notes, in his *Specimen Catalogi MSS. Luyd. Bat.* In some cases he appears to have adopted false readings, and the manner in which he has rendered this letter is by no means satisfactory.

(16) Ibn Khallikân should have informed us what impression this singular letter left on as-Silafi's mind. Az-Zamakhshari, in a tone of the deepest modesty, affects to disclaim every title to learning and renown, whilst he very adroitly enumerates his own merits and cites all the poems composed in his honour. I suspect that this ironical production imposed equally upon the simplicity of as-Silafi and of our author.

(17) This perhaps means: one who closes her eyes as if to sleep.

(18) Here all the pronouns and adjectives which refer to the beloved are in the masculine gender. Throughout Islamism, from India to Spain, an extreme corruption of morals prevailed among the higher classes, the doctors of the law and the poets. Az-Zamakhshari himself appears to have followed the current.

(19) A complete and elegant edition of az-Zamakhshari's *Kashshâf*, accompanied with the koranic text, has een printed at Calcutta, in 1856, by Mr. Nassau Lees. It forms two large volumes in-4°.

ABU TALIB AL-KADI 'L-ISPAHANI.

Abû Tâlib Mahmûd Ibn Ali Ibn Abi Tâlib Ibn Abd Allah Ibn Abi 'r-Rajâ at-Tamîmi al-Ispahâni (*a member of the tribe of Tamîm and a native of Ispahân*), generally known by the appellation of *al-Kâdi* and the author of a *Tarîka*, or *system* of controversy, studied jurisprudence under Muhammad Ibn Yahya the martyr (*vol. II. p.* 628). He excelled in controversy and composed on that art a *taalîka* (*vol. II. p.* 28) which attested his eminent talent, his skill in the investigation of truth, and his superiority over nearly all his rivals. This work, in which he combined (*the principles of*) jurisprudence with (*their*) demonstration, became the text-book of professors in their lessons on controversy, and those who did not refer to it were

only prevented from doing so by the inability of their mind to seize on its subtle reasonings. Great numbers studied with profit under his tuition, and obtained high reputation as men of learning. He possessed the highest abilities as a preacher and was versed in many sciences. He taught for some time at Ispahân, and died in the month of Shawwâl, A. H. 585 (Nov.-Dec. A. D. 1189).

MAHMUD IBN SUBUKTIKIN.

Abû 'l-Kâsim Mahmûd, the son of Nâsir ad-Dawlat Abû Mansûr Subuktikîn, bore at first, the surname of Saif ad-Dawlat (*sword of the empire*), but, on being nominated to the sultanate, after the death of his father, by the *imâm* (*khalif*) al-Kâdir billah, he received from him the titles of Yamîn ad-Dawlat (*the right hand of the empire*) and Amîn al-Milla (*the syndic of the commonwealth*). It was by these appellations that he continued to be known. His father Subuktikîn arrived at Bukhâra in the reign of Nûh Ibn Mansûr, one of those Samanide kings of whom we have spoken in the life of Abû Bakr Muhammad ar-Râzi the physician (*p.* 311 *of this vol.*), to which city he had accompanied Abû Ishak Alptikîn (1), as grand chamberlain. He was the main director of all Alptikîn's affairs, and his intelligence and decision of character led the great officers of the empire to prognosticate his future elevation. When Alptikîn went to replace his father as governor of Ghazna, the emir Subuktikîn accompanied him as chief of his staff and grand chamberlain. Alptikîn died soon after his arrival, and, as none of his relations were capable of replacing him, the people felt the necessity of chosing a ruler. After some debates, they agreed to confer the command on the emir Subuktikîn, and, having engaged their fealty towards him, they acknowledged his authority. When his power was solidly established, he began to make hostile inroads across the frontiers of India, and he took a great number of fortresses in that country. Numerous combats, too long to relate, were fought between him and the Hindoos, and a short period sufficed to increase the extent of his empire, form a mighty army, replenish his coffers, and

fill every soul with the terror of his name. One of his conquests was the territory of Bust, and amongst the prisoners who then fell into his power was Abû 'l-Fath Ali Ibn Muhammad al-Busti, the poet of whom we have already spoken (*vol. II. p.* 314) and who was then secretary to Bâi Tûz (2), the king of that country. Al-Busti entered into the service of Subuktikîn and became his prime minister and confident; but the history of these events would lead us too far. The emir Subuktikîn at length fell sick at Balkh, to which city he had proceeded from Tûs, and, feeling a longing desire of again seeing Ghazna, he set out for that place, ill as he was, and died on the way, in the month of Shaabân, A. H. 387 (Aug.-Sept. A. D. 997). His body was placed in a coffin and carried to Ghazna. A number of contemporary poets composed elegies on his death, and the following lines were pronounced on the same subject by his secretary Abû 'l-Fath al-Busti :

> On the death of Nâsir ad-Dîn wa 'd-Dawlat (*the champion of religion and of the state*), I said : " May the Lord receive him with honour! The empire which he founded totters to " its fall! it is thus, thus, that the day of judgment will arrive (*unforeseen*)! "

Some time after his death, a man of talent passed by the palace and, perceiving it much dilapidated, pronounced these lines :

> On thee, solitary dwelling! may God bestow his benediction! thou hast unconsciously awakened in my bosom feelings of affection long dormant. A month ago, I saw thee quite new; alas! I did not think that the vicissitudes of time could ruin these abodes within a month!

The emir Subuktikîn nominated for successor his son Ismaîl and recommended to his protection his other sons and the rest of his family. The grand chamberlains and the principal generals of the army having embraced the cause of the new sovereign and acknowledged his authority, he took his seat on the throne of the sultanate, issued his mandates and examined the state of the public treasury. Whilst Ismaîl was thus exercising his power at Ghazna, his brother, the sultan Mahmûd, wrote to him from Balkh in Khorâsân, on receiving intelligence of his father's death. In this document, which was drawn up in a very conciliatory style, he said : " My father appointed you as his successor and preferred you to myself, because you " were with him and I did not happen to be near him when he died; had I been " there, he would not have done so. It is therefore our interest to share his

"wealth between us as an inheritance and that you remain at Ghazna, where you "are, whilst I govern Khorâsân. In this agreement we shall find our mutual ad- "vantage and frustrate the hopes of our enemies. On the contrary, if the people "discover that dissensions have arisen between us, their respect for us will be dimi- "nished." Ismaîl refused acceding to this proposal, and, being of a weak and easy temper, he yielded to the turbulence of the soldiery and emptied his treasuries to satisfy their exorbitant demands. Mahmûd then set out for Herât and wrote again to his brother, but his efforts only served to augment Ismaîl's false security. Having succeeded in obtaining the support of his uncle Beghrâjuk and of his brother Abû 'l-Muzaffar Nasr Ibn Subuktikîn, who was then governing the province of Bust and who hastened to obey his orders and follow him, he felt that with these allies he could boldly undertake to attack his brother Ismaîl in Ghazna. Having laid siege to the city at the head of an immense army, he carried it after a severe conflict. Ismaîl, being forced to take refuge in the citadel, appealed to the clemency of his brother Mahmûd and, having obtained his pardon, he surrendered to the conqueror and delivered up the keys of his treasures. The sultan Mahmûd then proceeded to Balkh, after leaving some experienced officers as his lieutenants at Ghazna. Subsequently to his conquest, he had a friendly interview with his brother Ismaîl, and said to him: "What would you have done to me, had I fallen into your power?" The captive prince being then excited by wine, replied with his usual sincerity: "I should have "sent you to a castle and provided you abundantly with whatever you required; with "a dwelling, pages, female slaves, and sufficient means for your support." Mahmûd immediately resolved on treating him in the same manner; and, having sent him off to a fortress, he ordered the governor to furnish the prisoner with whatever he desired. When the sultan Mahmûd had fully established his authority, he encountered in battle and defeated some of the lieutenants whom the Samanide sultan of Transoxiana had established in differents parts of Khorâsân. The province of Khowârezm was thus detached from the Samanide empire in the year 389 (A. D. 999), and passed under the domination of Mahmûd. His power being now consolidated, the *imâm* (*khalif*) al-Kâdir billah sent him the imperial robe and conferred on him the titles mentioned towards the beginning of this article. Seated on the throne of the empire, with the emirs of Khorâsân drawn up in a double line before him to do homage and testify their respect, Mahmûd authorised them to sit down, after having given public audience. He then engaged with them in friendly conversation and

bestowed on all of them and on his pages, the officers of his court, his favorites and his servants, an incredible quantity of pelisses and valuable presents. The whole authority being now in his hands, and the provinces of the empire being completely united under his sway, he imposed on himself the duty of making every year an expedition into India. In the year 393 (A. D. 1002-3), he obtained possession of Sijistân, without striking a blow; the generals and governors who commanded there having consented to acknowledge his authority. He still continued to pursue his conquests in India, and he carried his arms into regions which the banner of Islamism had never yet reached, and where no *sûrat* nor verse of the Korân had ever been chanted before. Having purified that country from the filth of polytheism, he built in it numerous mosques and places of prayer; but the history of these proceedings would lead us too far. On achieving the conquest of India, he wrote to the court of Baghdad (*ad-Diwân al-Azîz*) a letter in which he enumerated the cities of that country which God had subdued by means of his arms, and mentioned that he had broken the idol called Sûmenât: "According to the Hindoos," said he, "this "idol giveth life, inflicteth death, worketh what it willeth, and decideth what it "pleaseth: if it feel inclined, it cureth every malady, and it sometimes happened, "to their eternal misery, that sick pilgrims, on visiting it, were cured by the good-"ness of the air and by exercise; this increaseth their delusion, and crowds come "to it on foot and on horseback from distant countries: if they obtain not the hea-"ling of their maladies, they attribute it to their sins, and say: 'He that does not "'serve him faithfully, meriteth not from him an answer.' They believe in trans-"migration, and pretend that the souls, on quitting the bodies, assemble near this "idol, and are born again in whatever bodies it pleaseth. They believe also that "the ebb and flow of the sea are the signs by which that element adores it. In "consequence of these opinions, they go in pilgrimage to it from distant countries "and *from every deep valley* (3); they offer it presents of the highest value, and "there is not in the countries of India and Sind, though widely separated by dis-"tance and by religion, a king or a subject who hath not given to this idol the most "precious portion of his wealth: hence, the *wakfs* (4) settled on it consisted in ten "thousand considerable villages of those countries, and its treasury was filled with "all kinds of riches. It was served by one thousand bramins; three hundred youths "and five hundred females sang and danced at its gate, and each individual of these "classes received a fixed sum out of the *wakfs* settled on the idol." The Moslim

army was separated from the fortress containing this false divinity by a desert of thirty days' journey, notorious for want of water and the difficulty of its roads, which were frequently covered by the sands. The sultan Mahmûd having selected thirty thousand horsemen out of his numerous army and spent an immense sum on their equipment, marched with them against the fortress, which they found to be strongly fortified. After a siege of three days, they carried it and entered into the house of the idol. Around its throne, they remarked a great number of idols, made of gold and ornamented with every variety of precious stones. According to the Hindoos, these were angels. The Moslims burned the idol, and found in its ears upwards of thirty rings. Mahmûd asked the people the meaning of those rings, and was informed that each of them represented one thousand years of adoration; believing, as they did, in the eternity of the world, they pretended that their idol had been worshipped during more than thirty thousand years, and that a ring was placed in its ear at the expiration of each thousand years' worship. The details on this subject would lead us however too far. Our *shaikh* Ibn al-Athîr (*vol. II. p.* 288) states in his History, under the year 414, that a king of one of the fortresses in India made him (*Mahmûd*) a great number of presents, one of which was a bird in the form of a dove, the eyes of which watered when poisoned food was served at table. This water, on flowing out, changed into stone, which, when rubbed and applied to the widest wounds, healed them up.—The learned Abû Nasr Muhammad Ibn Abd al-Jabbâr al-Otbi composed on the life of Mahmûd a celebrated work, called *al-Yamîni* (5). Towards the commencement of this history he says: "He reigned over the East "and its two extremities; over the bosom of the universe and its two arms; and that "for the purpose of ranging the fourth climate, with the contiguous portions of the "third and the fifth, under the rule of his empire;—of getting its ample kingdoms "and extended states into the grasp of his possession;—of reducing its emirs and "grandees with royal titles under his sway as tributaries;—of making them take "refuge from the strokes of fortune under the shade of his empire and his govern-"ment;—of humbling the monarchs of the earth before his might;—of filling "them with the dread of his majesty;—of making them apprehend the suddenness "of his attacks, though distant their abodes, and despite the intervention of moun-"tains and valleys;—of forcing the Hindoos to hide in the bosom of the earth at "the mention of his name, and of making them shudder before the blasts coming "from his country;—for, from the time of his quitting the cradle and leaving the

" breast,—from the moment that speech undid the knot of his tongue and that he
" could express his thoughts without the aid of signs, he occupied his tongue
" with prayer and with the Korân, enflamed his soul with the love of the sword and
" the spear, extended his ambition towards the highest aims, and fixed his wishes
" on the governing of the universe. With his companions, his sports were serious,
" his toils incessant; grieving over that of which he had no knowledge till he knew
" it well, sad before difficulties till he smoothed them by main force (6)."—The Imâm al-Haramain (*vol. II. p.* 120) mentions, in his work entitled ***Mughîth al-Khalk fi Ikhtiâr il-Ahakk*** (*assister of God's creatures in the selection of what is fittest*), that the sultan Mahmûd followed the rite of the *imâm* Abû Hanîfa, and, being zealously devoted to the study of the Traditions, the *shaikhs* used to teach them in his presence and expound to him their meaning when required. Perceiving that the greater part of those sayings agreed (*in their prescriptions*) with the doctrines of the *imâm* as-Shâfi (*vol. II. p.* 569), he conceived doubts (*respecting the excellence of the rite which he professed*) and convoked in Marw a meeting of Shafite and Hanifite jurisconsults for the purpose of obtaining their opinion on the relative merits of the two systems. These doctors agreed that a prayer of two *rakas* should be said in the presence of the sultan, first according to the rite of as-Shafi and then according to the rite of Abû Hanîfa, so that he might examine and reflect, and choose that which was the better. These prayers were said by al-Kaffâl al-Marwazi (*vol. II. p.* 26), who commenced by a complete purification and the fulfilment of all the conditions requisite (*for the validity of the prayer*), such as the purification, the *sutra* (7), and the turning towards the *kibla* : he then proceeded with the main points (*arkân*), the postures (*hiyât*), the consecrated usages (*sunan*), the acts prescribed by decorum (*âdâb*), and those imposed as obligations (*farâid*), accomplishing them all fully and perfectly; this being the only manner of prayer authorised by as-Shafi. He then commenced a prayer of two *rakas* such as was allowed by Abû Hanîfa, and, having clothed himself in the curried skin of a dog (8), and daubed one fourth of his body with an impure matter (9), he made an ablution with date wine (10); (being in the heart of summer and in the country, he was soon surrounded by flies and gnats;) after performing the ablution in the contrary way (11), he turned towards the *kibla* and began the prayer without having manifested the intention of doing so whilst making the purification (12); he then pronounced the *takbîr* in Persian, after which he read this verse of the Korân in Persian : *Du bergek sebz* (13) and stooped his head to the

ground twice, like a cock picking up corn (14), without leaving any interval between these motions and without making the prostration; he next pronounced the profession of faith (*tashahhud*) and finished by breaking wind backwards (15), without even marking the intention of pronouncing the salutation. "Such," said he, "O sultan! is Abû Hanîfa's mode of prayer." The prince replied: "If it be not so, I "shall put you to death, for no religious man would authorise such a prayer." The Hanifite doctors denied it to be their master's, on which al-Kaffâl ordered Abû Hanîfa's books to be brought in, and the sultan directed a Christian scribe to read aloud the system of each *imâm*. It was then found that the mode of prayer as represented by al-Kaffâl was really authorised by Abû Hanîfa; and the sultan abandoned the Hanifite rite for that of as-Shâfi. So far the Imâm al-Haramain.—The sultan Mahmûd was distinguished for his meritorious acts and the virtue of his conduct. His birth took place on the 9th of Muharram, A. H. 361 (Nov. A. D. 971), and he died in the month of the second Rabî, or on the 11th of Safar, A. H. 421 (April, A. D. 1030), at Ghazna. Some place his death in the year 422. His son Muhammad, whom he had designated as his successor, then mounted the throne, and united in his favour the vows of all classes by a prodigal distribution of donations. When he had established his power, he received an embassy from his brother Abû Saîd Masûd, who happened to be absent when their father died and had then set out from Naisâpûr. The courage of Masûd and his highly dignified bearing gained him the hearts of the people, and, as he pretended that the *imâm* al-Kâdir billah had invested him with the government of Khorâsân and conferred on him the title of an-Nâsir li-Dîn illah (*the champion of God's religion*) with the pelisse, the collar, and the bracelets, he succeeded in forming a strong party, whilst his brother Muhammad neglected the administration of the state and plunged into a life of pleasure. The troops, having at length resolved on dethroning him and transferring the supreme authority to Masûd, arrested Muhammad and imprisoned him in a fortress. The emir Masûd then obtained possession of the kingdom, and had numerous encounters, too long to relate, with the Seljûkides. In the life of al-Motamid Ibn Abbâd we have related the dream concerning Masûd (16), and to that article we refer the reader. He was slain in the year 430 (A. D. 1038-9) (17), and his empire fell into the possession of the Seljûkides. Of these events we have already given a sketch in the life of Toghrul Bek, the Seljûkide (*p. 224 of this vol.*), and related Masûd's conduct towards them, with the manner in which he conquered the em-

pire.—Pronounce *Subuktikîn.*—The words *du bergek sebz* signify *two* (small) *green leaves*, and this is the meaning of the word *mudhâmmatânî* which occcurs in the Korân (18).

(1) Who was general of the armies of Khorâsân, according to the historian al-Otbi, in his *Yamînî.*

(2) Or *Pâi Tûz,* according to the MS. of al-Otbi.

(3) Korân, sûrat 23, verse 28.

(4) See vol. I. p. 49.

(5) See p. 266 of this volume, note (17), where, in some copies, the title of al-Otbi's work is incorrectly transcribed *al-Yamani.* The *Bibliothèque impériale* possesses two ancient and excellent MSS. of the *Yamînî.* It is with shreds and scraps of this work that Ibn Khallikân has composed the greater part of the present article.

(6) This is not an unfair specimen of al-Otbi's inflated style. The whole book is written in the same strain.

(7) The *sutra* means any object put up before a person engaged in prayer, so as to prevent others from intruding on his devotions; it may be a stone, a pillow, a spear, a sabre, a lamp, etc.

(8) According to the Hanifite doctrine, the tanned skin of every animal, except the hog, is pure.—(See d'Ohsson's *Tab. gén. de l'Emp. Oth.* tome II. p. 32.)

(9) The excrements of every animal not fit for food invalidate the prayer, if they cover more than one fourth of the body, or of the dress, or of the oratory.—(Hanifite doctrine, in d'Ohsson, tome II. p. 9.)

(10) The expressed juice of every plant and fruit is impure, except the juice of the date (*nabîd*), says Abû Hanîfa. A tradition on this matter is set forth in the *Mishkat al-Masâbîh,* translation of Matthews, vol. I. p. 108.

(11) The regular mode of making the ablution will be found in d'Ohsson, tome II. p. 14.

(12) See on the *niya* or *intention,* what d'Ohsson says in his *Tab. gén.* tome II. p. 75.

(13) These words mean *two green leaves.* They are a very inadequate translation of the word مدهامتان, which alone forms the 64th verse of the 55th sûrat of the Korân. The final *k* of *bergek* I suppose to be the sign of the diminutive. In the Hanifite law-books, it is laid down that at least three verses of the Korân should be recited during the prayer. Perhaps Abû Hanîfa may have said that three words of it sufficed. The Shafites do not admit the validity of the prayer in which the passages of the Korân are pronounced in any other language than Arabic.

(14) This is however condemned by Muhammad (see Matthew's *Miskhât,* vol I. p. 186) and by the Hanifites themselves (see d'Ohsson, tome II. p. 89).

(15) Had the prayer not been already finished, this alone would have rendered it invalid.—In the *Nazm al-Jumân,* a treatise on the Hanifite sect by Ibn Dokmâk, MS. of the *Bibliothèque impériale,* No. 741, fol. 136, will be found a refutation of this anecdote. The author attributes to the Shafites the ridiculous form of prayer which gave such scandal to the sultan, who, says he, was induced by their unfair conduct to become a Hanefite. He mentions there that Yamîn ad-Dawlat composed a treatise on Hanifite jurisprudence, entitled *Kitâb at-Tafrîd,* a work which bears a high reputation in Ghazna, India, and Sind. Ibn Dokmâk's refutation does not appear to me conclusive. The MS. in question is in the handwriting of the author.

(16) This anecdote is not to be found in any of our MSS.

(17) In 432, according to Abû 'l-Fedâ and Ibn al-Athîr.

(18) *Mudhâmmatâni* signifies *two gardens of a dark green colour.*



MAHMUD *THE SELJUKIDE.*

Abû 'l-Kâsim Mahmûd Ibn Muhammad Ibn Malak Shâh Ibn Alp Arslân as-Seljûki, surnamed Mughîth ad-Dîn (*assister of religion*), was one of the most illustrious monarchs of the Seljûk dynasty. We have already spoken of his father (*p.* 232 *of this vol.*) and some of his relatives, and, in the sequel, we shall notice his grandfather and other members of the same family. In the life of al-Azîz (*Azîz ad-Dîn*) Abû Nasr Ahmad Ibn Hâmid al-Ispahâni (*vol. I. p.* 170), the uncle of the *kâtib* Imâd ad-Dîn (*p.* 300 *of this vol.*), we have mentioned some facts concerning him. Abû 'l-Kâsim Mahmûd obtained the sultanate on the death of his father, and, on Friday, the 23rd of Muharram, A. H. 512 (May, A. D. 1118), in the khalifate of al-Mustazhir billah, prayers were offered up for him in the city of Baghdad, according to the custom (*of that court*) with regard to the Seljûk monarchs. He had then attained the age of puberty, was full of liveliness and intelligence, and well versed in Arabic; he knew by heart a great quantity of poetry and proverbs; in history and biography he displayed considerable acquirements and he manifested a strong predilection for men of learning and virtue. The poet Hais-Bais (*vol. I. p.* 559) went from Irâk for the purpose of seeing him, and celebrated his praises in the well-known *kasîda* rhyming in *d*, which begins thus.

> Unsaddle the camels, now emaciated and submissive to the rein, and let them feed; long has been thy nocturnal march, and the deserts complain under the heavy tread of thy caravan. O you who travel by night! fear no longer sterility or danger; (*here*) the shrubs are tender and the sultan is Mahmûd. By the awe which he inspires, extremes, as I am told, are united; and, in the narrow path leading to the fountain, the sheep and the wolf walk together.

For this long and brilliant poem he received from the sultan an ample recompense. Mahmûd married successively the two daughters of his uncle, the sultan Sinjar (*vol. I. p.* 600), as we have already mentioned in the life of al-Azîz al-Ispahâni. Towards the end of his reign, the empire was much enfeebled and its revenues were so greatly reduced that, one day, being unable to furnish the necessary funds to the brewer (*of the palace*), he ordered some of the (*empty*) treasure-chests to be given him, that he might sell them and purchase what he required. A

short time before his death, Mahmûd went to Baghdad, and on his return, he fell sick on the way. His malady having increased in violence, he died on Thursday, the 15th of Shawwâl, A. H. 525 (10th September, A. D. 1131). Ibn al-Azrak al-Fâriki (1) states, in his History, that he died on the 15th of Shawwâl, A. H. 524, at the very gate of Ispahân. He was buried in that city and had for successor his brother Toghrul Bek. This prince died A. H. 527, and his brother Masûd succeeded to the throne. We shall give his life. Muhammad Shâh, the son of Mahmûd Ibn Muhammad, was the same who besieged Baghdad with Zain ad-Dîn Abû 'l-Hasan Ali Ibn Baktikîn, the prince of Arbela, in the year 552 (A. D. 1157), or 553, according to the statement made by our *shaikh* Ibn al-Athîr (*vol. II. p.* 288), in his lesser historical work, entitled *al-Atâbeki* (2). Muhammad Shâh died in the month of Zû 'l-Hijja, A. H. 554 (Dec.-Jan. A. D. 1159-60). We have marked the date of Zain ad-Dîn's death in our article on his son Muzaffar ad-Dîn, prince of Arbela (*vol. II. p.* 535). Muhammad Shah died outside the walls of Hamadân; he was born in the month of the latter Rabî, A. H. 522 (April-May, A. D. 1128).

(1) See farther on, in the life of Masûd as-Saljûki.
(2) This is a history of the Atâbeks of Mosul.

AL-MALIK AL-AADIL NUR AD-DIN.

Abû 'l-Kâsim Mahmûd, surnamed al-Malik al-Aâdil (*the just prince*) Nûr ad-Dîn (*light of religion*), was the son of Imâd ad-Dîn Zinki (*vol. I. p.* 539), the son of Ak-Sunkur (*vol. I. p.* 225). On the death of his father at the siege of Kalat Jaabar, he was serving under his orders, and Salâh ad-Dîn Muhammad Ibn Aiyûb al-Yaghisâni (*vol. I. p.* 540), having then passed into his service, he marched with the Syrian army to Aleppo and occupied that city the same year, whilst his brother Saif ad-Dîn Ghâzi (*vol. II. p.* 440) took possession of the city and province of Mosul. On the

third of Safar, A. H. 549 (April, A. D. 1154), Nûr ad-Dîn laid siege to Damascus, which was then under the rule of Mujîr ad-Dîn Abû Saîd Abek, the son of Jamâl ad-Dîn Muhammad, the son of Tâj al-Mulûk Bûri, the son of Zahîr ad-Dîn Toghtikîn, the *atâbek* of the prince Dukâk (1), the son of Tutush, and, on Sunday, the 9th of the same month, he occupied the city and gave Emessa to Mujîr ad-Dîn Abek in exchange. He subsequently deprived Abek of Emessa and bestowed on him the town of Bâlis. Abek removed thither, and after residing there for some time, he proceeded to Baghdad, in the reign of the *imâm* al-Muktafi (*li amr illah*), and obtained from that khalif a pension for his support. The *atâbek* Moîn ad-Dîn (*Aner*) Ibn Abd Allah was an enfranchised slave of Toghtikîn (*vol. I. p.* 274), Abek's great-grandfather. Nûr ad-Dîn then subdued the other cities of Syria, such as Hamât and Baalbek, of which he rebuilt the walls, and he occupied the places intervening between those two capitals and Manbej, of which he also obtained possession. He took besides a number of fortresses on the frontiers of Asia Minor, such as Marash and Bahasna, the former in the month of Zû 'l-Kaada, A. H. 568 (June-July, A. D. 1173), and the latter in Zû 'l-Hijja of the same year (July-Aug.). Towards the end of the month of Ramadân, A. H. 559 (August, A. D. 1164), he had reduced Hârim, in the country (*under the domination*) of the Franks and taken besides upwards of fifty fortresses, amongst which were Azâz and Bâniâs. He then sent the emîr Asad ad-Dîn Shîrkûh (*vol. I. p.* 626) three times into Egypt, and in the third, the sultan Salâh ad-Dîn, whom he established as lieutenant in that country, had Nûr ad-Dîn's name struck on the coinage and pronounced in the public prayer (*khotba*). Of this event we need not enter into further particulars, as we give a fuller account of it in our notice on the sultan Salâh ad-Dîn. Nûr ad-Dîn was a just monarch, pious and devout, a strict observer of the law, partial to virtuous men, a firm champion in the cause of God, and indefatigable in works of charity. He built colleges in all the great cities of Syria, such as Damascus, Aleppo, Hamât, Emessa, Baalbek, Manbej, and ar-Rahaba, as we have already stated in the life of Sharaf ad-Dîn Ibn Abî Usrûn (*vol. II. p.* 33): in Mosul he erected the mosque (*called, after him*) al-Jâmi an-Nûri; in Hamât, another, the same which stands on the bank of the Orontes; in Edessa, another; in Manbej, another; and in Damascus, an hospital and a Tradition school (*dâr al-Hadîth*). His merits, monuments, and glorious deeds surpass description. On account of the proximity of their respective states, a number of letters and conferences passed between him and Abû 'l-Hasan Sinân Ibn Sulaimân Ibn Muham-

mad, surnamed Râshid ad-Dîn, lord of the Ismaîlian fortresses, chief of the Bâtinites of Syria, and the person from whom the Sinanian sect took its name. At one time, Nûr ad-Dîn was under the necessity of writing him a threatening letter, to which he received from Sinân the following answer, in verse and prose :

"O you who threaten us with the stroke of the sword! may my power never rise again if "once overthrown by you! A pigeon dares to threaten the hawk! the hyenas of the desert "are roused against the lions! You stop the mouth of the serpent with your finger; let the "pain which has befallen your finger suffice you.

"We have examined your letter in sum and in detail, and have well appreciated "the words and deeds with which it threatens us. Admire the fly buzzing at the "ear of the elephant! and the gnat which is counted as an emblem (*of littleness*) (2)! "Already, before you, other people have held a similar discourse, but we hurled "destruction upon them, and they had none to assist them! Do you mean to op- "pose the truth and uphold falsehood? *They who act perversely shall know the* "*fate which awaits them!* As for your words, that you will cut off my head and "tear my fortresses from the firm mountains which sustain them, know that these "are delusive thoughts, vain imaginations; for the substance is not destroyed by "the disparition of its accidents, neither is the soul dissolved by the maladies of the "body. How wide the difference between strong and weak, between noble and "vile! But, to return to things external and sensible from things internal and "intellectual, (*we shall say that*) we have an example in the blessed Prophet, by "whom were pronounced these words : 'Never was a prophet afflicted as I have "'been;' and you well know what befel his race, his family, and followers. Cir- "cumstances have not changed; things are not altered; and praise be unto God in "the beginning and the end! inasmuch as we are the oppressed, not the oppressors, "the offended, not the offenders; *but, when the truth cometh, falsehood disappears,* "*for falsehood fleeteth away!* You well know our external state, the character of "our men, the sort of food for which they long, and for which they offer them- "selves to the abyss of death. *Say : wish then for death if you speak true. But* "*they will never wish for it on account of what their hands have already wrought,* "*and God well knoweth the perverse* (3). In a common and current proverb it is "said : *Is a goose to be threatened with* (being cast into) *the river?* Prepare "therefore a tunic against misfortune and a cloak against affliction; for evils of your

" own doing shall prevail against you; you shall feel convinced that they proceeded " from yourself, and that you were like the animal which scraped with his hoof " till it found its death (4), and like him who cut off his nose with his own hand. " To effect this will not be difficult for God." I transcribed this epistle from a copy in the handwriting of al-Kâdi 'l-Fâdil (*vol. II. p.* 111), but, in another copy of the same document, I found the following additional passage: " When you have " read this our letter, expect to see us and be prepared; read also the commencement " of the *Bee* and the end of *Sâd* (5)."—The truth is that this letter was addressed to the sultan Salâh ad-Dîn Ibn Yûsuf Ibn Aiyûb.—In other copies, I found the following verse joined to those given above:

Let men beware of an event dreadful by its terrors, an event which I never heard that any dare await.

Another time, when a coldness arose between them, Sinân wrote him the following lines:

By our means you obtained this empire, so that your house was rooted in it, and its columns were exalted; yet you shoot at us an arrow fashioned by ourselves; it grew in our own plantations, and with us it received its point.

Of Nûr ad-Dîn's conduct we shall only say, that it was adorned by many meritorious deeds. His birth took place on Sunday, the 17th of Shawwâl, A. H. 511 (11th February, A. D. 1118), at the hour of sunrise, and he died of a quinsy, on Wednesday, the 11th of Shawwâl, A. H. 569 (15th May, A. D. 1174), in the citadel of Damascus. His physicians advised blood-letting, but he refused, and such was the awe which he inspired, that none dared to expostulate with him. He was buried in the apartment of the citadel which served him as a sitting-room and a bed-chamber. His corpse was subsequently removed to a mausoleum erected in the college which he had founded near the entrance of the Sûk al-Khawwâsîn (*the bazar of the workers in palm-leaves*). I heard a number of the Damascus people say that prayers offered up at his tomb received their fulfilment, and, having wished to prove the fact, I found it to be true. Our *shaikh* Izz ad-Dîn Abû 'l-Hasan Ali Ibn al-Athîr (*vol. II. p.* 288) says, in his great historical work, the *Kâmil*, under the year 558, that Nûr ad-Dîn having encamped, that year, in al-Bukaiya (*the little plain*) at the foot of Hisn al-Akrâd (6), with the intention of besieging that fortress and then

marching against Tripoli, a great number of Franks assembled and attacked him one day, unexpectedly, without giving the Moslims sufficient time to prepare for the encounter. His troops were put to flight, but he succeeded in making his escape. This combat is generally designated as the *Combat of al-Bukaiya*. Having halted at the lake of Kadas, near Emessa, at the distance of about four parasangs from the Franks, he sent to Aleppo and other cities for large sums of money, which enabled him to recruit his army. He then returned against the enemy and fully avenged his defeat. One of his companions having, at that time, observed to him that he might advantageously apply to his own use, under the present circumstances, the numerous pensions, alms, and gifts allowed to the jurisconsults, the *sûfis*, and the korân-*readers*, he flew into a violent passion, and said: "By Allah! I expect assis- "tance from them and no others! *It is through the feeble among you that you re-* "*ceive sustenance and aid* (7). How could I possibly suspend the donations given "to people who combat for me with arrows which miss not the mark, even when I "am sleeping in my bed? and that for the purpose of bestowing them on persons "who combat for me with arrows which sometimes strike and sometimes miss! "Those people have a right to a share out of the public treasury; how then could "I legally transfer that share to others?" Nûr ad-Dîn was of a tawny complexion, a lofty stature, and a handsome countenance; he had no hair on any part of his face except the chin. He designated as successor his son al-Malik as-Sâlih Imâd ad-Dîn Ismaîl, a boy eleven years old, who, in consequence, succeeded to the supreme authority on his death, and removed from Damascus to Aleppo. He entered the citadel of that place on Friday, the first of Muharram, 570 (Aug. A. D. 1174), and the sultan Salâh ad-Dîn then left Egypt and occupied Damascus and other places of Syria. Al-Malik as-Sâlih retained Aleppo only, and continued to reside there till his death. This event took place on Friday, the 25th of the first Jumâda, A. H. 577 (6th October, A. D. 1181). It is said that he had not yet attained his twentieth year. His illness commenced on the 9th of Rajab, and, on the first day of the first Jumâda, he was attacked by an inflammation in the bowels. His death created a profond sensation and general regret, on account of his beneficence and his virtues. He was interred in the Station (*al-Makâm*), within the citadel, but his body was afterwards removed to the *ribât* (*vol. I. p.* 159) bearing his name and situated at the foot of the citadel. This *ribât* has a great reputation in Aleppo.—Mujîr ad-Dîn Abek died, A. H. 564 (A. D. 1168-9), in Baghdad, and was interred in his own house; so I

found in written among some rough notes in my own handwritting; but God knows if the indication be correct. He was born at Baalbek on Friday, the 8th of Shaabân, A. H. 534 (29th March, A. D. 1140).

(1) Such is the correct pronunciation of this name, which has been incorrectly transcribed *Dakâk* in the life of Tutush. See vol. I. pp. 273 and 274.

(2) Korân, sûrat 2, verse 24.

(3) Korân, sûrat 2, verses 88 and 89. The other passages in italics are taken from the same book, sûrat 26, verse 228, and sûrat 17, verse 88.

(4) An Arab caught a gazelle and sought an instrument to kill it. The animal, in struggling, scraped up the sand with its foot and laid bare a knife; with this the Arab put it to death. See Freytag's *Maidâni*, tome II. p. 359.

(5) The *Bee*, the 16th sûrat of the Korân, begins thus: "The sentence of God will surely come to be executed!" and *Sâd*, the 38th sûrat, concludes with these words: "And ye shall surely know what is delivered therein to be true, after a season."

(6) Hisn al-Akrâd (*the Castle of the Kurds*) was situated on a peak of Mount Lebanon, half way between Tripoli and Emessa.

(7) This is one of Muhammad's sayings. D'Ohsson has quoted it in his *Tab. gén. de l'Emp. Oth.*, tome II, page 242.

MARWAN IBN ABI HAFSA.

Abû 's-Simt, or Abû 'l-Hindâm, Marwân Ibn Abi Hafsa Sulaimân Ibn Yahya Ibn Abi Hafsa Yazîd, a celebrated poet, was the grandson of Abû Hafsa, the *mawla* of Marwân Ibn al-Hakam Ibn Abî 'l-Aâsi the Omaiyide. Abû Hafsa's master granted him his freedom on the *Day of the House* (1), to recompense him for the courage which he displayed on that occasion. It is said that Abû Hafsa was a Jewish physician, and that he made his profession of Islamism to the khalif Othmân Ibn Affân, or, by another account, to Marwân Ibn al-Hakam. The people of Medîna say, however, that he was a *mawla* to as-Samûel Ibn Aâdiya, the Jew so famous for his good faith, and whose conduct with respect to Amro 'l-Kais Ibn Hujr, the well-known poet, acquired him such celebrity (2). They state also that Abû Hafsa was made prisoner,



when a boy, at the capture of Istakhar, and that Othmân Ibn Affân, who purchased him, gave him as a present to Marwân Ibn al-Hakam.—Marwân Ibn Abi Hafsa, the poet of whom we now speak, was a native of al-Yamâma (*in Arabia*). Having proceeded to Baghdad, he celebrated the praises of (*the khalifs*) al-Mahdi and Hârûn ar-Rashîd, and conciliated the favour of the latter by satirizing the descendants of Ali. He was a good poet, and ranked with the first and the ablest masters in that art. Abû 'l-Abbâs Abd Allah Ibn al-Motazz (*vol. II. p.* 41) mentions him in the *Tabakât as-Shuwarâ* and says: "The best piece uttered by Marwân is "the brilliant *kasîda* rhyming in *l* (*al-Lâmiya*), composed by him in honour of Maan "Ibn Zâida as-Shaibâni (3); by this production he surpassed all the poets of his "time. It is said that he received from Maan, in recompense, an incalculable sum "of money, and that none of the former poets ever gained so much by their art as "he. On one occasion, he was presented, by a certain khalif, with three hundred "thousand pieces of silver for a single verse." His *kasîda*, the *Lâmiya*, contains upwards of sixty verses, and were it not so long, I should insert in here. I cannot, however, omit the following extract from the eulogistic portion of the poem:

> In the day of battle, the sons of Matar (4) are like lions (*protecting*) their whelps in the valley of Khaffân (5). It is they who defend their clients, and their clients (*live as secure from danger*) as if they were lodged among the stars. (*Maan*) avoids pronouncing the word '*no*,' when he is asked a favour; '*no*' seems to be for him a word forbidden. We confound his conduct in the day of battle with his conduct in the day of beneficence (6), so that we know not which is the fairer: is it the day of his overflowing liberality? is it the day of his prowess? Nay, each of them is brilliant and glorious! Noble princes they are in islamic times; and their oldest progenitors had no rivals in the ancient days of paganism. They are the people who execute when they promise, who answer when called on, and who give in abundance when they bestow. The bravest warriors cannot achieve such deeds as theirs (7), even though they displayed the greatest firmness under the vicissitudes of fortune. Three (*chiefs they are*) whose foreheads are equal to te mountains (*in majesty*), and whose prudence would outweigh them.

This is certainly *lawful magic* (8), exquisite both in style and thought! the author really deserves to be ranked not only above the poets his contemporaries, but above many others besides. His eulogiums on Maan, and the elegies which he composed on his death, abound with striking ideas. Of these pieces we shall give specimens in the life of Maan. Ibn al-Motazz states also that the following anecdote was related by Shurâhîl, the son of Maan: "I met Yahya Ibn Khâlid the Barmekide, on "the road to Mekka, whither he was going to perform the pilgrimage with the *kâdi*

"Abû Yûsuf al-Hanafi (9). He was borne in a *kubba* (10), being seated in one side "of it, and Abû Yusuf in the other. I was riding by the side of the *kubba* when "a well-dressed Arab of the tribe of Asad came forward and recited to Yahya a "piece of verse. One line of the poem excited Yahya's animadversion, and he ex- "claimed : 'Did I not forbid thee, man! to employ a verse such as that?' He "then added : 'O brother of the sons of Asad! when thou utterest verses, let them "'be like the verses of him who said : *In the day of battle, the sons of Matar*, etc., "'repeating the *Lâmiya* just mentioned. The *kâdi* Abu Yûsuf expressed great "'admiration on hearing the verses, and said to Yahya : 'Tell me, Abû 'l-Fadl, "'who was the author of that piece.' Yahya replied : 'It was composed by Mar- "'wân Ibn Abi Hafsa in praise of the father of the youth now riding by the side "'of our *kubba*.' I was then mounted on a blood horse which belonged to me, "and Abû Yûsuf gazed at me and said : 'Who art thou, young man? May God "'favour thee and prolong thy life!' I replied : 'I am Shurâhîl, the son of "Maan Ibn Zaîda as-Shaibâni.' And I declare, by Allah! that I never felt such "pleasure and satisfaction as at that moment." — It is related that a son of Marwân Ibn Abi Hafsa went to see Shurâhîl, the son of Maan, and recited to him these lines:

> Shurâhîl, son of Maan (11), son of Zâîda! most generous of men, Arabs or foreigners! Thy father gave mine wealth enough for his subsistence; give me as much as thy father gave to mine. My father never stopped in a country where thy father was, but he received from him a talent (*kintâr*) of gold.

Shurâhîl immediately bestowed on him a talent of gold.—An anecdote similar to the foregoing is related of Abû Mulaika Jarwal Ibn Aûs, generally known by the appellation of al-Hutaiya (*vol. I. p.* 209) : this celebrated poet, having been imprisoned by (*the khalif*) Omar Ibn al-Khattâb for the virulence of his tongue and his propensity to satire, addressed the following lines to Omar from the place of his confinement :

> What wilt thou say to the famished nestlings in the parched and barren Zû Marakh (12)? Thou hast cast their purveyor into a dungeon; have pity! and the blessing of God be upon thee, O Omar! Thou art the *imâm* to whom the people, on the death of its master, confided the keys of authority (13). When they raised thee to that post, it was not for thy own advantage, but for theirs.

Omar then set him free, on condition that he would abstain from satire, and al-



Hutaiya said to him : "Commander of the faithful! give me a letter for Alkama Ibn "Olâtha (14), since thou hast hindered me from gaining a livelihood by my verses." —Alkama, a man celebrated for his beneficence, was then residing in the province of Haurân : Ibn al-Kalbi (15) says, in his *Jamhara tan-Nisab* : "Alkama was the "son of Olâtha Ibn Aûf Ibn Rabîa Ibn Jaafar Ibn Kilâb Ibn Rabîa Ibn Aâmir Ibn "Sâsâa Ibn Moawîa Ibn Bakr Ibn Hawâzin. His ancestor Rabîa Ibn Jaafar was "surnamed *al-Ahwas* (*narrow eye*) on account of the smallness of his eyes. Alkama "had been appointed governor of Haurân by Omar (16), and he died there." — Omar refused to grant al-Hutaiya's request, but a person having said to him : "Com-"mander of the faithful! it can do you no harm to give him a letter; Alkama is "not one of your provincial governors, that you should fear to incur censure (17). "Consider that this is a Moslim who merely request a recommendation from you to "Alkama." Omar having then written a letter conformable to al-Hutaiya's wishes, the poet set off with it, but found, on his arrival, that Alkama was dead, and met the people returning from the funeral. Seeing Alkama's son among them, he went up to him and recited these lines :

> O how excellent that man of the family of Jaafar whom, yestereven, in Haurân (*death*), entangled in its toils! Whilst thou livest, I shall not be weary of my life; wert thou to die, life would be joyless for me; and, if I meet thee in good health, a few days only separate me from riches.

Alkama's son here said to him : How much dost thou think that (*my father*) "Alkama would have given thee, hadst thou found him alive?"—"One hundred "female camels," replied the poet, "each of them followed by a young one." The other bestowed on him the expected present. I found the two last verses in the *diwân* of Zîâd Ibn Moawîa Ibn Jâbir, surnamed an-Nâbigha ad-Dubyâni (18); they occur in an elegy composed by him on the death of an-Nomân Ibn Abi Shamir al-Ghassâni (19).—The adventures of Ibn Abi Hafsa and the anecdotes told of him are very numerous, but it is needless to dilate upon the suject. His birth took place in the year 105 (A. D. 723-4), and his death in A. H. 181 (A. D. 797-8)—some say, 182—at Baghdad. He was interred in the cemetery of Nasr Ibn Mâlik al-Khuzâi.— His grandson, Marvân al-Asghar (*the younger*) Abû 's-Simt, the son of Abû 'l-Junûb, the son of Marwan al-Akbar (*the elder*), him of whom we have just spoken, was one of the most celebrated and eminent poets of his time. Al-Mubarrad (*p.* 31 *of this*

vol.), in his *Kâmil*, gives a short notice on Abd ar-Rahmân, the son of Hassân Ibn Thâbit (20), in which he says : " It is related that Abd ar-Rahmân, having been " stung by a wasp, went crying to his father, who asked what was the matter. He " replied : ' I have been stung by a flying thing, dressed, as it were, in a double " ' cloak of striped cloth.'—' By Allah ! ' exclaimed the father, ' thou hast there " ' pronounced a verse (21).' "—He then adds : " The family which had the great- " est skill in poetry was that of Hassân, for it produced six persons, in succession, " all of them poets; they were : Saîd, his father Abd ar-Rahmân, his father Has- " sân, his father Thâbit, his father al-Mundir, and his father Hizâm. After them " came the family of Abû Hafsa, the members of which inherited a talent for poetry, " from father to son. Yahya the son of Abû Hafsa (*the elder*), was surnamed Abû " Jamîl; his mother, Tahya (?) was the daughter of Maimun, or, according to an- " other statement, of an-Nâbigha al-Jaadi (*vol. I. p.* 456); and to this circumstance " is attributed the transmission of a faculty for poetry into the family of Abû Hafsa. " All these persons could touch the point of their nose with their tongue, and this " denotes a talent for speaking with elegance and precision. " God knows how far that may be true !

(1) By the Day of the House (*Yaum ad-Dâr*) is meant the day in which the khalif Othmân was murdered. He had shut himself up in his house and sustained a siege of fifty or sixty days, but the insurgents finally broke in and put him to death. Marwân Ibn al-Hakam, with al-Hasan and al-Husain, the sons of Ali, assisted by a body of slaves, fought in Othmân's defence, but their efforts were unavailing. The injudicious counsels of Marwân, who had great influence over Othmân, mainly contributed to this revolt.

(2) See Rasmussen's *Additamenta ad Hist. Ar.* p. 14; Abû 'l-Fedâ, *Hist. anteislamica*, p. 185; Freytag's *Maidâni*, tome II. p. 828, and M. Caussin de Perceval's *Essai sur l'Histoire des Arabes*.

(3) His life will be found in this volume.

(4) Matar was one of Maan's ancestors.

(5) Khaffân, a place near Kûfa, was noted for being infested by lions.

(6) Literally : His two days are so like each other that we confound them.

(7) Literally : The doers cannot do their deeds.

(8) Fine poetry is called by the Arabs *lawful magic*.

(9) His life will be found in the fourth volume.

(10) The vehicle here called a *Kubba* (*dome, cupola, alcove*) consisted apparently of two seats, one on each side of a camel, and both seats under the same canopy.

(11) In this verse we must read شراحيل بن to obtain the measure.

(12) Literally : To the nestlings with red crops in the waterless and treeless Zû Marakh.

(13) Literally : Of prohibitions.

(14) See, for the history of this Arab chieftain, M. Caussin de Perceval's *Essai sur l'histoire des Arabes.*

(15) The life of Hishâm Ibn al-Kalbi will be found in this volume.

(16) This is in direct contradiction with what follows, unless we suppose his nomination to have taken place subsequently to the anecdote here related.

(17) Rigid Moslims might have blamed him for causing Alkama to spend the public money on al-Hutaiya.

(18) For a notice on this ancient poet, see M. de Sacy's *Chrestomathie*, tome II. p. 412.

(19) This is the twenty-fifth person in Pococke's list of the Ghassânite kings. The poem of an-Nâbigha to which these verses belong is to be found in the *Diwân of the Six Poets.* It is there given as an elegy on the death of an-Nomân Ibn al-Harith Ibn Abi Shamir al-Ghassâni.

(20) Hassân Ibn Thâbit was one of the poets who espoused the cause of Muhammad. His son Abd ar-Rahmân lived under Moawia, and used to address complimental poems to Ramla, the daughter of that khalif. Abd ar-Rahmân was inferior in talent to his father.

(21) The Arabic words uttered by the child do not appear to form a verse, as they cannot be scanned by any metrical scale.

MUSLIM IBN AL-AJJAJ.

Abû 'l-Husain Muslim Ibn al-Hajjâj Ibn Muslim Ibn Ward Ibn Kûsâd (1) al-Kushairi, a native of Naisâpur and the author of the *Sahîh* (2), was a most eminent *hâfiz* and a highly distinguished traditionist. He travelled (*in pursuit of learning*) to Hijâz, Irak, Syria, and Egypt, and heard Traditions delivered by Yahya Ibn Yahya an-Naisâpûri (3), Ahmad Ibn Hanbal (*vol. I. p.* 44), Ishak Ibn Râhwaih (*vol. I. p.* 180), Abd Allah Ibn Maslama al-Kaanabi (*vol. II. p.* 19), and other great masters. He visited Baghdad more than once, and the people of that city delivered Traditions on his authority. He went there for the last time in the year 259 (A. D. 872-3). At-Tirimdi (*vol. II. p.* 679) was one of those who taught Traditions on his authority; and, as a trustworthy Traditionist, he (*Muslim*) bore the highest character. Muhammad Ibn al-Mâsarjisi states that he heard Muslim Ibn al-Hajjâj say (4): "I drew "up this *authentic musnad* (5) (*al-Musnad as-Sahîh*) out of three hundred thousand "Traditions (*which I*) heard (*with my own ears*)." "There is not under the ex- "panse of heaven," said the *hâfiz* Abû Ali an-Naisâpûri (6), "a more authentic "work on the science of Traditions than that of Muslim." Al-Khatîb al-Baghdâdi

(*vol. I. p.* 75) mentions that Muslim defended al-Bukhâri (*vol. II. p.* 594), so strenuously that the intimacy between himself and Muhammad Ibn Yahya ad-Duhli (7) was broken off. The *hâfiz* Abû Abd Allah Muhammad Ibn Yakûb (8) relates (*this event*) thus : " When al-Bukhâri was residing at Naisâpûr, Muslim went frequently " to see him. A misintelligence then arose between Muhammad Ibn Yahya and al-" Bukhâri on the subject of the pronunciation (*of the koranic text*) (9), and Mu-" hammad caused a proclamation to be made against his adversary, forbidding the " people to attend his (*lessons*). This persecution forced al Bukhâri to quit Naisâ-" pûr, and every person avoided him, except Muslim, who continued his visits as be-" fore. Muhammad Ibn Yahya, being then informed that Muslim Ibn al-Hajjâj had " always adhered to the opinion of al-Bukhâri and did so still, notwithstanding the " censures which he had incurred on that account in Hijâz and Irâk, said, one " day, at the close of his lessons : ' Whoever holds the pronunciation (*of the Korân*) " ' to be created, I forbid that person to attend my lessons :' Muslim immediately " passed his cloak (*ridâ*) over his turban, and, standing up in the midst of the assem-" bly, left the room. Having then collected all the notes which he had taken at " Muhammad Ibn Yahya's lessons, he loaded some porters with them and sent them " to the latter's door. This confirmed the misunderstanding which subsisted be-" tween them, and Muslim ceased to visit him." Muslim died at Naisâpûr, on Sunday evening, and was interred at Nasrâbâd, outside Naisâpûr, on Monday, the 25th — some say the 24th — of Rajab, A. H. 261 (5th May, A. D. 875), aged fifty-five years. So I found it written in some book or other, but I never met with his age or the date of his birth specified by any of the *hâfizes*, though they all agree that he was born subsequently the year 200. Our *shaikh* Taki ad-Din Abû Amr Othmân, generally known by the appellation of Ibn as-Salâh (*vol. II. p.* 188), mentioned the date of his birth, which, tho the best of my recollection, was in the year 202. I have since examined Ibn as-Salâh's statement and find the date to be 206 (A. D. 821-2), he gives it after the *Kitâb Ulamâ il-Amsâr* (*history of the doctors of the great cities*), a work composed by the *hâkim* Ibn al-Baîi an-Naisâpûri (*vol. II. p.* 681). I met with the book from which he took this indication, the very copy which he made use of; it had belonged to him, and was sold, with his other property, after his death. It then fell into my possession. Here is what the author says : " Muslim Ibn al-" Hajjâj an-Naisâpûri died on the 25th of Rajab, A. H. 261, aged fifty-five years." His birth must have therefore taken place in 206.— We have already explained the

word *Kushairi* in our article on Abû 'l-Kâsim al-Kushairi (*vol. II. p.* 155), the author of the *Epistle*, and need not, therefore, repeat our words. — As for the Muhammad Ibn Yahya mentioned above, his names were Abû Abd Allah Muhammad Ibn Yahya Ibn Abd Allah Ibn Khâlid Ibn Fâris Ibn Duwaib ad-Duhli (الذهلى) an-Naisâpûri (*belonging to the tribe of Duhl, and a native of Naisâpûr*). He was highly distinguished as a *hâfiz*, and Traditions were given on his authority by al-Bukhâri, Muslim, Abû Dâwûd (*vol. I. p.* 589) at Tirmirdi (*vol. II. p.* 679), an-Nasâi (*vol. I. p.* 58), and Ibn Mâja al-Kazwîni (*vol. II. p.* 680). He was a sure and trustworthy Traditionist. The coolness which subsisted between him and al-Bukhâri originated from the following circumstance: when the latter arrived at Naisâpûr, Muhammad Ibn Yahya quarrelled with him about *the creation of the pronunciation*. As al-Bukhâri had already learned Traditions from him, he could not avoid giving them on his authority; this he does in about thirty places of his book, in the chapters on fasting, medicine, burials, and enfranchisement, but without giving his name in full; he merely says: *I was told by Muhammad*, or by *Muhammad the son of Abd Allah*, thus naming him after his grandfather, or by *Muhammad the son of Khâlid*, after his great-grandfather. Muhammad Ibn Yahya died, A. H. 252 (A. D. 886), some say, 257 or 258.

(1) One of the MSS. reads *Kûshâd* and another *Kûshyâr*.

(2) The *Sahîh* (*true, authentic*) is a title by which is designated each of the six great collections of Traditions. To distinguish them, the name of the author is added after the word *Sahîh*.

(3) Abû Zakariyâ Yahya Ibn Yahya Ibn Bakr al-Hanzali at Tamîmi, a native of Naisâpûr, distinguished for his piety and mortified life, was considered as the first traditionist and *hâfiz* of that age in Khorâsân. He died A. H. 226 (A. D. 840-1).—(*An-Nujûm az-Zâhira; Mirât az-Zamân*.)

(4) There seems to be some mistake here; Muhammad al-Mâsarjisi (see vol. II. p. 607) was born forty-seven years after Muslim's death.

(5) The meaning of the word *musnad* is explained in vol. I. p. 182.

(6) The traditionist Abû Ali al-Husain Ibn Ali an-Naisâpûri bore a high reputation for learning and piety. He inhabited Baghdad and died in the month of the first Jumâda, A. H. 341 (September-October, A. D. 952), aged sixty-four years.—(*Tabakât al-Huffâz*.)

(7) A notice on this person is given by our author at the end of the present article.

(8) The *hâfiz* Abû Abd Allah Muhammad Ibn Yakûb as-Shaibâni, a native of Naisâpûr and an able traditionist, died A. H. 344 (A. D. 955-6), aged ninety-four years.—(*Huffâz*.)

(9) The orthodox Moslims consider the Korân to be uncreated, and the eternal word of God. This opinion has been expressed by their doctors in the following manner: "The Korân is one of the eternal attributes of "His essence; it is uncreated, and consists neither of letters nor of vocal sounds." These last words are

evidently directed against an opinion held by certain theologians, such as Muhammad Ibn Yahya, who declared that whoever pretends the Korân to be created is an infidel, and *whoever pretends that the pronunciation of the Korân is created*, is also an infidel. Al-Bukhâri taught that the *pronunciation* of the Korân (meaning its utterance by the organs of speech) is created, because, said he, it is an act of God's creature, and such acts are created (*not eternal*). In a work advocating the Asharite principle of giving a figurative interpretation to such passages of the Korân as would lead to anthropomorphism if taken literally, the author, Muhammad Ibn Muhammad Ibn al-Muallim, has a long dissertation on the foregoing question. His work is entitled *Najm al-Mubtadi wa Rajm al-Motadi*. See MS. of the *Bibliothèque impériale*, Supplement, No. 200. It may be here observed that this MS. has been corrected by the author. The question of the pronunciation of the Korân is technically called *masala tal-lafz*.

KUTB AD-DIN AN-NAISAPURI.

Abû 'l-Mâali Masûd Ibn Muhammad Ibn Masûd Ibn Tâhir an-Naisâpûri at-Turaithîthi, a doctor of the Shâfite sect and surnamed Kutb ad-Dîn (*axis of religion*), studied jurisprudence at Naisâpûr and at Marw, under the first masters in these cities. He learned Traditions from a number of teachers and met with the *ustâd* (*master*) Abû Nasr al-Kushairi (*vol. II. p.* 154). He gave lessons in the *Nizâmiya* college of Naisâpûr as the substitute of Abû 'l-Maâli 'l-Jûwaini (*vol. II. p.* 120); he had studied the Korân and polite literature under his (*own*) father. Having visited Baghdad, he delivered pious exhortations there, and discussed, with great ability, various questions (*of jurisprudence*). In the year 540 (A. D. 1145-6), he went to Damascus and preached there with great effect; he taught also in the *Mujâhidiya* college, and afterwards, in the western corner (1) of the great mosque, on the death of the doctor Abû 'l-Fath Nasr Allah al-Missîsi (2). The *hâfiz* Ibn Asâkir (*vol. II. p.* 252) mentions him in the History of Damascus. Having then proceeded to Aleppo, Kutb ad-Dîn professed for some time in the two colleges founded there by Nûr ad-Dîn Mahmûd (*p.* 338 *of this vol.*) and Asâd ad-Dîn Shîrkûh (*vol I. p.* 626). He subsequently went to profess at Hamadân, whence he returned to Damascus and resumed his lessons in the Western Corner. He delivered Traditions also and became president of the Shafite community. He was conspicuous for learning, virtue, and

piety. His summary of jurisprudence, the *Hâdi* (*director*) is a useful treatise, every maxim which it contains having already served as the basis of a legal decision. He drew up for the sultan Salâh ad-Dîn an *akîda* (*exposition of the Moslim creed*) containing every necessary information on religious matters, and this work (*the sultan*) taught his children, so that it was impressed on their youthful minds. Bahâ ad-Dîn (*Yûsuf*) Ibn Shaddâd (3) says in his life of that prince (4): "I saw him"—meaning the sultan—"holding the book whilst his children repeated to him the contents "from memory." Kutb ad-Dîn was a man of great humility, careless in his dress, and a despiser of ceremony. His birth took place on the 13th of Rajab, A. H. 505 (January, A. D. 1112), and he died at Damascus on the 30th of Ramadân, A. H. 578 (27th. January, A. D. 1183). The funeral prayer was said over him on the Day of the festival (*the 1st of the following month*), which fell on a Friday. He was interred in the cemetery established by himself at the west end of Damascus, near that of the Sûfis. I visited his tomb more than once. His father belonged to *Turaithîth*. Of this place we have already spoken in the life of Amîd al-Mulk al-Kunduri (*p. 295 of this vol.*); it is situated in the district of Naisâpûr. One of his disciples mentioned that he heard the *shaikh* Kutb ad-Dîn recite these verses as the composition of some other person:

> They say that love is a fire in the bosom; they lie! fire blazes, and then dies out. Love is a firebrand touched by moisture; it dieth not, neither doth it blaze up.

(1) In Arabic, *az-Zâwiya tal-Gharbiya*. These words should perhaps be rendered by *the western cloister*.

(2) Abû 'l-Fath Nasr Allah Ibn Muhammad Ibn Abd al-Kawi al-Missîsi (*native of Missîsa*), a descendant of al-Ashari (vol. II. p. 227) and a follower of his doctrines, was born A. H, 448 (A. D. 1056). "He was a "jurisconsult of the highest authority," says Ibn as-Samâni (vol. II. p. 156), "versed in dogmatic and "scholastic theology, pious, virtuous, intelligent, and condescending. He studied under the great *shaikhs* of "Syria." Amongst his masters was al-Khatîb al-Baghdâdi (vol. I. p. 75). He travelled to Baghdad, Ispahân, and al-Anbâr, after which he settled at Damascus and professed in the Ghazzâliya college. Some *wakfs* (vol. I. p. 49) were founded by him for pious uses, and he carefully avoided frequenting men in power. He died at Damascus, in the month of the first Rabî, A. H. 542 (August, A. D. 1147). and was interred at the Lesser gate (*al-Bâb as-Saghîr*).—(*Tabakât as-Shâfiyîn*.)

(3) His life will be found in the fourth volume of this work.

(4) See Schulten's *Vita et res gestæ Saladini*, p. 4.

THE SHARIF AL-BAYADI.

The *sharîf* Abû Jaafar Masûd al-Bayâdi was the son of Abd Al-Azîz Ibn al-Muhassin Ibn al-Hasan Ibn Abd ar-Razzâk; so I found the genealogy of this celebrated poet written out in the handwriting of a very accurate *hâfiz;* but, at the head of his collected poetical works, I perceive it set forth as follows: Abû Jaafar Masûd Ibn al-Muhassin Ibn Abd al-Wahhâb Ibn Abd al-Azîz Ibn Abd Allah Ibn Obaid Allah Ibn al-Abbâs Ibn Muhammad Ibn Ali Ibn Abd Allah Ibn al-Abbâs (*vol. I. p.* 89) Ibn Abd al-Muttalib Ibn Hâshim, member of the tribe of Kuraish and of the family of Hâshim. This *shârif* was one of the good poets of later times, and his poetical works, which form a small volume, overflow with tenderness. His *diwân* contains but very few eulogistic pieces. One of the best poems in it is the *kasîda* rhyming in *k* (ق) which begins thus:

> If thy tears flowed not on the departure of the caravan, notwithstanding the passion which filled thy heart, such conduct in thee was sheer dissimulation. Retain not the water of thy eyelids, O thou who hast been smitten with love! that water is for thy wounds a balm. Avoid the company of the censorious; their intentions are not pure, although they reprove with seeming compassion. Blessings on the days which are past; those days of which the branches flourished in a foliage (*of pleasure*), when eyes were our narcissus-flowers (1), cheeks our blowing roses, and lips the cup from which we sipped intoxication. At the Zaurâ of al-Irâk (2) we then held frequent marts, and there love's delights found a rapid sale. If my eyes weep blood through my longing for that time, (*wonder not!*) a time such as that may well be longed for. Those youths by whose aspect alone the taste of such love (3) is rendered sweet, bear in their hands lances (*slender as*) their bodies and tipped with points (*of steel blue as*) their eyes. They spread ravage through all hearts with their glances, and their captives can never hope for freedom. For them, the tears of others are sweet; so they torment their captive till his eyes overflow. 'Tis said that they have vowed to shed my blood, as the fittest libation for the day on which we separate.

The following piece of his used to be sung to music:

> How has the herbage of love been parched up (*in my heart*), although watered by my eyes? If men can be freed from the bondage of love, behold me its captive! If beauty be bound to do charity, let it behold in me a beggar.



By the same author:

> O happy night when the full moon (*the beloved*) embraced me without fear or apprehension, till the morning dawned! her words were pearls, and their brilliancy replaced the light of the stars; her face replaced the moon. Whilst I allowed my ears and eyes to revel in her charms, behold! I received warning that daybreak had come. The only fault of that (*night*) was its shortness; but what fault could it have more hateful? To render it longer I would have furnished it with darkness even out of the dark spot of my heart and the pupil of my eye.

In this last verse the poet had in view the following, by Abû 'l-Alâ al-Maarri (*vol. I. p.* 94):

> He would wish that the darkness of night was prolonged for himself, by the addition of the black of his heart and of his eye.

The rest of his poetry is in the same style. We have quoted two verses of al-Bayâdi's in the life of Surr-Durr (*vol. II. p.* 322). He died at Baghdad on Tuesday, the 16th of Zû 'l-Kaada, A. H. 468 (21st June, A. D. 1076), and was buried in the cemetery at the Abrez Gate.—He was called *al-Bayâdi* (*the man in white*), because one of his ancestors appeared in a white dress at the levee of a khalif, where the rest of the company, who were all Abbasides, were dressed in (*the family colour,*) black. The khalif asked who was *the man in white?* and the name stuck to him so closely, that by it he (*and his descendants*) became generally known. Ibn al-Jauzi (*vol. II. p.* 96) says, in his *Kitâb al-Alkâb* (*book of surnames*) that the person to whom this happened was Muhammad Ibn Isa Ibn Muhammad Ibn Abd Allah Ibn Ali Ibn Abd Allah Ibn al-Abbâs Ibn Abd al-Muttalib (*a member of the Abbaside family*); and I read in the handwriting of Osâma Ibn Munkid (*vol. I. p.* 177) that the khalif who asked the question was ar-Râdi billah. God best knows who is in the right!

(1) See vol. I. Introduction, page xxxvi.

(2) The poet means Baghdad.

(3) *Of such love;* literally: *amoris pulchrorum.* From verses such as these we may appreciate the corruption which pervaded Moslim civilisation; and a *kâdi,* a *custos morum,* to quote them with approbation!

MASUD AS-SALJUKI.

Abû 'l-Fath Masûd Ibn Muhammad Ibn Malak Shâh Ibn Alp Arslân as-Saljûki, surnamed Ghiâth ad-Dîn (*defence of the faith*), was one of the most illustrious of the Seljûk kings. We have already spoken of his father (*p.* 232 *of this vol.*), of his brother Mahmûd (*p.* 337 *of this vol.*), and of other persons belonging to the same family. In the year 505 (A. D. 1111-2), Masûd was entrusted by his father to the care of the emir Maudûd Ibn Altûtikîn, whom he appointed lord of Mosul on condition of bringing up the young prince. Maudûd being slain, two years later, at Damascus, Masûd was confided by his father to the emir Ak-Sunkur al-Bursoki (*vol. I. p.* 227), and subsequently, to Jûsh Bek, *atâbek* of Mosul. His brother Mahmûd having succeeded to the throne on the death of their father, Jûsh Bek encouraged his ward to revolt against the new monarch and aspire to the sultanship; nor did he remit his efforts till he induced Masûd to levy a large body of troops and march against his brother. The two armies encountered near Hamadân, in the month of the first Rabî, A. H. 514 (May–June, A. D. 1120), and Mahmûd gained the victory. In this engagement, the *ustâd* Abû Ismaîl at-Toghrâi (*vol. I. p.* 462) lost his life. After some vicissitudes, fortune at length declared for Masûd, and he obtained the sultanship in the year 528 (A. D. 1133-4). On arriving in Baghdad, he chose for vizir Sharaf ad-Dîn Anûshrewân Ibn Khâlid al-Kâshâni,—see the life of al-Harîri (*vol. II. p.* 490),—who had served the khalif al-Mustarshid in the same capacity. Masûd was just, affable, and highminded; he shared his empire among his partisans, and retained nothing for himself but the mere title of sultan; yet, with all his condescension, none ever dared to resist his power without incurring a defeat. He put to death not only a great number of the most powerful emirs, but also the khalifs al-Mutarshid and ar-Râshid. Previously to his accession, Masûd had been on ill terms with al-Mustarshid, and he had no sooner mounted the throne, than the lieutenants whom he established in Irâk commenced encroachments on the possessions of that khalif. The breach was thus widened between them, and al-Mustarshid at length equipped an army and took the field. Masûd, who was then at Hamadân, assembled a large body of troops and marched against him. The two armies met

near Hamadân, but that of the khalif was defeated, and he himself with the principal officers of his court were taken prisoners. The sultan led his captive in triumph through the cities of Adarbaijân, and al-Mustarshid finally lost his life, near Marâgha, in the manner we have related; see our notice on Dubais Ibn Sadaka (*vol. I. p.* 506). Masûd deposed also the khalif ar-Râshid and appointed al-Muktafi (*li-amr illah*) to succeed him. This event is well known (1). He then gave himself up to pleasure and to every sort of enjoyment, being confident that the fortune which had hitherto attended him would always be subservient to his will; but, being attacked by vomiting fits and mental derangement, he expired at Hamadân, on the 11th of the latter Jumâda, A. H. 547 (13th Sept. A. D. 1152): or, according to some, on Wednesday, the 29th day of that month. He was interred in the college built by the eunuch (*al-khâdim*) Jamâl ad-Dîn Ikbâl. Ibn al-Azrak al-Fâriki says, in his History, that he saw the sultan Masûd in Baghdad, A. H. 547 (2), and that he then set out for Hamadân and died outside the walls of that city. His corpse was borne to Ispahân. We have spoken of this sultan in the life of Dubais Ibn Sadaka, lord of al-Hilla. He was born on Friday, the third of Zû 'l-Kaada, A. H. 502 (4th June, A. D. 1109). On his accession to the sultanship, he had to sustain a conflict with his uncle Sinjar, and, on Friday, the 12th of Safar, A. H. 527 (23rd Dec. A. D. 1132) he obtained that his name should be inserted, after that of his uncle, in the public prayer (*khotba*) offered up at Baghdad.

(1) See Abû 'l-Fedâ's *Annals*, year 530. This historian's name should be pronounced *Abû 'l-Fidâ*.

(2) From this we learn that Ibn al-Azrak al-Fâriki, the author of the history of Maiyâfârikîn, was living in A. H. 547 (A. D. 1152).

MASUD IBN MAUDUD.

Abû 'l-Fath, surnamed also Abû 'l-Muzaffar, Masûd, the *atâbek* and lord of Mosul, was the son of Kutb ad-Dîn Maudûd, the son of Imâd ad-Dîn Zinki, the son of Ak Sunkur. He bore the title of Izz ad-Dîn (*glory of religion*). We have already

spoken of his grandfather (*vol. I. p.* 539), his great-grandfather (*vol. I. p.* 225), his son Nûr ad-Dîn Arslân Shâh (*vol. I. p.* 174), and other members of the family. Farther on, we shall give an article on his father (*Maudûd*). When his father died, Saif ad-Dîn Ghâzi (*vol. II. p.* 441), the eldest son, succeeded to the throne. His brothers were Masûd and Imâd ad-Dîn Zinki, lord of Sinjâr (*vol. I. p.* 541). Izz ad-Dîn Masûd held the post of commander in chief of the troops, in the lifetime of his brother Ghâzi. When the sultan Salâh ad-Dîn left Egypt, subsequently to the death of al-Malik al-Aâdil Nûr ad-Dîn Mahmûd (*p.* 338 *of this vol.*), and laid siege to Aleppo after occupying Damascus, Ghâzi was filled with apprehension : he felt that the power of the sultan had now become immense and that he would acquire the sovereign authority, were he allowed to take possession of Syria. He therefore equipped a large army, and, having placed it under the orders of his brother Izz ad-Dîn Masûd, he sent it to combat Salâh ad-Dîn and expel him from the country. When this intelligence reached Salâh ad-Dîn, he decamped from Aleppo on the first of Rajab, A. H. 570 (Jan. A. D. 1175), and proceeded to Emessa. He then took the citadel of Emessa, having already occupied the city itself, on the first of the first Jumâda of that year (Nov.), when marching from Damascus to Aleppo. Izz ad-Dîn Masûd then arrived at Aleppo for the ostensible purpose of giving assistance to his cousin al-Malik as-Sâlih Ismaîl, the son of Nûr ad-Dîn, who was then lord of that city, but their real intention was to prevent Salâh ad-Dîn from extending his domination over the whole country. Having been joined by the troops of Aleppo, Izz ad-Dîn continued his march, at the head of a numerous army, and reached Kurûn, (*near*) Hamât, whither Salâh ad-Dîn had already advanced to mee thim. As the latter wished to come to an amicable arrangement, he opened a correspondence with his adversaries, but all his efforts were useless. The two princes imagined that they might attain, by risking a battle, the principal object which they had in view, but fate leads to things which none can foresee. Both parties having come to an engagement, the army of Izz ad-Dîn was defeated, and a number of his principal officers were taken prisoners, but afterwards received their liberty from the sultan. This celebrated encounter took place on Sunday, the 19th of Ramadân (April, A. D. 1175). Having routed his enemies, the sultan marched against Aleppo and encamped, for the second time, under its walls. Al-Malik as-Sâlih Ismaîl then obtained peace, on condition of leaving to Salâh ad-Dîn the towns of al-Maarra, Kafratâb, and Bârîn. Salâh ad-Dîn then raised the siege. The history of these events would lead us too

far, but the remainder of Izz ad-Dîn's proceedings will be found related in the life of his brother Saif ad-Dîn Ghâzi. On the death of the prince just named, Izz ad-Dîn succeeded to the throne. (*In the year* 577 [A. D. 1181]) al-Malik as-Sâlih Ismaîl, who was then on the point of death, bequeathed the kingdom of Aleppo to his cousin Izz ad-Dîn Masûd, and caused the emirs and soldiers to swear allegiance to that prince. When this intelligence reached Izz ad-Dîn, he hastened to Aleppo, lest Salâh ad-Dîn should occupy it before him. Having arrived there on the 20th of Shaabân, A. H. 577 (end of December, A. D. 1181), he went up to the castle and took possession of all the treasures and valuable objects deposited in that edifice. On the fifth of Shawwâl, the same year, he married the mother of al-Malik as-Sâlih, and remained in the city till the 16th of that month. Finding then his inability to retain Syria and Mosul under his sway, apprehensive also of the dangers to which he was exposed by the vicinity of Salâh ad-Dîn, and fatigued by the obsessions of the emirs whose exorbitant demands for additional pay he was unable to satisfy, he departed from Aleppo, leaving there his son Muzaffar ad-Dîn to act as his lieutenant, and with him Muzaffar ad-Dîn, the son of Zain ad-Dîn, lord of Arbela (*vol. II. p.* 535). Izz ad-Dîn, who was then entirely controlled by Mujâhid ad-Dîn Kâimâz az-Zaini (*vol. II. p.* 510), proceeded to ar-Rakka, where he was received by his brother Imâd ad-Dîn Zinki, lord of Sinjâr. Having agreed with him on exchanging the government of Aleppo for that of Sinjâr, a mutual oath was taken to that effect, and each sent agents to receive possession of their new acquisitions. On the 13th of Muharram, A. H. 578 (May, A. D. 1182), Imâd ad-Dîn entered the castle of Aleppo. Previously to this, a treaty of peace had been concluded between Izz ad-Dîn, his cousin (*al-Malik*) as-Sâlih and (*the sultan*) Salâh ad-Dîn, by the intervention of Kilîj Arslân, the sovereign of ar-Rûm (*Asia Minor*). The sultan Salâh ad-Dîn then set out for Egypt, after leaving his nephew Izz ad-Dîn Farrûkh-Shâh, the son of Shâhanshâh, to govern Damascus in his absence; but, on learning the death of al-Malik as-Sâlih and the arrangements which had subsequently taken place, he returned to Syria and entered Damascus on the 17th of Safar, A. H. 578 (June A. D. 1182). Being then informed that Izz ad-Dîn Masûd had sent an ambassador to the Franks, and that the object of this mission was to induce them to march against himself (*Salâh ad-Dîn*), he broke the treaty, and, indignant at the treason which he had thus discovered, he resolved on preparing for war and marching against Aleppo and Mosul. Imâd ad-Dîn, the lord of Aleppo, had no sooner received intelligence

of the preparations made by Salâh ad-Dîn, than he sent to warn his brother, the governor of Mosul, and request from him a reinforcement. The sultan (*Salâh ad-Dîn*) having left Damascus, halted under the walls of Aleppo on the 12th of the first Jumâda, A. H. 578 (September, A. D. 1182), occupied this position during three days and (*finally*) departed on the 21st of the same month. Soon after this, it happened that the lord of Harrân, Muzaffar ad-Dîn (the son of Zaîn ad-Dîn, lord of Arbela), who was then in the service of Izz ad-Dîn Masûd, the sovereign of Mosul, and apprehended violence from his master and from Mujâhid ad-Dîn Kâimâz az-Zaini, crossed the Euphrates and placed himself under the protection of Salâh ad-Dîn. The sultan, to whom he represented the facility with which he might subdue Mesopotamia, resolved on invading that country, and having passed the Euphrates, he took the cities of Edessa, ar-Rakka, Nasîbîn, and Sarûj. He then appointed a resident agent in the province of al-Khâbûr and conceded it in fief; after which, he set out with the intention of laying siege to Mosul, and encamped under its walls, on Thursday, the 11th of Rajab, 578 (November, A. D. 1182). After some days, he perceived that no result could be obtained from besieging so large a city, and that the only means of taking it was to reduce the fortresses in its environs and in the neighbouring districts, and thus weaken the garrison in lapse of time. He in consequence departed, and having taken position against Sinjâr on the 16th of Shaabân (December), the same year, he occupied the city on the 2nd of Ramadân (30 December) and gave it to his nephew al-Malik al-Muzaffar Taki ad-Dîn Omar (*vol. II. p.* 391). Not to enter into long details, we shall merely state that he returned to Syria, and reached Harrân in the commencement of Zû 'l-Kaada (end of February, 1184), the same year. Towards the beginning of the first Rabi, A. H. 581 (June, A. D. 1185), he appeared again before Mosul and laid siege to the city. The mother of Izz ad-Dîn Masûd, accompanied by the daughter of Nûr ad-Dîn Arslân Shâh and a number of females belonging to the Atâbek family, then went forth and requested him to enter into a treaty and consent to a peace. The sultan, imagining that Izz ad-Dîn had given this mission to the princess because he had not the means of defending the city, refused compliance and sent her back disappointed, offering at the same time pretexts to excuse his conduct. But of this he had afterwards reason to repent, for the people of Mosul, being indignant at his rejecting the prayer of Izz ad-Dîn's mother and of the females who accompanied her, strained every nerve to make a vigorous defence. He continued to besiege the city till he learned the death

of Shâh Armen Nâsir ad-Dîn Muhammad Ibn Ibrahîm Ibn Sokmân al-Kutbi, lord of Khalât, and the accession of that prince's *mamlûk*, Bektimor, to the supreme authority. This officer, finding himself exposed to the ambition of the neighbouring princes, and discovering that they had resolved to attack him, sent to Salâh ad-Dîn, offering to deliver the city into his hands on condition of receiving a suitable return. The death of Shâh Armen took place on Thursday, the 9th of the latter Rabî, A. H. 581 (July, A. D. 1185), and, on the 20th of the same month, the sultan departed from Mosul and directed his march towards Khalât. Muzaffar ad-Dîn, afterwards lord of Arbela, but then lord of Harrân, accompanied the vanguard with Nâsir ad-Dîn Muhammad, the son of Asad ad-Dîn Shîrkûh and cousin of Salâh ad-Dîn. Having halted at a village called at-Tawâna, and situated in the neighbourhood of Khalât, they sent envoys to Bektimor for the purpose of settling the conditions of the treaty. When the envoys arrived, Shems ad-Dîn Pehlewân Ibn Ildukuz (1), lord of Adarbaijân, Arrân, and Persian Irâk, had already approached, with the design of besieging the city, but Bektimor having caused him to be informed that he would deliver up Khalât to the sultan if he (*Pehlewân*) did not withdraw his troops, the latter complied, and made peace on receiving Bektimor's daughter in marriage. Bektimor then sent to the sultan, retracting his promise of delivering up Khalât and offering some excuses. The sultan was then laying siege to Mâiyâfârikîn and had attacked it with great vigour. Kutb ad-Dîn Il Ghâzi Ibn Albi Ibn Kertâsh Ibn Ghâzî Ibn Ortok, the lord of this city, had left it, on dying, to his son Husâm ad-Dîn Bûluk Arslân, a mere boy; and this circumstance had encouraged Salâh ad-Dîn to undertake its siege. On the 29th of the first Jumâda (August, A. H. 1185), he succeeded, by means of a stratagem, in deciding the garrison to capitulate and surrender the place. Having then given up the hope of getting Khalât into his possession, he returned to Mosul for the third time, and encamped at some distance from it, at a place called Kafr Zammâr. He remained there a considerable time, and the weather being intensely hot, he was attacked by a malady which brought him to the verge of death, and, on the first of Shawwâl (December), he decamped for Harrân. When Izz ad-Dîn Masûd heard of the sultan's illness and learned that his heart was inclined to clement measures, he profited by so favorable an opportunity and despatched to Harrân the *kâdi* Bahâ ad-Dîn Ibn Shaddâd, a person whose life we shall give, accompanied by Bahâ ad-Dîn ar-Rabîb. On their arrival, they asked for and obtained peace; the sultan himself, who had now recovered, ratifying the treaty by

an oath. This took place on the 9th of Zû 'l-Hijja (March, A. D. 1186), and Salâh ad-Dîn, who was then recovering, never swerved from that engagement. Izz ad-Dîn Masûd being delivered from his apprehensions by the departure of the sultan for Syria, continued to enjoy tranquillity till his death. He died of diarrhea on the 27th of Shaabân, A. H. 589 (28th August, A. D. 1193). A large college was founded and endowed by him at Mosul for doctors of the Shafite and Hanifite sects. He was interred in a mausoleum erected within the walls of that establishment. I have seen the college and mausoleum, and was greatly struck with their beauty. Opposite to this college, and separated from it by a large open space, stands the college founded by his son Nûr ad-Dîn Arslân Shâh. On the death of Izz ad-Dîn Masûd, his son Nûr ad-Dîn Arslân Shâh (*vol. I. p.* 174) succeeded to the throne. Nûr ad-Dîn had two sons, al-Malik al-Kâhir Izz ad-Dîn Abû 'l-Fath Masûd and al-Malik al-Mansûr Imâd ad-Dîn Zinki. When on the point of death, he divided his states between them and gave to al-Malik al-Kâhir, who was the elder, the city and province of Mosul; the younger, Imâd ad-Dîn, received Shûsh, al-Akr, and the neighbouring districts. Al-Malik al-Kâhir was born at Mosul in the year 590 (A. D. 1194), and he died there, suddenly, on the eve of Monday the, 26th of the latter Rabî, A. H. 615 (22nd July, A. D. 1218). He also had erected a college and was interred within its precincts. As for Imâd ad-Dîn, he occupied Kâla tal-Imâdiya, on the death of his brother al-Malik al-Kâhir, but it was subsequently taken from him. It is one of the finest fortresses in Jabal al-Hakkâriya, a mountain in the territory of Mosul. He took also and lost a number of other castles in then vicinity. Having married the daughter of Muzaffar ad-Dîn, lord of Arbela, he removed to that city and resided there for some time. As we dwelt in his neighbourhood, we remarked that he was an extremely handsome man. Muzaffar ad-Dîn then arrested him for a motive too long to explain here, and sent him to al-Malik al-Ashraf, the son of al-Malik al-Aâdil, at Sinjâr. We shall again speak of al-Ashraf. Having received his liberty from this prince, he returned to Arbela and obtained from Muzaffar ad-Dîn the city and district of Shahrozûr in exchange for al-Akr. He removed thither and made it his residence during the rest of his life. He died on or about A. H. 630 (A. D. 1232-3); his son and successor died soon after. — Pehlewân Ibn Ildukuz died towards the end of Zû 'l-Hijja, A. H. 581 (March, A. D. 1186). His father, Shams ad-Dîn Ildukuz, the atabek, died, at Nakjawân, towards the end of the latter Rabî, 570 (Nov. A. D. 1174), and was interred

in that city. He had been *atabêk* (*guardian*) to the Seljûk sultan Arslân Shâh Ibn Toghrulbek Ibn Muhammad Ibn Malak Shâh. About a month after the death of Ildukuz, Arslân Shâh died at Hamadân and was interred there. Gûzul, (*another*) son of Ildukuz, lost his life in the beginning of Shaabân, A. H. 587 (Aug. A. D. 1191); he was a powerful prince.

(1) I follow the orthography of the autographic MS. of Abû 'l-Fedâ's *Annals*.

MUTARRIF AS-SANANI.

Abû Aiyûb Mutarrif Ibn-Mâzin, a member, by adoption, of the tribe of Kinâna, or of the tribe of Kais, according to another statement, was a native of Sanâa in Yemen and held the post of *kâdi* in that city. He delivered Traditions on the authority of Abd al-Malik Ibn Abd al-Aziz Ibn Juraij (*vol. II. p.* 116) and a great number of other masters. The imâm as-Shâfi (*vol. II. p.* 569) and many other doctors cited Traditions on his authority. His exactitude as a Traditionist has been contested, and it is related that Yahya Ibn Maîn (1) having been asked respecting his character, replied : " He is a liar. " An-Nasâi (*vol. I. p.* 58) declares positively that Mutarrif Ibn Mâzin was not trustworthy, and as-Saadi (2) said : " Mutarrif Ibn Mâzin as-" Sanâni's Traditions should be received with caution till his authorities be put to the " test." Abû Hâtim Muhammad Ibn Habbân al-Busti (3) says : " Mutarrif Ibn " Mâzin al-Kinâni, *kâdi* of Yemen, delivered Traditions on the authority of Mâmar " (*vol. I, p. xxiv*) and Ibn Juraij; as-Shâfi and the people of Irâk cited Traditions " on his authority. He used to relate Traditions which he never heard delivered, " and repeat (*as being consigned to paper*) information which had never been written " down, and that information he gave on the authority of persons whom he never " saw. It is not therefore allowable to relate Traditions on his authority except " to men of special merit, and then only for their examination." — " Mutarrif

"Ibn Mâzin," says Hâjib Ibn Sulaimân, "was *kâdi* of Sanâa and a man of holy "life." He then relates that Mutarrif declared a man justified who, having been constrained to swear that he would commit a scandalous deed, had acted according to his oath. Abû Ahmad Abd Allah Ibn Adi 'l-Jurjâni (4) quotes some Traditions as given by Mutarrif Ibn Mâzin, and adds : "He possessed also some Traditions, "known only to himself, and never communicated to the persons who handed "down Traditions on his authority; and I never remarked a suspicious text in any "of his relations." Abû Bakr Ahmad Ibn al-Husain al-Baihaki (*vol. I. p.* 57) says : "Abû Saîd informed us that Abû'l-Abbâs (5) told him that he had heard ar-Rabî "(*vol. I. p.* 519) mention that as-Shâfi said : 'Amongst the judges established in "'different regions, there were some who made witnesses swear by the Koran; "'and that, in my opinion, is approvable. Mutarrif Ibn Mâzin told me, on an "'authority which I do not recollect, that Ibn az-Zubair (6) ordered witnesses to be "'sworn on the Koran.'" Another doctor relates as follows : "As-Shâfi said : "'I saw Mutarrif at Sanâa, and he swore witnesses on the Koran;'" and a third doctor says : "As-Shâfi declared that he saw Ibn Mâzin, who was *kâdi* of Sanâa, "swear witnesses on the Koran in order to corroborate their oath." Mutarrif died at ar-Rakka, or at Manbej, by another account, towards the close of the khalifate of Hârûn ar-Rashîd. That sovereign died on the eve of Saturday, the 3rd of the latter Jumâda, A. H. 193 (24th March, A. D. 809), at Tûs; he commenced his reign on Friday, the 16th of the first Rabî, A. H. 170 (15th Sept. A. D. 786). Though this Mutarrif does not rank with those celebrated individuals whom it was necessary for me to notice, I have been induced to do so because the *shaikh* Abû Ishâk as-Shîrâzi (*vol. I. p.* 9) says, in the *Muhaddab*, chapter on oaths, section on claims, paragraph on corroborating the oath : "And, if he make the person swear by the "sacred volume and its contents, we know that as-Shâfi related, on the authority of "Mutarrif, that Ibn as-Zubair swore persons on the Koran, 'and', said as-Shâfi, "'I saw Mutarrif at Sanâa swearing persons on the Koran, which is approvable.'" Now, I remarked that jurisconsults inquired who this Mutarrif could be, and so little was known of him, that our master Imâd ad-Dîn Abû 'l-Majd Ismaîl Ibn Abi 'l-Barakât Ibn Hibat Allah Ibn Abi 'r-Rida Ibn Bâtîsh al-Mausili (*vol. I. p.* 187), the Shafite doctor, made the following gross mistake concerning him in the work which he composed on the names of the Traditionists mentioned in the *Muhaddab* and on the unusual terms which occur in that work : "Mutarrif Ibn Abd Allah Ibn

"as-Shikhkhîr," says he, "died subsequently to the year 87," meaning of the Hijra. There, by Allah! is a wonder: a person who died at that period, how could he possibly have been seen by as Shâfi, who was born A. H. 150, sixty-three years after Mutarrif Ibn as-Shikhkhîr's death? I know not what could have led him into this mistake, and had he not mentioned the date, people might have said: "He "thought that as-Shâfi met with him."—I had brought down my article thus far when I found, in the *Annals* of Abû '-lHusain Abd al-Bâki Ibn Kâni (*vol. I. p.* 374), that Mutarrif Ibn Mâzin died in the year 191 (A. D. 806-7), which agrees with our statement that his death took place towards the end of the khalifate of Harûn-ar-Rashîd. — For the first part of this article, as here given, I was indebted to the kindness of the *shaikh* and *hâfiz* Zaki ad-Dîn Abû Muhammad Abd al-Azîm al-Mundiri (*vol. I p.* 89); may God prolong his days for our advantage! — The Mutarrif mentioned by Imâd ad-Dîn Ibn Bâtîsh, bore the surname of Abû Abd Allah; he was a jurisconsult and the son of Abd Allah Ibn as-Shikhkhîr Ibn Aûf Ibn Kaab Ibn Wafdân Ibn al-Harîsh Ibn Kaab Ibn Rabîa Ibn Aâmir Ibn Sâsâa Ibn Moawîa Ibn Bakr Ibn Mansûr Ibn Ikrima Ibn Khasafa Ibn Kais Ibn Ghailân (*leg. Kais Ailân*) Ibn Modar Ibn Nizâr Ibn Maadd Ibn Adnân al-Harîshi. His father Abd Allah was one of the Prophet's companions. Mutarrif (*Ibn Abd Allah*) was one of the most devout and pious of men; it is related that, in a dispute with an adversary, in the mosque of Basra, he raised up his hands and exclaimed: "Almighty God! I beg of thee that "thou deliver me from this man before he rise from his place!" He had not finished speaking when the man fell dead to the ground. Mutarrif was taken before the *kâdi*, but that officer said: "He did not kill him; he only prayed against him, "and God answered his prayer." From that time, people stood in awe of his imprecations. He died A. H. 87 (A. D. 706), but other dates are given, and Ibn Kânî says, 95 (A. D. 713-4). God best knows the truth!

(1) His life will be found in this work.

(2) Abû Abd ar-Rahmân Abd Allah Ibn Mahmûd as-Saadi, the ablest doctor in the science of the Traditions whom the city of Marw ever produced, was considered as a most competent judge in these matters and looked on as a veracious and trustworthy traditionist. Ad-Dahabi states, in his *Tabakât al-Fukahâ,* that as-Saadi died A. H. 302 (A. D. 914-5).

(3) Abû Hâtim Muhammad Ibn Habbân, a native of the town of Bust, in Sijistân, studied under an-Nasâi and other eminent masters. He was profoundly learned in jurisprudence, the Traditions, medicine, astronomy, and other branches of science. He filled the post of *kâdi* at Samarkand and composed a critical work

in which he estimated the character and trustworthiness of those persons by whom Traditions were handed down. He died A. H. 354 (A. D. 965), aged upwards of eighty years.

(4) Abd Allah Ibn Adi al-Jurjâni, generally known by the surname of Ibn al-Kattân (القطان), composed a work on the character of the traditionists, and entitled it the *Kâmil* (complete). His authority as a doctor in Traditions stood very high. He died A. H. 365 (A. D. 975-6).

(5) By *Abû Said* is meant al-Istakhri (see vol. I. p. 374) and, by *Abû'l-Abbâs*, Ibn Suraij (vol. I. p. 46)—(Ms. ancien fonds, n° 755, *f.* 63, *verso*).

(6) Perhaps Allah Ibn az-Zubair, the anti-khalif, is meant.

KUTB AD-DIN AL-ABBADI.

Abû Mansûr al-Muzaffar Ibn Abi 'l–Husain Ardashir Ibn Abi Mansûr al-Abbâdi, surnamed Kutb ad–Dîn (*axis of religion*), and distinguished by the title of *al-Amîr* was a pupil-orator and a native of Marw (*Marwazi*). As preacher and an exhorter to piety, he displayed great abilities and expressed his thoughts in elegant terms. This talent he continued to exercise from his early youth till an advanced age, and he excelled in it to such a degree that his name became proverbial. He thus came to be considered as the paragon of the age, and his surpassing merit was universally acknowledged. Having gone to Baghdad, he resided there nearly three years, and, during that time, regular sittings were held to hear him preach. His character gained him the friendship of all classes, and the *imâm* (*khalif*) al-Muktafi li-amr illah took him into particular favour. Being then sent from Baghdad on a mission to the court of the sultan Sinjar Ibn Malak Shâh the Seljûkide (*vol. I. p.* 600), he proceeded to Khorâsân, and, on his return, he was despatched on another mission to Khûzistân. He died at Askar Mukram on Monday, the 29th of the latter Rabî, A. H. 547 (3rd August, A. D. 1152). His corpse was carried to Baghdad and buried within the enclosure which surrounds the grave of the holy *shaikh* al-Junaid Ibn Muhammad (*vol. I. p.* 338), in the Shûnizi cemetery. He was born in Ramadân, A. H. 491 (August, A. D. 1098). He learned a great quantity of Traditions at Naisâpûr from Abû Ali Nasr Allah Ibn Ahmad Ibn Othmân al-Khushnâmi, Abû Abd Allah Ismaîl,

the son of the *hâfiz* Abd al-Ghâfir al-Fârisi (*vol. II. p.* 170), and other masters. Some Traditions were given on his authority by the *hâfiz* Abû Saad as-Samâni (*vol. II. p.* 156), who speaks of him in these terms : " The Traditions which he " heard are genuine, but his religious principles were mistrusted. I saw something " of that in his conduct, and I met with a treatise, in his own handwriting, " wherein he essays to prove that it is lawful to drink wine; God pardon him " and forgive us all ! " His father Abû 'l-Husain was also known by the appellation of *al-Amîr:* he preached with elegance and led an exemplary life. His death occurred between the years 490 and 500 (A.D. 1097-1107).—*Abbâdi* means *belonging to Sinj Abbâd*, a large village in the vicinity of Marw. In the province of Marw also is another large village called Sinj, the native place of the jurisconsult Abû Ali as-Sinji (*vol. I. p.* 419). These two villages are quite distinct and must not be confounded, a number of masters in this branch of knowledge (*the derivation of patronymics*) have already given a similar caution.

MUWAFFAK AD-DIN MUZAFFAR.

Abû 'l-Izz Muzaffar Ibn Ibrâhîm Ibn Jamâa Ibn Ali Ibn Shâmi Ibn Ahmad Ibn Nâhid Ibn Abd ar-Râzzak al-Ailâni, surnamed Muwaffak ad-Dîn (*favoured in his religion*), was a member of the Hanbalite sect, a native of Egypt, an able philologer, prosodian, and poet. He composed a short treatise on prosody, which testifies, by its excellence, the acute intelligence of the author, and he left a *diwân* of charming poetry. He was a blind man, and in one of his pieces, he says :

> " You are in love," said they, "and yet you are blind! You love a dark-eyed nymph with " rosy lips, yet you never saw the charms of her person; you cannot then say that they capti- " vated your imagination. Her image never fleeted round you in your dreams; it never " approached your couch; whence then has it sent, invisible to you, an arrow into your heart? " By what means have you been enabled to describe her beauty in prose and verse? " I replied: " In love I am like Moses : I feel and am silent (1) : I love through the medium of " my ears, through I never saw the figure of her whom you name."



As one thing brings on another, these verses remind me of the following piece, composed also by a blind man :

A maiden said to her companions : " How strange a being is that blind man ! can he love an " object which he never saw? " With tears gushing from my eyes, I replied : " Though my " eyes never saw her person, yet her image exists in my imagination."

This thought is similar to that which Muhaddad ab-Dîn Omar Ibn Muhammad, generally known by the appellation of Ibn as-Shihna, a philologer and poet of some celebrity, who was a native of Mosul, inserted in a long *kasîda* composed by him in praise of the sultan Salâh ad-Dîn (*Saladin*) Yûsuf Ibn Aiyûb. The verse to which we allude is the following :

I am a man who loved you on hearing of your virtues ; the ear, like the eye, is sensible to love.

The author took this thought from a verse of the poet Bashshâr Ibn Burd (*vol. I. p.* 254), who said :

O my friends ! my ear is in love with a person of that tribe; the ear is sometimes enamoured previously to the eye.

The vizir Safi ad-Dîn Abû Muhammad Abd Allah Ibn Ali, who was generally known by the surname of Ibn Shukr (*vol. I. p.* 196), had set out from Syria with the intention of returning to Egypt, and his friends went forth to meet him as far as the station of Khashabi (2), neard al-Abbâsa (3) ; and Muzaffar, the subject of this article, wrote to him the following lines to excuse himself for not having gone forth like the others :

They said : " We are hastening to al-Khashabi (4), that we who are his pensioners, may " meet the vizir ; yet you, blind man ! do not set out." I replied : " I stay behind not through " fear of fatigue, but because my heart burns, in desolation for his absence, and I dread lest " that fire and al-Khashabi may come together (5)."

This is a trite idea, but the manner in which it is here employed renews its beauty. One of his friends told me that a person said to Muzaffar : " I saw in one of " Abû 'l-Alâ al-Maarri's (*vol. I. p.* 94) compositions the following passage (6), and " I wish to know what is the measure and whether it be one verse only or more than

" one; I should also like to be informed if the verses terminate in the same rhyme " or not." Muzaffar reflected for some time and returned a satisfactory answer. On hearing these words. I said to the relator of the anecdote: " Wait a moment till " I examine the passage and don't tell me Muzaffar's answer." I then perceived that it was a *majzû* (7) branch of the *rajaz* measure, that the passage consisted of four verses rhyming in *l*, and that it was versified in a manner which prosodians admit of. Persons unacquainted with the science of prosody would not perceive that the words form verses, because the separation between them falls on letters which are united to those that follow. To render this evident, it is necessary to give the verses here in their proper form:

" May God favour thee and preserve thee! thou must come to-day to our solitary abode, so " that we may renew our acquaintance with thee, O ornament of friends! for it is not a man " like thee that would change or neglect an old friendship."

Prosodians quote these verses as a puzzle, not as a form of verification usually employed. Having discovered the solution of the difficulty, I submitted it to that person, and he replied: " Such was also the answer given by Muzaffar the blind." —The following anecdote was related by the *shaikh* Zakî ad-Dîn Abû Muhammad Abd al-Azîm Ibn Abd al-Kawi al-Mundiri, the Egyptian Traditionist (*vol. I. p.* 89): " The learned Muwaffak ad-Dîn Muzaffar, the blind poet of Egypt, told me that, " having gone to visit al-Kâdi 's-Saîd Ibn Sanâ al-Mulk"—I shall give the life of this person; his real name was Hibat-Allah, —" the latter said to him: 'Learned " 'scholar! I have composed the first hemistich of a verse, but cannot finish it, " 'although it has occupied my mind for some days.' Muzaffar asked to hear " what he had composed, and the other recited as follows:

" (*Bayâdu izâri min sawâdi izârihi.*) The whiteness of my beard proceeds from the black- " ness of her ringlets.

" On hearing these words, Muzaffar replied that he had found their completion, " and recited as follows:

" (*Kamâ jalla nâri fihi min jullanârihi*) even as the flame with which I burn for her acquired its intensity from her pomegranate-flower (*her rosy cheeks*).

" As-Saîd approved of the addition and commenced another verse on the same

" model, but Muzaffar said to himself : ' I must rise and be off, or else he will make " ' the entire piece at the expense of my wits.'" Those anecdotes have drawn us from our subject, but one word brings on another.—Muzaffar was born at Old Cairo, on the 24th of the latter Jumâda, A. H. 544 (29th Oct. A. D. 1149), and he died on Saturday morning, the 9th of Muharram, A. H. 623 (10th Jan. A. D. 1226). He was interred the next day, at the foot of mount Mukattam.—*Ailâni* means *belonging to Kais Ailân*, or *Kais the son of Ailân* (8), Ibn Modar Ibn Nizâr Ibn Maadd Ibn Adnân. Those who call him *Kais Ailân* do not agree as to the signification of the latter word; some say that it was the name of a horse belonging to Kais, who was therefore called *the Kais of Ailân* : others says that it was the name of his dog, whilst others again tell us that Ailân was a man who brought up Kais in his childhood. According to the authors of these statements, Kais was named *Kais Ailân* because there was a person contemporary with him who bore the name of *Kais Kubba* (*the Kais of Kubba*), which *Kubba* was a horse that he possessed : therefore each of them was called after an object belonging to him, in order to distinguish him from the other. God knows best! Some state that Kais Ailân's real name was an-Nâs, and that he was the brother of al-Yâs, one of the Prophet's ancestors.

(1) Literally: I am Mosaic in love, by silence and comprehension.—I find nothing in the Korân to which this can allude : it may perhaps refer to some anecdote respecting Mûsa al-Kâzim, an *imâm* whose life will be found in this volume.

(2) Al-Khashabi was situated on the road leading from Cairo to Syria, at the distance of three stations from Fostât.—(*Marâsid.*)

(3) The town of Abbâsa (see vol. I. p. 500) lay at 15 parasangs from Cairo, on the road to Syria.—(*Marâsid.*)

(4) Here in the original Arabic is a fault against prosody. The poet pronounced *al-Khashabi*, whereas the true pronunciation, according to the *Marâsid*, is *al-Khashabiyi*.

(5) *Khashabi*, in Arabic, signifies any thing made of wood.

(6) I omit the Arabic text of the passage, as it is to be found in the two printed editions; its meaning is given lower down.

(7) In prosody, a distich is called *majzû* when a foot is suppressed in each hemistich.

(8) I may add that some authors write *Ghailân* in place of *Ailân*.

MOAD IBN MUSLIM AL-HARRA.

Abû Muslim Moâd Ibn Muslim al-Harrâ, a grammarian of Kûfa, was *mawla* to Muhammad Ibn Kaab al-Karazi (1). Al-Kisâi (*vol. II. p.* 237) studied koran-*reading* under him and delivered some Traditions on his authority. Numerous anecdotes are told of his (*al-Harra's*) koran-*readings*, He composed a number of grammatical treatises, but none of his works were ever published. He professed Shîite doctrines, and left some poetry, such as grammarians may compose. The advanced age to which he lived fixed the attention of his contemporaries; he had great-grandchildren, but all his descendants died before him. A secretary of his relates as follows: "When I was in the service of Moâd Ibn Muslim, a man one day asked him his age. "He replied: sixty-three years. Two years later, the same person repeated his "question and received the same answer. On this, I said to Moâd: 'I have been " 'with thee for the last one and twenty years, and every time thou hast been asked " 'thy age, thou repliest, sixty-three years.' To this observation he merely "answered: 'Wert thou to be with me one and twenty years more, thou wouldst " 'never hear from me any other answer (2).'" It is related by Othmân Ibn Abi Shaiba (3) that he saw Moâd Ibn Muslim and remarked that his teeth had been secured with gold fastenings, on account of his advanced age. Speaking of him, the celebrated poet Abû 's-Sari Sahl Ibn Abi Ghâlib al-Khazraji (4) said:

> Moâd Ibn Muslim is a man to whose existence no limit has been fixed. Time has grown hoary with age, yet the raiment of Moâd's life is still new. Tell Moâd, when you meet him, that eternity is vexed to see him live so long. O first-born of Eve! how long will thou live? ho wlong, O Lobad! wilt thou proudly sweep along in the robe of life (5)? The tent of Adam has fallen to ruin, but thou remainest like one of its pickets. When thou hearest that the ravens are dead (*of old age*), thou mayest then inquire what headache and weakness of sight may be; full of health, thou stalkest about like an ostrich in thy double cloak, and art as active as fire. Thou wert a companion of Noah's; and, when grown an aged man whose sons had children, you broke in the mule of Zû 'l-Karnain. Go on then and leave us; death shall be thy end, though eternity sustain the column of thy existence.

As for the words, *How long, O Lobad, etc.*, we may state that Lobad was the last of the eagles of Lokmân Ibn Aâd. This Lokmân, of whom God hath spoken in his



Holy Book (6), was sent by his people, the Aâdites, to the sacred territory of Mekka, that he might pray for rain. When the Aâdites perished, Lokmân was given the choice of living as long as seven dun heifers (7) or as long as seven eagles (8), each of which, when it died, was to be succeeded by another. He chose the eagles, and, having taken a young one as it came out of the shell, he reared it and it lived for eighty years. On the death of the sixth eagle, he took a seventh, and called it Lobad. When Lobad grew old and unable to fly, Lokmân used to say to him : " Rise (*and depart*), O Lobad! ". On the death of Lobad, Lokmân died also. The Arabs (*of the desert*) make frequent allusions to Lobad in their poems : it is thus that an-Nâbigha ad-Dubyâni (9) says :

> That abode has become desolate and its inhabitants have removed: it was destroyed by that agent (*time*) which destroyed Lobad.

Let us return to our subject. Moâd pronounced the following lines on the death of his sons and grandchildren :

> What can he hope for in life who has consumed, of his fleeting existence, ninety years? The ties which bound him to them (*his children*) are dissolved, and time has forced him to swallow the bitterest of woes. Yet he must drink of the same pond (*death*) as they have done, even were his life prolonged still more.

An intimate friendship subsisted between Moâd and al-Kumait Ibn Zaid (10), the celebrated poet : Muhammad Ibn Sahl, the person who published by oral transmission the poems of al-Kumait, relates as follows: At-Tirimmâh (11) the poet went to Khâlid Ibn Abd Allah al-Kasri (*vol. I. p.* 484), the emir of the two Irâks, who was then at Wâsit, and recited to him a poem which he had composed in his praise. Khâlid ordered him a present of thirty thousand dirhems, and arrayed him in two mantles of figured silk and of inestimable value. When al-Kumait heard of the circumstance, he resolved on going to Khâlid with a poem of a similar kind, but Moâd Ibn Muslim al-Harrâ said to him : " Do not : you are by no means like at-Tirimmâh; " he is the son of Khâlid's uncle, and other differences exist between you : you are " a Modarite, and Khâlid is a Yemenite strongly prejudiced against the descendants " of Modar; you are a Shîite and he is a partisan of the Omaiyides; you are a native " of Irâk and he is a Syrian. " Al-Kumait refused to take his advice and persisted in the intention of visiting Khâlid. When he arrived, the Yemenites said to

Khâlid : " Al-Kumait has come, he who attacked us in his *kasîda* which rhymes in " *n*, and in it glorified his people at our expense." Khâlid, in consequence, cast him into prison, observing that it was right to do so with a man who molested people by satirical attacks. Al-Moâd learned with regret what had happened, and pronounced the following lines :

I gave you good advice, but counsels which thwart the inclinations of him to whom they are addressed, are seldom well received. You acted against an advice in which you would have found your welfare, and of a sudden, between you and your hopes, misfortune intervened. The contrary of your expectations occurred to cross you, and brought with it a long share of affliction.

When Al-Kumait heard these lines, he wrote the following verse to Moâd :

You appear to me like one who adds water to the ocean and who makes a trade of bearing sand to the desert of Yabrîn.

To this he added : " The judgment has fallen upon me; what resource is now " left?" Moâd advised him to try and escape from prison, because Khâlid would assuredly put him to death; he in consequence disguised himself in the clothes of his wife, who came to him regularly with food, and, passing himself off for her, he left the prison and took refuge whit Maslama Ibn Abd al-Malik (12), whose protection he implored and to whom he addressed the following lines :

I passed through (*the gate*) to reach you, as the arrow of Ibn Mukbil passed through (*the target*) (13); (*escaping thus*) from turmoil and misery. I wore the dress of a female, but underneath I bore a determined heart, (*prompt to act*,) like the sword drawn from the scabbard (14).

It was thus that he escaped from Khâlid. Moâd being asked the date of his birth, replied that he was born in the reign of Yazîd Ibn Abd al-Malik, or in that of Abd al-Malik. Now, Yazîd succeeded to the khalifate on the death of Omar Ibn Abd al-Azîz, in the month of Rajab, A. H. 101 (Jan.-Feb. A. D. 720), and he died in the month of Shabân, A. H. 105 (January, A. D. 724) : his father Abd al-Malik succeeded to the khalifate on the death of his father Marwân, in the month of Ramadân, A. H. 65 (April-May, A. D. 685), and he died in the month of Shawwâl, A. H. 86 (Sept.-Oct. A. D. 705). Moâd's birth lies therefore between these limits : he died A. H. 190 (A. D. 805-6), or, according to some, the year in which the Barmekides were overthrown,

namely, A. H. 187 (A. D. 803), and this statement is the more correct. He was surnamed Abû Muslim, but, having got a son whom he called Ali, he obtained the surname of Abû Ali.—*Harrâ*, with a long final *â*, means a *dealer in the cloth of Herât* and such was the trade of Moâd.—The poet Abû 's'Sari, author of the piece of verse quoted in this article, was brought up in Sijistân; he pretended to have been suckled by the *genii* (*Jinn*) and to have been incorporated into that class of beings. He composed a work on the *genii*, their wisdom, genealogy, and poetry, and he pretended that he had made them take the oath of fidelity to al-Amîn, the son of Hârûn ar-Rashîd, as successor the throne. This obtained for him the favour of Hârûn ar-Rashîd, al-Amîn, and Zubaida, al-Amîn's mother, and, by his interest with them, he gained considerable wealth. He left some good poetry which he gave as having been uttered by *genii*, demons (*shayâtîn*), and *saâli* (*female demons*). Ar-Rashîd once said to him : "If thou sawest what thou hast described, thou hast seen wonders; "if not, thou hast composed a nice piece of literature." His whole history is a series of marvellous and strange anecdotes.

(1) *Al-Karazi* (القرظي) means a *dealer in karaz*; *karaz* is the name given to the leaves of the *salum* tree, a material used in tanning. According to the *Nujûm*, Muhammad Ibn Kaab al-Karazi died A. H. 117 (A. D. 735) or A. H. 120. He was a traditionist.

(2) Muhammad commenced his pretended mission at forty and died at sixty-three, the age after which, according to the Moslims, the mental faculties begin to decline : Ibn Muslim had therefore a motive for not making himself older.

(3) The *hâfiz* Othmân Ibn Abi Shaiba, a native of Kûfa, died A. H. 239 (A. D. 853-4). He composed a commentary on the Korân, and a *masnad*, or collection of Traditions. Thirty thousand persons are stated to have attended his lessons.—(*Mirât az-Zamân.*)

(4) Our author speaks of this poet at the end of the present article.

(5) A little lower down, the author tells us who, or rather what, Lobad was.

(6) Korân, sûrat 31.

(7) The right reading appears to be بعرات (*pellets of gazelle's dung*). See the *Kâmûs* under the word لبد, and de Sacy's *Chrestomathie Ar.* tome II. p. 432.

(8) The word *nasr* signifies *eagle* and *vulture*.

(9) M. de Sacy has given a notice on an-Nâbigha ad-Dubyâni in his *Chrestomathie*, tome II. p. 410.

(10) Coumait, fils de Zayd, issu d'Adnân par Açad Ibn Khozayma, poëte très-distingué dont le prénom était Abou 'l-Moustahill, ابو المستهل, florissait sous les Omeyyades et mourut avant l'avénement des Abbassides, auxquels il était très-attaché. Ses poésies composées en l'honneur de la famille de Hâchem, et nommées pour cette raison *Hâchemiyyât*, sont comptées parmi ses œuvres les plus remarquables. Pendant toute sa vie, il ne cessa de célébrer la gloire des poëtes issus d'Adnân et de faire la guerre aux poëtes de la race de Cahtân, ex-

cepté cependant à Tirimmah, dont il était l'ami intime, malgré la différence de leur origine et de leurs opinions politiques, religieuses et littéraires. Coumait habitait Coufa, où il tint quelque temps une école d'enfants. Il a fait beaucoup de vers à la louange d'Abbân, fils de Walîd, de la tribu de Badjîla. Coumait était né à l'époque de la mort de Hossayn, fils d'Aly, en l'année 61 de l'hégire. Il mourut sous le khalifat de Merwân Ibn Mohammed (Merwan II), en l'année 126. Il fut enterré dans un lieu voisin de Coufa, nommé *Mekrân*, qui est devenu depuis le cimetière des Benou Açad.—(Aghani III, 463-471.)—A. Caussin de Perceval.

(11) Tirimmah fils de Hakîm, issu de Cahtân par Tay, est un des bons poëtes du premier siècle de l'Islamisme. Il avait été élevé à Damas; il alla ensuite à Coufa avec les troupes syriennes, et s'établit en cette ville. Il embrassa la secte des *Azâreka*. Il a fait des vers à la louange de Khaled, fils d'Abdallah el-Kasry. Il fréquentait le poëte Rouba et surtout le poëte Coumait fils de Zayd, avec lequel il était intimement lié.—(Aghani III, 66.)—A. Caussin de Perceval.

(12) The emir Maslama, son of the khalif Abd al-Malik Ibn Marwân, died A. H. 122 (A. D. 739-40.)—(*Nujûm*).

(13) This proverbial expression is not noticed by al-Maidani.

(14) Literally : Resembling the drawing of the blade.

AL-MOAFA IBN ZAKARIYA.

The *kâdi* Abu 'l-Faraj al-Moâfa Ibn Zakariyâ Ibn Yahya Ibn Humaid Ibn Hammâd Ibn Dâwûd an-Nahrawâni, surnamed Ibn Tarârâ al-Jarîri, was a jurisconsult, a philologer, a poet, a scholar learned (*in the law*) and versed in every branch of science. He held the post of *kâdi* in that quarter of Baghdad called Bâb at-Tâk, exercising the functions of that place as deputy to the *kâdi* Ibn Sabr. Traditions were delivered by him on the authority of some eminent masters, such as Abû 'l-Kâsim al-Baghawi (*vol. I. p.* 323), Abû Bakr Ibn Abi Dâwûd (*vol. I. p.* 590), Yahya Ibn Sâîd (*vol. II. p.* 597), Abû Saîd al-Adawi, and Abû Hâmid Muhammad Ibn Hârûn al-Hadrami (1). One of the teachers from whom he received his philological information was Abû Abd Allah Ibrahîm Ibn Muhammad Ibn Arafa Ibn Niftawaih (*vol. II. p.* 26), and (*traditional information*) was transmitted from him to later students by Abû 'l-Kâsim al-Azhari, the *kâdi* Abû 't-Taiyib at-Tabari (*vol. I. p.* 644) doctor of the Shafite sect, Ahmad Ibn Ali ath-Thauri, Ahmâd Ibn Omar Ibn Rauh, and others. Ahmad Ibn Omar Ibn Rauh relates as follows : Abû 'l-Faraj al-Moâfa went to the house of a certain *rais* (2), and found a number of the literati and philologers assembled there.



They asked him what branch of science he felt inclined to discuss with them, and he addressed the *raïs* in these terms : "Your library contains treatises on all the "branches of knowledge and of literature; will you be pleased to send your boy "there and let him open the door and bring us the first book he lays his hand on; "you will then examine the subject of which it treats, and that subject we shall "discuss." "This," says Ibn Rauh, "proves that Abû 'l-Faraj was acquainted "with all the sciences."—Abû Muhammad al-Bâfi (3) used to say : "When the "*kâdi* Abû 'l-Faraj is present, we have with us all the sciences." He said also : "Were a man to devise one third of his property to the most learned of men, it "should be delivered over to Abû 'l-Faraj al-Moâfa." Al-Moâfa was a sure and trustworthy transmitter of traditional information. He composed some good poetry, and the following piece is given as his by Abû 't-Taiyib at-Tabari :

Say to him who envies me : "Do you know whom you offend by your conduct? You offend "God in finding fault with what he did; for you are not pleased at what God hath bestowed "upon me. May God therefore punish you in giving me an increase (*of knowledge*) and ex- "clude you from every path by which knowledge may be reached.

The *shaikh* Abû Ishak as-Shîrâzi (*vol. I. p.* 9) mentions him with commendation in the *Tabakât al-Fukahâ*, and then adds these words : "Abû Ali 'd-Dâwûdi, the *kâdi* of "our city, states that the following verses were recited to him by Abû 'l-Faraj as his "own :

"Shall I seek to obtain light from the cloud, or water from the mirage? I ask of vile for- "tune to lavish on me its favours, and I am sated with the fruit of bitterness. And yet I hope, "with longing desire, to meet the best of men in the worst of ages (4)."

The following piece is by al-Moâfa :

The Lord of the universe is bound to provide for me; why then should I submit myself as a slave to the world? Before I was created, he who formed me, may his name be glorified! fixed my share of adversity and prosperity. When rich, liberality and beneficence are my companions; when poor, my companion is meekness. As I am unable to repel the favours of God, so is all my intelligence unable to attract them.

It is stated that he composed these lines in imitation of the following by Ali Ibn al-Jahm (*vol. II. p.* 294) :

Be assured that idleness is not always hurtful, and that application is not always useful. Since

the provision God has allotted you will reach you equally soon, be you at home or abroad, enjoy the pleasure of repose.

A singular coincidence (*of names*) is thus related by Abû Abd Allah al-Humaidi (*p. 1 of his volume*), in his *al-Jamo bain as-Sahîhain* : he there says : I read the following anecdote in the handwriting of Abû 'l-Faraj al-Moâfa Ibn Zakariyâ an-Nahrawâni : "I made the pilgrimage one year, and being at Mina on one of the "three days which follow the Day of the Sacrifice, I heard a person call out : 'Ho ! "Abû 'l-Faraj !' I said to myself : He perhaps means me; but then I reflected that "many persons bore the surname of Abû 'l-Faraj, and that some other individual "might be meant. When the man found that no one answered him, he called "out again : 'Ho! Abû 'l-Faraj al-Moâfa !' I was on the point of answering when "I reflected that there might exist another man named al-Moâfa and surnamed Abû "Faraj; so I said nothing, and the same person shouted out a third time : 'Ho ! "Abû 'l-Faraj al-Moâfa Ibn Zakariyâ an-Nahrawâni !' Oh ! said I to myself, there "can be no doubt but that he calls me; he mentions my name, my surname, the "name of my father, and the name of the town to which I belong; I therefore "answered : 'Here I am; what do you want?' He replied : 'You are perhaps from "'an-Nahrawân in the East?' I answered that I was, on which he observed that "the Nahrawân which he meant lay in the West. I was much struck with all these "coincidences and I learned that there was a place in Maghrib called an-Nahrawân, "quite different from the Nahrawân which is in Irak (5)." Abû 'l-Faraj al-Moâfa composed a number of instructive works on literary and other subjects. He is the author of the book intitled *Al-Jâlis wâ'l-Anîs* (*the companion and friend*). His birth took place on Thursday the 8th of the month of Rajab, 303 (January, A. D. 916), or 305, according to another statement. He died on Monday, the 18th of Zû 'l-Hijja, 390 (19th November, A. D. 1000), at Nahrawân.—*Tarârâ* is written with a final *â* (ا), but some persons replace this letter by *a* (ة). —*al-Jarîri* means *related to* Muhammad Ibn *Jarîr* at-Tabari, the *imâm* of whom we have already spoken. Abû 'l-Faraj received this surname because he had accepted and followed implicitly the religious opinions taught by at-Tabari who, as we have already stated (*vol. II. p.* 597), was a *mujtahid imâm* and the founder of a particular sect. He had a great number of disciples, many of whom adopted his system of doctrine, and one of these was Abû 'l-Faraj.—As we have already spoken of *Nahrawân* (*vol. I, p.* 401), we need not repeat our observations here.

(1) This traditionist died A. H. 321 (A. D. 933).—(*Nujûm.*)

(2) See page 147, note (4) of this volume, and page 67, note (4) of vol. II. The word *raïs* now signifies *captain of a vessel.*

(3) The manuscripts read erroneously *al-Baki* (الباقي) instead of *al-Bâfi* (البافي).—Abû Muhammad Abd Allah Ibn Muhammad al-Bâfi al-Khuwârezmi (native of the village of Baf, in the province of Khuwarizm or Kharizm), was highly distinguished as a jurisconsult, a poet, and a literary scholar. He succeded ad-Dâraki (vol. II. p. 137) as professor at Baghdad, and died in the year 398 (A. D. 1007-8).—(*Tabakât al-Fukahâ*, autographic manuscript belonging to the *Bibliothèque impériale*, No. 755, fol. 77 verso.)

(4) Literally: In the age of dogs.

(5) This anecdote is curious enough, but, unfortunately for its authenticity, no place of that name exists in Maghrib.

AL-MOIZZ LI-DIN ILLAH.

Abû Tamîm Maâdd, surnamed *al-Moizz li-dîn Illah* (*the exalter of God's religion*), was the son of al-Mansûr, the son of al-Kâim, the son of al-Mahdi Obaid Allah. We have already spoken of his father (*vol. I. p.* 218), of his grandfather *p.* 181 (*of this vol.*) and of his great grandfather (*vol. II. p.* 77), and given a sketch of their history. Al-Moizz received from the people, in the lifetime of his father, the oath of fealty as heir to the throne. The oath was renewed to him after his father's death and on the date mentioned in our article on that prince. Having then taken into his hands the direction of affairs, he governed the state remarkably well. On Sunday, the 7th of Zû 'l-Hijja 341 (25th April, A. D. 953), he took his seat on the throne of the empire, so that the grandees and a great number of the people might do him homage. They saluted him with the title of khalif, on which he assumed the surname of *al-Moizz*, without shewing any sorrow for the death of his father. Having then set out to visit the provinces of Ifrîkiya and provide for their welfare and tranquillity, he subdued the rebels in these countries, chose from among his pages and followers those whose ability and intelligence he had appreciated and confided to them the government of his (towns and) districts. To each of them he furnished a numerous troop of militia and men at arms. He then placed a large army under the orders of Abû 'l-Hasan Jawhar, the *kâid* of whom we have spoken under the latter J (*vol. I. p.* 340)

and sent him to subdue all the countries of Maghrib which had refused obedience. Jawhar went to Fez and from that to Sijilmâssa. Having taken these cities, he marched towards the ocean which environs the world, caught some fish therein, put them into jars filled with water and sent them to al-Moizz. He then returned to his master, bringing with him as prisoners, in an iron cage, the sovereigns of Fez and Sijilmâssa. A full account of that expedition would be too long to relate; let it suffice to say that the *kâid* did not return to El-Moizz until he had solidly established that prince's authority in those countries and chastised the disobedient and the refractory. (*He vainquished them every where he met them,*) from the door (*or capital*) of Ifrîkiya to the ocean, in the West, and from the same capital as far as the provinces of Egypt, in the East. There remained not a spot in all those regions wherein the sovereignty of al-Moizz had not been proclaimed; in every one of them, the Friday prayer was offered up in his name by the congregation, with the sole exception of Sibta (*Ceuta*), which city remained in the possession of the Omaiyide sovereigns who ruled in Spain. When al-Moizz was informed of the death of Kâfûr al-Ikhshîdi (*vol. II. p.* 524), who was governor of Egypt, as we have already stated, al-Moizz ordered Jawhar to make preparations for marching into that country. Jawhar, before going, made an expedition towards the West, in order to settle matters there. He took with him an immense army, assembled all the Arab tribes that were to accompany him to Egypt, and collected from the Berbers five hundred thousand dinars of taxes which they owed for territories granted to them by government. When the winter season arrived, al-Moizz set out for al-Mahdiya and caused five hundred camel-loads of dinars to be transported from the palaces of his forefathers to his own. On Sunday, the 27th of Muharram, A. H. 358 (21st Dec. A. D. 968), Jawhar came back, bringing to al-Moizz troops and money, and then received the order to set out for Egypt. He took with him a great number of tribes (*both Arabic and Berber*). In our article on Jawhar we have given the date of his departure and that of his arrival in Egypt, so we need not repeat them here. Al-Moizz spent on the army which accompanied Jawhar so great a sum of money that the donatives (*in some cases*) amounted to one thousand dinars (*a man*) and were never less than twenty. The soldiers being thus enriched by his gifts, laid out their money at Kairawân and Sabra (1), in purchasing whatever they stood in need of. Jawhar departed with the army and took with him one thousand camels loaded with money and arms. The quantity of cavalry and ammunitions was immense. Dearth and

pestilence had prevailed in Egypt that year and carried off, it is said, six hundred thousand persons in the capital and the provinces. On the 15th of Ramadân, A. H. 358 (2nd of August, A. D. 969), al-Moizz received intelligence of the conquest of Egypt by his troops. Some time after, the dromedary express arrived with a dispatch containing an account of the conquest. Djawhar wrote repeatedly to al-Moizz, requesting him in the most pressing terms to come to Egypt, and soon after, he informed him by a courier that Egypt, Syria and Hijâz were brought into perfect order and that the prayer was offered up in his name throughout all those countries. This news gave al-Moizz the utmost satisfaction and, as soon as his authority was consolidated in Egypt, he set out, after naming Bolukkîn Ibn Zîri Ibn Menâd (*vol. I. p.* 267) as his lieutenant governor in Ifrîkiya. He took with him an immense sum of money and a number of very influential and powerful chiefs. He started from al-Mansûriya (2), the seat of his empire, on Monday, the 21st of Shawwâl, A. H. 361 (5th August, A. D. 972) and proceeded to Sardâniya (3) where he stopped in order to rally his officers, followers and all those who were to accompany him. Whilst at that station he ratified Bolukkîn's nomination, the date of which has been already given in his biographical notice. He departed thence on Thursday, the 5th of Safar 362 (15th Nov. A. D. 972) and continued his march, halting at certain places for a few days and, at other times, proceeding with great speed. On his way, he passed through Barka and entered Alexandria on Saturday, the 23rd Shabân of the same year (29th May, A. D. 973). He went in on horseback and proceeded to the bath. Abû Tâhir Mohammad Ibn Ahmad, *kâdi* of Misr (Old Cairo), accompanied by the chief men of the country, waited on him (*in Alexandria*) and offered him their salutations. He held a sitting near the light-house, in order to receive them and, addressing to them a long speech, he said that he had come to Egypt, not for the purpose of augmenting his dominions and his wealth but of maintaining the true faith, protecting pilgrims and making war against the infidels. He declared his resolution to close his life in the exercice of good works and to act in conformity with the orders he had received from his ancestor, the Prophet (*Muhammad*). He then preached to them and made a long exhortation which drew tears from some of those who were present; after which, he arrayed the *kâdi* and other persons of the assembly in robes of honour, made each of them a present of a horse (*or mule*), ready harnessed, and dismissed them. Towards the end of the month of Shabân, he left Alexandria and, on Saturday, the 2nd of Ramadân (6th June, A. D. 973) he stopped

at Mîna, which is the wharf of Misr, opposite Guiza. The kâid Jawhar went forth to meet him and, on drawing near, dismounted (*from his horse*) and kissed the ground before him. The vizir Abû 'l-Fadl Jaafar Ibn al-Furât, of whom we have given some account under the letter *J* (*vol. I. p.* 319), had also an interview, at al-Djîza, with al-Moizz, who remained there three days. The army prepared for crossing the river to the wharf of Misr, with their baggage, and, on Tuesday, the 5th of Ramadân,—or, by another account, on the 7th of that month,—El-Moizz passed the Nile and proceeded to al-Cahîra (*Cairo*), without entering Misr (*Old Cairo*), although the inhabitants had adorned the streets of the city, thinking he would visit it. On the other hand, the people of Cairo had made no preparations for his reception, as they supposed that he would, first of all, go to Misr. On arriving at Cairo, he went to the Castle and entered a hall of audience where he fell prostrate in adoration of almighty God. He then said a prayer of two *rakâs* (4) and dismissed the company. It was after al-Moizz that Cairo received the surname of *al-Moizziya* (*the Moizzian*), this city having been built for him by the *kâid* Jawhar. On Friday, the 17th of Muharram 364 (7th Oct. A. D. 974), al-Moizz took away from Jawhar the superintendance of the government offices, the collectorship of the revenue and the direction of all other public affairs. In our article on the *sharîf* Abd Allah Ibn Tabâtabâ (*vol. II. p.* 47) we stated that, in a conversation with al-Moizz, he questioned him about his genealogy, and we gave that sovereign's answer; we mentioned also what he was bold enough to do on his return to the Castle. El-Moizz was highly intelligent, resolute and lofty-minded, an accomplished scholar, and a good astronomer (*or astrologer*). The following piece of verse is said to be his :

> See what those eyes have wrought upon us from beneath those hoods! They are more cutting and more piercing to the soul than daggers to the throat. Between them all I am as much fatigued as a proscript flying under a mid-day sun.

These lines also are said to be his :

> Beauty, rising in your forehead like a sun, looked down on the roses of your cheeks, and thy loveliness, fearing that these roses might fade in that parching heat, spread over them thy hair as a shade.

This is a fine and original idea.—We have already given an article on his son Tamîm (*vol. I. p.* 279) and some specimens of his poetry. We shall speak of his



(other) son, al-Azîz Nizâr, under the letter *N.*—Al-Moizz was born at al-Mahdiya, on Monday, the 11th of Ramadân 319 (27th Sept. A. D. 931); he died at Cairo on Friday, the 15th, or as some say, the 13th of the second Rabî 365 (20th Dec. A. D. 975), or, by another account, the 7th of that month (5).

(1) Sabra was one of the suburbs of Kairawân.

(2) The name of *al-Mansûriya* was given to Sabra by Ismaîl al-Mansûr, the third fatimide khalif.—(Al-Bakri's *Description de l'Afrique septentrionale*, p. 64.)

(3) Al-Bakri places Sardâniya near Jalûla, which place is about 24 miles from Kairâwan. Sardâniya was so called because a number of Christians, whom the Musulmans had carried off from the isle of Sardinia, were permitted to settle there. Another colony of the same people existed in the neighbourhood of Tûzer.—(Al-Bakri, p. 78; Ibn Khaldûn's *Histoire des Berbers*, vol. III. p. 156 of my translation.)

(4) See vol. I. p. 624, note (7).

(5) For a fuller account of thelife of this sovereign consult the *Vie d'el-Moèzz* by Quatremère (*Journal asiatique* de 1837), and the *Histoire des Berbers*, tome II, *passim*.

AL-MUSTANSIR BILLAH.

Abû Tamîm Maâdd, surnamed al-Mustansir Billah (*the invoker of God's assistance*), was the son of az-Zâhir li-Izâz Dîn-Illah, the son of al-Hâkim, the son of al-Azîz, the son of al-Moizz li-Dîn Illah, him whose biography we have just given. The rest of his ancestors we have already mentioned. He was proclaimed sovereign on Sunday, the 15th of Shabân 427 (14th June, A. D. 1036), after the death of his father. During his reign a number of events took place the like of which never occurred in the reign of any other prince of that family, either before or after him. Such, for instance, was the affair of Abû 'l-Hârith Arslân al-Basâsîri (*vol. I. p.* 172) who, having acquired great power and influence in Baghdad, substituted in the public prayer (*khotba*) (1) the name of al-Mustansir for that of the *imam* (*and Abbaside khalif*) al-Kâim. This took place in the year 450 (A. D. 1058). During twelve months the *khotba* was recited, in the name of al-Mustansir, from all the pulpits of Baghdad. Another remarkable occurrence was the revolt of Ali Ibn Muhammad as-Sulaihi who,



having become master of Yemen in the manner we have already related (*vol. II. p.* 345), had prayers offered up for al-Mustansir from all the pulpits of that country, immediately after the *khotba*. This event is so well known that details are unnecessary. Another extraordinary fact was that he reigned sixty years, which was more than any member of the Abbaside family or of his own ever did. Another strange thing was his being raised to the sovereignty at the age of seven years. Another was that, from the time his ancestor al-Mahdi obtained the supreme power till the days of al-Moizz,—see the preceding article,—the prayer had been always offered up in Maghrib for the Fâtimides; when al-Moizz set out for Egypt, he appointed Bolukkîn Ibn Zîri as his lieutenant in that country, and the *khotba* continued to be said there as usual (*for the Fâtimide dynasty*); but al-Moizz Ibn Bâdîs, of whom we shall give some account (*see page* 368 *of this vol.*), put a stop to the practice. This happened in the year 443 (A. D. 1051-2), during the reign of al-Mustansir. The author of the History of Kairawân (2) gives the year 435 as the date of this event; (3) but God knows best. In the year 439 (A. D. 1047) the names of al-Mustansir and of his ancestors were replaced in the *khotba*, at Mekka and at Medina, by that of al-Muktadi (4), the khalif of Baghdad; but an account of this would lead us too far. Another extraordinary thing happened during al-Mustansir's reign : a great famine, the like of which had never been known since the days of (*the patriarch*) Joseph the faithful, desolated Egypt during seven years; men ate the flesh of their fellow-men and, it is said, a single cake of bread was sold for fifty pieces of gold (*dinars*). As long as this calamity lasted, al-Mustansir alone possessed a horse, and, when he rode out, the courtiers followed on foot, not having a beast to carry them. Individuals walking in the streets fell dead of hunger. Al-Mustansir was obliged to borrow a mule for his parasol-bearer, from Ibn Hibat Allah, president of the board of official correspondence (5). The famine rose at length to such a height that, in the years 462 (A. D. 1069-70), al-Mustansir's mother and daughters removed to Bagdad. The inhabitants of Egypt dispersed into various countries and were scattered abroad. It continued to rage with unabated violence till Badr al-Jamâli Amîr al-Jûyiûsh, the father of al-Afdal Shâhanshâh, set sail from Acre, as we have related in the life of his son (*vol. I. p.* 612) and proceeded to Egypt where he took in hands the direction of affairs and re-established the prosperity of the country. The details of his proceedings would lead us too far.—Al-Mustansir was born on the morning of Tuesday, the 16th of the second Jumâda 420 (2nd July. A. D. 1029); he died on

the eve of Thursday, the 18th of Zû 'l-Hijja 487 (6th Jan. A. D. 1095).—I may here observe that the 18th of Zû 'l-Hijja is the anniversary of the *Festival of Ghadîr* (*Aîd al-Ghadîr*) which is the same as that of *Ghadîr Khumm* (*the pond of Khumm*). I mention this, having heard many persons ask on what day of the month that festival took place.—*Khumm*, situtaed between Mekka and Medina, is a place where there is a pond of water, or, by another account, a morass. When the Prophet returned from Mekka, the *year of the farewell* (6), he halted at Khumm and adopted Ali Ibn Abi Tâlib as his brother, saying : " Ali is to me what Aaron was to Moses. Almighty " God! be a friend to his friends and a foe to his foes; help those who hefp him and " frustrate the hopes of those who betray him. " The Shîites attach great importance to this (tradition). According to Al-Hâzimi (*page 11 of this vol.*), *Khumm* is the name of a valley lying between Mekka and Medina, and in the neighbourhood of al-Juhfa (7). It contains a pond near which the Prophet pronounced his invocation. This valley is notorious fort the insalubrity of its air and the malignity of its fevers. —We have already noticed some members of Mustansir's family and shall speak of others in their proper places (8).

(1) See vol. I. p. 174, note (2).

(2) The history of Kairawan has been written by the following authors: 1st, Ibn ar-Rakîk, who was still living in the year 341 (A.D. 952); 2nd, Ibn al-Jazzâr, who, according to the author of the *Baiyân al-Mughrib*, died in 369 (A. D. 979), or, according to Ibn Abi Osaibia, in 395 (A. D. 1004-5); 3rd, Ibn Rashîk, who died in Sicily the year 463 (A. D. 1070-1); 4th, Ibn Shaddâd the Sanhajian, who died in 501 (A. D. 1107-8); 5th, Ibn Hammâd, whose work is cited by Ibn Khaldûn; 6th, Ibn Sharaf, whose history is quoted in the *Baiyân;* and 7th, Abû Bakr Abd Allah Ibn Muhammad al-Mâliki, author of a biographical work, arranged in chronological order, and treating of the most remarkable jurisconsults and devotees who had appeared at Kairawân, up to the year 356 of the Hijra inclusively. It furnishes occasionally some good historical information. The MS. of the *Bibliothèque impériale* is dated 24th Rajab 727 (June, A. D. 1327), and one of those from which it was copied bore the date of 544 (A. D. 1149-50).

(3) Ibn Khaldûn, who gives a full account of this event, (see *Histoire des Berbers*, tome I, page 31 et suiv.,) states that it took place in the year 437 (A. D. 1045-6); but, in the second volume of the same work, page 20, he says it happened in the year 440, and this is also the date given by the author of the *Baiyân.*

(4) The author has here fallen into a mistake; the khalif al Muktadi commenced his reign A. H. 467. It was the khalif al-Kâim whose supremacy was acknowledged in Maghrib after the revolt of al-Moizz the Zîride. Ibn Khaldûn, in his *Histoire des Berbers*, tome II. p. 21, says so positively, and the date suffices to prouve that he is in the right. Ibn Khallikân has avoided this error in his life of al-Moizz Ibn Bâdîs, page 386 of this volume.

(5) See, for the board of correspondence or chancery office, vol. I. p. 38, note (4).

(6) The tenth year of the Hijra was called *the year of the farewell,* because it was that in which Muhammad made his last pilgrimage and bid adieu to Mekka.

(7) See vol. I. p. 365, note (23).

(8) A long notice on al-Mustansir, compiled from the works of various Arabic authors, was published by Quatremère in the second volume of his *Mémoires sur l'Égypte*.

MARUF AL-KARKHI.

Abû Mahfûz Mârûf al-Karkhi, the celebrated saint, was the son of Firûz, or Fîrûzân, or Ali, and one of the clients of Ali Ibn Mûsa ar-Rida, a person of whom we have already spoken (*vol. II. p.* 212). His parents, who were Christians, delivered him over to a school-master of that persuasion, and when this man told him to say: "(God "is) the third of three," he replied: "Not so! he is the Only One (1)". Having once received a severe beating from his master for making such an answer, he ran away and left him. His parents then said: "O! were he to come back to us, we "should conform to whatever religion he may have chosen." Some time after, he made his profession of Islamism in the hands of Ali Ibn Mûsa er-Rida and, having returned to his parents' house, he knocked at the door. A voice (*from within*) said: "Who is there? He answered: Mârûf."—"What religion does he follow?"— "Islamism". His parents then because Moslims. Mârûf had the reputation of always obtaining from God the fulfilment of his prayers; so, in times of drought, the inhabitants of Baghdad offer up the prayer for rain at his tomb. They have also a saying that the tomb of Mârûf is an approved remedy for every ill. He said, one day, to his disciple Sari as-Sakati (*vol. I. p.* 555): "When thou "standest in need of God's assistance, invoke him to grant it for my sake."— "I saw, in a dream, Mârûf al-Karkhi;"—so relates as-Sakati,—"he seemed to be "under the throne (*of God*), and the Creator, may his power be glorified! said to "the angels: 'Who is that?' To which they answered: 'Thou knowest, o Lord! "'better than we do.' (God) replied: 'It is Mârûf al-Karkhi; he was intoxicated "'with love for me and did not recover till he met me.'"—Mârûf once related as

follows : " One of the disciples of Dâwûd at-Tai (2) said to me : 'Take care not to " 'discontinue the *act*, for, by it, thou art brought near unto the favour of thy Lord.' " — 'What is that act?' said I. He answered : 'Continual obedience to thy Lord, " 'and respect, with good counsel, for the Moslims.' " — Mohammad Ibn al-Husain relates that he heard his father say : " I saw, in a dream, Mârûf al-Karkhi, after his " death, and I said to him : 'How did God treat thee?' and he answered : 'He hath " 'shewn mercy unto me.' — 'Was it for thy self-mortification and thy devotion? " said I. 'No,' said he, 'but because I had hearkened to the exhortation of Ibn " 'as-Sammâk (*p.* 18 *of this vol.*) and because I clung to poverty and consorted with " 'the poor.' " Mârûf himself gave the following account of Ibn as-Sammâk's exhortation : " As I was passing throught Kûfa, I stopped to hear a man called Ibn " as-Sammâk, who was preaching to the people. In the course of his sermon he " said : 'Whosoever turneth altogether from God, God will turn totally away from " 'him; whosoever turneth his heart towards God, God will turn towards him with " 'mercy and a look of consent to his wishes, and he who has been (*devout*) from " 'time to time, God will shew him mercy on a time.' His words sunk into my heart, " so I turned towards God and left every occupation except the service of my patron " Ali Ibn Mûsa ar-Rida. I related this discourse to ar-Rida and he said : 'That " 'exhortation is quite sufficient, if thou art capable of being touched by an exhor- " 'tation.'"—We have already spoken of Ibn as-Sammâk among the ***Muhammads***.— When Mârûf was on his death-bed, they asked him for his last injunctions and he answered : " After my death, give away my shirt in alms; naked I came into the " world and naked I wish to leave it."—He passed, one day, by a water-carrier whe was crying out : " God have mercy on him who drinketh!" On this, he went up to him and took a drink, thought he was at that time keeping a strict fast. Some one then said to him : " Art thou not keeping a fast?" and he replied : " Yes, I am, " but I hoped for the fulfilment of that man's prayer."— The merits of Mârûf and the anecdotes respecting him are too numerous to be related. He died at Baghdâd in the year 200 (A. D. 815-6) or, by other accounts, in 201 or 204. His tomb is in that city; it is a well-known monument, much frequented by pious visitors. — *Karkhi* means *belonging to Karkh*. Nine places bearing this name are mentioned in Yâkût al-Hamawi's geographical dictionary, but the best known of them is that which is (*the suburb*) of Baghdad. Mârûf most certainly belonged to that place, though some say he was a native of the *Kharkh of Juddân*, which is a village in

Irâk, situated on the line which separates the government of Khânekân from that of Shahrozûr.

(1) That means: God is the third person of the Trinity. It is a koranic expression (see sûrat 5, verse 77), but could never have been made use of by a christian teacher. This shews that the story here related is a Moslem fabrication.

(2) See vol. I. p. 355, note (18).

AL-MOIZZ IBN BADIS, *THE ZIRIDE.*

Al-Moizz al-Himyari as-Sanhâji (*the sanhajian Himyarite*) (1), sovereign of Ifrîkiya and its maghribine dependancies, was the son of Bâdîs, the son of Mansûr, the son of Bolukkîn, the son of Zîri, the son of Manâd. In our article on his son, the emîr Tamîm (*vol. I. page* 281), we have given the rest of the genealogy. Al-Hâkim the (Fatimide) sovereign of Egypt, conferred on him the title of *Sharaf ad-Dawla* (*nobleness of the empire*) and sent him a robe of honour with a diploma authorising him to take that title. This happened in the month of Zû'l-Hijja 407 (May, A. D. 1017). Al-Moizz was a powerful and high-minded prince, a friend to the learned, and prodigal of gifts. In the series of sovereigns belonging to that family, he held the central place (2). We have already mentioned his father and his grandfather (*vol. I. p.* 248) and also his great grandfather (*vol. I. p.* 267). Poets were loud in his praise, literary men courted his patronage, and all who hoped for gain made his court their halting-place. The rite of Abû Hanîfa was (*at that time*) more prevalent in Ifrîkiya than any other, but al-Moizz obliged all the people of Mauritania to adopt that of Mâlik Ibn Anas (*vol. II. p.* 545), and thus put a stop to all contestations arising from the diversity of legal and ritual observances. Things have continued in the same state up to the present time (3). In our article on Mustansir billah the Obaidide (4), we mentioned that al-Moizz repudiated the authority of that sovereign, suppressed his name in the *khotba* and replaced it by that of al-Kâim bi-Amr Illah, the khalif of Baghdad. On this, al-Mustansir wrote

him a long and threatening letter, in which was this passage : "Why hast thou not "trod in the steps of thy forefathers, showing us obedience and fidelity?" To which al-Moizz replied : "My father and my forefathers were kings of Maghrib "before thy predecessors obtained possession of that country. Our family render- "ed them services not to be retributed by any rank which thou canst give. When "people attempted to degrade them, they exalted themselves by means of their "swords." He persisted in suppressing al-Mustansir's name and, from that time up to the present day, the *khotba* has never been said in Ifrîkiya for any Egyptian sovereign. Many anecdotes are told of all-Moizz, but his history is so well known that we need not expatiate on the subject (5). He composed a few pieces of verse, but none of them have fallen into my hands. — He was sitting, one day, in his saloon with a number of literary men about him, and before him lay a lemon shaped like a hand and fingers (6). He asked them to extemporize some verses on that subject, and Abû Ali al-Hasan Ibn Rashîk al-Kairawâni (*see vol. I. p.* 384), recited the following lines :

> A lemon, with its extremities gracefully spread out, appears before all eyes without being injured (7). It seems to hold out a hand towards the Creator, invoking long life to the son of Bâdîs.

Al-Moizz declared the verses excellent and shewed more favour to the author than to any other literary man in the assembly. — He was born at al-Mansûriya, a place called also Sabra, and forming one of the governments of Ifrîkiya (8). His birth took place on Thursday, the 7th of the first Jumâda 398 (19th January, A. D. 1008). He obtained the supreme command after the death of his father Bâdis and on the day specified in our account of that prince's life (9). He was solemnly inaugurated at al-Muhammadiya (10), another of the governments of Ifrîkiya. This event took place on Saturday, the 3rd of Zû 'l-Hijja 406 (13th May, A. D. 1016). He died at Kairawân on the 4th of Shabân 454 (13th August, A, D. 1062) of a malady he had contracted, a weakness of the liver. None of the princes of his family reigned so long as he. Abû Ali al-Hasan Ibn Rashîk lamented his death in an elegy of which all the verses rhymed in *k*; we abstain from inserting this piece, in order to avoid prolixity. This prince had no other name but al-Moizz (*which is however a simple title or surname*). To clear up this point, I made every possible search; consulting books, learned men, natives of Mauritania and writers of annals, but could only find



that he was called *al-Moizz* and that his surname was unknown. It would therefore appear that *al-Moizz* was really his name; besides, we are not authorised to suppose that (*in his case*) it was a surname, for none of his family ever bore one. I give it therefore for his name, as I found it.

(1) Ibn al-Kalbi, Tabari, Nuwairi, and other historians assert that the Sanhadja, a people who form one of the oldest and purest berber tribes, that of Zenag (*Senegal*), descended from the arabic tribe of Himyer. This opinion, though deserving of attention, was not admitted by the native genealogists of the berber race. —(See *Histoire des Berbers*, tome II, p. 2 et suiv.)

(2) Literally: He was the central (and finest) pearl of their neck-lace.

(3) The rite of Mâlik is still the only one prevalent in the states of northern Africa. It is followed also in the Negro countries.

(4) See p. 382 of this volume. The Fatimides were called Obaidides by those who did not look upon them as descendants of Fâtima, the daughter of Muhammad. This designation was given to them because their ancestor was named Obaid Allah.

(5) The history of al-Moizz the Zîride is given by Ibn Khaldûn in the *Histoire des Berbers*, tome I, p. 30 et suiv.; et tome II, p. 18 et suiv.

(6) Lemons of this form are not uncommon in Algeria.

(7) The effects of the evil eye may be averted by holding up the hand, with the fingers spread open. It is to this circumstance that the poet alludes.

(8) Sabra was quite contiguous to Kairawân.

(9) The inauguration of al-Moizz had been deferred because he was only eight years old on his father's death.

(10) The town and canton of al Muhammadiya lie nine miles south of Tunis.

ABU OBAIDA.

Abû Obaida Mâmar Ibn al-Muthanna, an adoptive member of the Koraishide family of Taîm and a native of Basra, was an able grammarian and an accomplished scholar. He is spoken of by al-Jâhiz (*vol. II. p.* 405) in these terms: "There was "never on earth a Khârijite (*dissenter*) or an orthodox believer more learned in all "the sciences than he."— Ibn Kutaiba (*vol. II. p.* 22) speaks of him thus in the "*Kitâb al-Maârif*: "The unusual expressions (*of the Arabic language*), the history

" of the (*ancient*) Arabs and their conflicts, were his predominant study; yet, with
" all his learning, he was not always able to recite a verse without mangling
" it; even in reading the Korân, with the book before his eyes, he made mistakes.
" He detested the Arabs (*of the desert*) and composed a number of treatises in their
" dispraise. His opinions were those of the Khârijites."—Another author relates as
" follows : " In the year 188 (A. D. 804) he proceeded from Basra to Baghdad,
" whither he had been called by Hârûn ar-Rashîd, and explained some of his works
" to that prince. He taught Traditions on the authority of Hishâm Ibn Orwa (1)
" and others; Traditions were given on his authority by Ali Ibn al-Mughîra al-
" Athram (2), Abû Obaid al-Kâsim Ibn Sallâm (*vol. II. p.* 486), Abû Othmân al-
" Mâzini (*vol. I. p.* 264), Abû Hâtim as-Sijistâni (*vol. I. p.* 603), Omar Ibn Shabba
" an-Numairi (*vol. II. p.* 375) and others." — Abû Obaida related the following
anecdote : " Al-Fadl Ibn ar-Rabî (*vol. II. p.* 468) sent to me, at Basra, the order to
" go and see him. So, I set out, though I had been informed of his haughtiness.
" Being admitted into his presence, I found him in a very long and broad saloon,
" *the floor of which was*) was covered with a carpet of one single piece. At the
" upper end of the room was a pile of matrasses, so lofty that it could not be got
" upon without a foot-stool, and on those matrasses al-Fadl was seated. I said to
" him : ' Hail to the vizir ! ' He returned my greeting, smiled on me and, bidding
" me draw near, he placed me on the same seat with himself. He then asked me
" sundry questions and showed me such affability as set me quite at ease. At
" his request, I recited to him the finest anteislamite poems I could recollect. ' I
" ' know most of these;' ' said he, ' what I want is (*to hear*) gay verses !' I recited
" some to him, and, as I proceeded, he shook his sides, laughed and got into an
" excellent humour. A well-looking man, in the dress of a *kâtib* (3), then came in,
" and al-Fadl made him sit down beside me and asked him if he knew me. On
" his reply that he did not, he said to him : ' This is Abû Obaida, the most learned
" ' man of Basra; we sent for him that we might derive some benefit from his learn-
" ' ing.'—' May God bless you !' exclaimed the man, ' you did well !' Turning then
" towards me, he said : ' I have been longing to see you, as I have been asked a
" ' question which I wished to submit to you.' I replied : ' Let us hear it.'—' The
" ' (*Korân, which is the*) word of God,, said he, ' contains this passage : *the buds of*
" ' *which are like heads of demons* (4). Now, we are all aware that, in promises and
" ' threats, the comparisons which are made should refer to things already known;

" ' yet no one knows what a demon's head is like.' — To this I replied : ' God spoke
" ' there to the Arabs in their own style; have you not heard the verse of Amro
" ' 'l-Kais :

" Will he kill me? me whose bed-fellows are a sword and (*arrows*) pointed with azure
" (*steel*), like unto the fangs of ogres.

" ' Now, the Arabs never saw an ogre, but, as they stood in awe of such beings,
" ' they were often threatened with them.' Al-Fadl and the man who questioned
" me approved this answer, and, on that very day, I took the resolution of composing
" a treatise on the Korân, in explanation of this and similar difficulties, with every
" necessary elucidation. On my return to Basra, I drew up the work and entitled
" it *al-Majâz* (*metaphors*). On enquiry respecting that man, I learned that he was
" one of the vizir's *kâtibs* and boon companions.' — Abû Obaida, having been informed that (*Abû Said*) al-Asmâi (*vol. II. p.* 123) blamed him for composing the *Kitâb al-Majâz*, and that he had said : " He speaks of God's book after his own
" private judgement (5)," enquired when and where he gave lessons, and, on the day mentioned, he mounted his ass, rode up to the circle of scholars, dismounted and, after saluting al-Asmâi, sat down and conversed with him. On finishing, he said : " Tell me, Abû Saîd! what sort of a thing is bread?" The other answered :
" It is that which you bake and eat." — " There, " said Abû Obaida, " you have
" explained the book of God after your own private judgment (6), for God, may his
" name by exalted! has said (*in repeating the words of Pharaoh's chief-baker*) : ' *I*
" ' *was bearing on my head* (a load of) *bread* (7).' " Al-Asmâi replied : " I said
" what appeared to me true and did not (*mean to*) explain the Korân after my private
" judgement." On which Abû Obaida replied : " And all that I said and which you
" blamed me for appeared to me true, and I did not (*mean to*) explain the Korân
" after my private judgment," He then rose from his place, mounted his ass and went off.—Al-Bâhili, the author of the *Kitâb al-Madni* (8) declared that students who went to al-Asmâi's lessons were purchasing pellets of dung in the pearl-market, and that, when they went to those of Abû Obaida, they purchased pearls in the dung-market. He said so because al-Asmâi recited with much elegance and could set off anecdotes and verses, even of the poorest kind, so as to make the very worst appear good, but that little real information was to be obtained from him; whereas, Abû Obaida expressed himself badly but furnished a mass of useful knowledge. — Abû

Obaida never explained the verses (*which he recited*). Al-Mubarrad (*p.* 31 *of this vol.*) said : "Abû Zaid al-Ansâri (*vol. I. p.* 570) was an abler grammarian than al-Asmâi "and Abû Obaida, but these two came next to him and were near to each other; "Abû Obaida was the most accomplished scholar of the day."—Ali Ibn al-Madîni (*vol. II. p.* 242, *note* (6) spoke of him in the highest terms, and declared that he was a most correct transmitter of traditional literature. "Never," said he, "did he "give as a genuine production of the desert Arabs a piece which was not authentic." — Abû Obaida and al-Asmâi were taken before Harûn ar-Rashîd in order that he might choose one of them for a member of his private society, and the preference was given to al-Asmâi, as being better qualified for a table-companion. — Abû Nûwâs (*vol. I. p.* 391) took lessons from Abû Obaida; he praised him highly and decried al-Asmâi, whom he detested. When asked what he thought of al-Asmâi, he replied : "A nightingale in a cage" (9). Of Khalaf al-Ahmar (10) he said : "In him are "combined all human knowledge and intelligence;" and of Abû Obaida : "A "bundle of science packed up in a skin." — A poem adressed by Ishâk Ibn an-Nadîm al-Mausili (*vol. I. p.* 183) to al-Fadl Ibn ar-Rabî contains the following passage in praise of Abû Obaida and in dispraise of al-Asmâi :

> Take Abû Obaida and treat him with favour, for in him you will find all science. Honour him therefore, prefer him, and reject the she-monkey's cub.

When Abû Obaida recited verses, he did not mark the measure and, in repeating passages of the Korân or relating Traditions, he made mistakes designedly : "For," said he, "grammar brings ill luck (11)." He continued to compose works until he died and left nearly two hundred treatises (12), of which we may name the following : *Kitâb majâz al-Korân* (*figurative expressions occurring in the Koran*), the *Gharîb al-Korân* (*unusual expressions employed in the Korân*), the *Maâni 'l-Korân* (*rhetorical figures made use of in the Korân*), the *Gharib al-Hadîth* (*rare expressions occurring in the Traditions*), the *Kitâb ad-Dîbâj* (*silken robe*), the *Tâj* (*diadem*), the *Kitâb al-Hudûd* (*book of definitions*), the *Kitâb Khorâsân* (*treatise concerning Khorâsân*), the *Kitâb Khawârij il-Bahrain wa' l-Yamâma* (*on the Khârijites of Bahrain and Yemâma*), the *Kitâb al-Mawâli* (*on mawlas*), the *Kitâb al-Bulh* (*on simpletons*), the *Kitâb ad-Dîfân* (*on guests*), the *Kitâb Marj Râhit* (*on the battle of Marj Râhit*), the *Kitâb al-Munâfarât* (*contestations* between individuals concerning the illustriousness of their respective families), the *Kitâb al-Kabâil* (*on the* Arabian) *tribes*), the *Kitâb*

Khabar il-Barrâd (*history of al-Barrâd*) (13), the *Kitâb al-Karain* (*book of female companions*, or *of concomitant circumstances*), the *Kitâd al-Bâzi* (*on the falcon*), the *Kitâb al-Hamâm* (*on turtle-doves*) the *Kitâb al-Haiyât* (*on serpents*), the *Kitâb al-Akârib* (*on scorpions*), the *Kitâb an-Nawâkih* (*on concubines*), the *Kitâb an-Nawâshir* (*on the muscles of the arm*), the *Kitâb Hudr il-Khail* (*on the galloping of horses*), the *Kitâb al-Aiyân* (*on great men?*), the *Kitâb Bunyân bi-Ahlihi* (*on setting up house*), the *Kitâb Ayâdi 'l-Azd* (*on the generous deeds of the tribe of Azd*), the *Kitâb al-Khail* (*on horses*), the *Kitâb al-Ibl* (*on camels*), the *Kitâb al-Insân* (*on man*), the *Kitâb az-Zarêl on corn-fields*), the *Kitâb ar-Rahl* (*on the camel's saddle*), the *Kitâb ad-Dilwi* (*on the leathern bucket for drawing water*), the *Kitâb al-Bakra* (*on the pulley of draw-wells*), the *Kitâb as-Sarj* (*on the saddle*), the *Kitâb al-Lijâm* (*on the bridle*), the *Kitâb al-Faras* (*on the horse*), the *Kitâb as-*Shaw*ârid* (*on animals gone astray*, or *on verses current through the Arabîan tribes*), the *Kitâb al-Ihtilâm* (*on puberty*, or *on dreaming*), the *Kitâb makâtil il-Fursân* (*on combats where celebrated horsemen met their death*), the *Kitâb makâtil il-Ashrâf* (*on the violent deaths of the Sharifs* or descendants of Ali), *the Kitâb as-Shir wa as-Shuwarâ* (*on poetry and poets*), the *Kitâb fadla wa afâla* (*on verbs which, in the fourth form, have a privative signification*), the *Kitâb al-Mathâlib* (*the vices of the* Arabs *reprehended*), the *Kitâb Khulk al-Insân* (*on the human frame*), *the Kitâb al-Fark* (*on the difference* between the names given to the members of the human body and these given to the same members in animals), the *Kitâb al-Khuff* (*on the feet of camels*, or *on boots*), the *Kitâb Makka wa 'l-Haram* (*on Mekka and its sacred territory*), the *Kitâd al-Djaml wa 's-Siffîn* (*on* the battles *of the Camel and Siffîn*), the *Kitâb Buyûtât il-Arab* (*on the tents of the Arabs*), the *Kitâb al-Mulâwamât* (*on mutual blame*), the *Kitâb al-Gharât* (*on predatory excursions*), *the Kitâb al-Muâtabât* (*on mutual reproaches*), the *Kitâb al-Adhdâd* (*on words which have each two opposite significations*), the *Kitâb maâthir il-Arab* (*the memorable deeds of the Arabs*), the *Kitâb Maâthir Ghatafân* (*the noble recollections left by* the tribe of *Ghatafân*), the *Kitâb Adîât il-Arab* (*on the high pretentions of the Arabs*), the *Kitâb maktal Othmân* (*on the murder of* the khalif *Othmân*), *the Kitâb Asmâ 'l-Khail* (*on the names given to horses*), the *Kitâb al-Akaka* (*on ungrateful children*), the *Kitâb kudât il-Basra* (*on the* kadis *of Basra*), the *Kitâb Futûh Irmîniya* (*on the conquest of Armenia*), the *Kitâb Futûh il-Ahwâz* (*on the conquest of al-Ahwâz*), the *Kitâb Losûs il-Arab* (*on* celebrated *Arab robbers*), the *Kitâb Akhbâr il-Hajjâj*) (*the history of al-Hajjâj*), the *Kitâb Kissat il-Kaaba* (*the history of the Kaaba*), the *Kitâb al-Hums min Aal Kuraish* (*on the Kuraishide families*

called the Hums) (14), the *Kitâb Fadâil il-Arsh* (*on the excellencies of the throne* of God) the *Kitâb ma talhano fihi 'l-Aamma* (*on the faults of language committed by the vulgar*), the *Kitâb as-Sawâd wa Fathihi* (*on Babylonia and its conquest*), the *Kitâb man shukira min al-Ommâl wa humida* (*on governors who have been thanked and praised*), the *Kitâb al-Jamâ wa 't-Tathniya* (*on the plural and the dual*), the *Kitâb al-Aûs wa 'l-Khazraj* (*on the Aus and Khazraj*, the two great Arab tribes of Medina), the *Kitâb Muhammad wa Ibrâhîm* (*history of Muhammad and Ibrâhîm*), the sons of Abd Allah, the son of al-Hasan, the son of al-Hasan, the son of Ali, the son of Abû Tâlib (15), the *Kitâb al-Aiyâm as-Saghîr* (*the shorter work on celebrated battle-days*), containing an account of seventy-five conflicts, the *Kitâb al-Aiyâm al-Kabîr* (*the greater work on battle-days*), containing an account of one thousand two hundred conflicts, the *Kitâb Aiyâm Bani Mâzin wa Akhbârihim* (*the battle-days and history of the tribe of Mâzin*). He left besides other instructive works, all of which I should mention, were I not afraid of lenghtening this article too much. — Abû Obaida relates as follows: " When I appeared before al-Fadl Ibn ar-Rabî, he asked me who, of all men, " was the best poet? and I answered: 'Ar-Râî (16)' ". 'Why,' said he, 'do you give " 'him the preference?' — I replied: 'Because he went to see Saîd Ibn Abd ar- " 'Rahmân the Omaiyide who, the very day he received him, made him a present " 'and allowed him to depart; this circumstance ar-Râî described in the following " 'verses:

" 'At midnight, our camels, emaciated (*by a long journey*), arrived panting at Saîd's door.
" The next morning, they hastened off again, praising the court-yard where he had allowed
" them to repose; for they had obtained (*for me*) not a dilatory promise but a solid gift.'

" On hearing this, al-Fadl exclaimed: 'Abû Obaida! you have presented to us " 'your request with much address.' " The next morning, Abû Obaida went to the court of Hârûn ar-Rashîd: " He gave me a present," said he, " ordered me " something out of his own private treasury and dismissed me." — Abû Obaida was a *mawla* of the tribe of Obaid Allah Ibn Mâmar at-Taîmi. A man of high rank said to him: " You, who insult every one, who was your father?" to which he replied: "My father informed me that his father told him that he was a jew of (*the* " *town of*) Bâjarwân;" the questionner went off immediately and left him (17). — Abû Obaida was of so sarcastic a humour that every one in Basra who had a reputation to maintain was obliged to flatter him. He once set out for Fars with the

intention of visiting Mûsa Ibn Abd ar-Rahmân al-Hilâli who, being informed of his approach, said to his pages: "Be on your guard against Abû Obaida, for every word "of his is (*sharp and*) cutting." A repast was served and one of the pages spilled some gravy on the skirt of Abû Obaida's cloak. "Some gravy has fallen on your "cloak," said Mûsa, "but I shall give you ten others in place of it."—"Nay!" replied Abû Obaida, "do not mind! your gravy can do no harm." By that he meant that there was no strength (18) in it. Mûsa understood the sarcasm, but held his peace.— It is related that, when Abû Obaida composed his *Kitâb al-Mathâlib*, an Arab said to him: "You have insulted the whole of the Arabs;" on which he replied; "That can do you no harm, for it does not concern you;" meaning by these words that the man was not an Arab. When al-Asmâi went to the mosque, he always said (*to his disciples*), before he entered: "Look in and see if that fellow "be there;" meaning Abû Obaida; so much he dreaded the sharpness of his tongue.— When Abû Obaida died, no one attended his funeral because he had not spared, in his acrimony, either gentle or simple. He was filthy in his habits and lisped; his genealogy was unsound and his orthodoxy suspected, for he had a leaning towards the doctrines of the Khârijites. Abû Hâtim as-Sijistâni (*vol. I. p.* 603), related that Abû Obaida treated him with respect because he thought him to be one of the Khârijites of Sîjistân. Ath-Thauri (*vol. I. p.* 576) relates the following anecdote: "I went to the mosque and found Abû Obaida sitting alone and "writing with his finger on the floor. He asked me who was the author of this "verse:

> "I said to my soul, when it shook and trembled: Back to thy wonted mood! Strive to "merit praise or else repose (*in death*).

"I replied that is was Katari Ibn al-Fujâa (*see vol. II. p.* 522), on which he "exclaimed: 'God smash your mouth! why not say: the Commander of the faithful, "Abû Naâma (19)? He then requested me to sit down and never to repeat what "he had just uttered. So I kept it a secret till the day of his death." — This anecdote appears to me contestable, for the verse just mentioned belongs to a poem composed by Amr Ibn al-Itnâba al-Ansâri al-Khazraji. *Itnâba* was his mother's name and *Zaid Manât* the name of his father. No literary scholar can deny the verse to be his, the poem from which it is taken being acknowledged to be of that author's

composition. Al-Mubarrad (*vol. III. p.* 31) relates in his *Kâmil* that Moawîa Ibn Abi Sofyân the Omaiyide said : " Let poetry be one of your chief occupations " and principal studies. The noble deeds of your forefathers are mentioned in " poems, and there also you can find counsels to direct you. At the battle of Al- " Harîr(20), I was on the point of running away, when these words of Ibn al-Itnâba " (*came to my mind and*) changed my intention :

" I was hindered by my self-denial, by my fortitude, by the hope of purchasing glory at an " easy rate (*in facing dangers*) (21), by the pleasure of encountering perils, of striking off the " heads of many a valiant hero, and of saying (*to my soul*), every time she shook and trem- " bled : ' Back to thy wonted mood! strive to merit praise or else repose (*in death*). Let me " ' thus defend my pure renown and ward off hereafter imputations which I had well deser- " ' ved (22).' "

Let us return to our account of Abû Obaida : no magistrate would receive his evidence because he was suspected of an unnatural vice. Al-Asmâi relates this anecdote : " I and Abû Obaida entered one day into the mosque and, behold ! on the " pillar at the foot of which he usually sat and at the height of nearly seven cubits, " was inscribed this verse :

" God's blessing on Lot and on his people ! come, Abû Obaida ! say *amen*.

" He said to me : " Asmâi ! rub that out. " So I got on his shoulders and ef- " faced the writing, but not before my weight made him cry out: 'You are too " ' heavy ; you are breaking my back !'—I answered : ' Nothing remains (*to rub out*) " ' but the *t* (*of the word Lot.*)'—' That,, said he, ' is the worst letter of the whole " ' verse."' According to another account, Abû Obaida, finding al-Asmâi so heavy, told him to make haste. " Nothing remains now, " said the other, " ex- " cepting the word *Lot*." On this, Abû Obaida exclaimed ; " From him let us " fly (23) " — The person who wrote the verse was Abû Nuwâs al-Hasan Ibn Hâni, he of whom we have already spoken (*vol. I. p.* 391). It is related that, near the place where Abû Obaida held his sittings, were found scraps of paper containing the above mentioned verse and the following :

For thou, I am sure, art one of their survivers (*and hast been always so*) since the age of puberty, though thou art now in thy ninetieth year.

The anecdotes related of Abû Obaida are very numerous. He was born in the month of Rajab, 110 (Oct.-Nov. A. D. 728), on the same night in which Al-Hasan al-Basri (*vol. I. p.* 370) died. Other accounts place his birth in the years 111, 114, 118 and 119, but the date here given is the true one. The proof is that the emir Jaafar Ibn Sulaimân Ibn Abd al-Mottalib (24) having asked him when he was born, he replied: "Omar Ibn Abî Rabîa al-Makhzûmi (*vol. II. p.* 372) has already shaped "out my answer: being asked the date of his birth, he replied: 'The night on "'which (*the khalîf*) Omar Ibn al-Khattâb died; what excellence was then removed "'from the world and what worthlessness brought into it!' Now I was born the "night of al-Hasan al-Basri's death, and (*the rest of*) my answer shall be the same "as Omar Ibn Abî Rabîa's." In the life of this Omar we mentioned that these words have been attributed to Al-Hasan al-Basri. Abû Obaida died at Basra in the year 209 (A. D. 824-5), or, according to other statements, in 211, or 210, or 213. — A banana, which (*Abû Jaafar*) Muhammad Ibn al-Kâsim Ibn Sahl an Nushjâni gave him to eat, was the cause of his death. Some time afterwards, Abû 'l-Atâhiya (*vol. I. p.* 202) went to see An-Nushjâni, who offered him a banana, on which he exclaimed: "What do you mean? Abû Jaafar! you took away Abû Obaida's life by "means of a banana and you intend to kill me in the same manner! do you con-"sider as lawful the murdering of learned men?" —Abû Obaida must not be confounded with Abû Obaid, whose names were Al-Kâsim Ibn Sallâm (*See vol. II. p.* 486).—*Mamar.*— *Al-Muthanna* (25.— *Bâjarwân*, the native place of Abû Obaida's father, is a village in the district of al-Balîkh, which constitutes a government in the province of Ar-Rakka. It is also the name of a town situated in Sherwân, a province of Armenia and near which, it is said, lies the fountain of immortality which was discovered by Al-Khidr (26). I am inclined to believe that Abû Obaida belonged to this place. Some say that Bâjarwân is the name of the town from the inhabitants of which Moses and Al-Khidr asked hospitality (27). — *Nûshjâni* means *belonging to Nûshjân*, which is a village in one of the districts of Fars.

(1) The life of Hishâm Ibn Orwa will be found in this volume.

(2) See vol. II, p. 568, note (3), and read *Mughîra* in place of *Moghaira*.

(3) See vol. I, page XXXII.

(4) See Korân, surat 37, verse 63. There is, say the commentators, a thorny tree which grows in Tehâma and bears a fruit like an almond, but extremely bitter. Its name, *zakkûm*, is given, in the Korân, to a tree growing in hell, the fruit of which will be the food of the damned.

(5) Private judgment was at first allowed in explaining certain obscure passages of the Korân and of the Traditions; but, after the establishment of the four orthodox rites, it was formally disapproved of by the moslim doctors.

(6) See vol. II, page 125.

(7) *Korân*, surat 12, verse 36.

(8) Abû 'l-Husain Muhammad Ibn Muhammad al-Bâhili composed a commentary on a work in which At-Tahâwi (*see vol. I. p.* 51), explained the obscure terms and passages which occur in the Korân and the Traditions. He died A. H. 321 (A. D. 933), His treatise and that of At-Tahâwi bore the same title.

(9) A nightingale in a cage is pleasing to hear, but there is nothing else good about it. Such seems to be the meaning of the remark made by Abû Nuwâs.

(10) See vol. I, p. 572, note (4).—The father of Khalaf was enfranchised by Abû Burda, the son of Abû Mûsa (*see vol. II. p.* 2) and married a woman of the tribe of Mâzin. According to Mr. de Hammer, in his *Literaturgeschichte der Araber*, vol. III, p, 550, Khalaf died A. H. 180 (A. D. 796-7). Mr. Ahlwardt published at Griefswald, in 1859, one of Khalaf's poems with critical notes. The title of his work is *Chalef elahmar's Qasside*.

(11) This signification of the word محدود has been already noticed in this volume, p. 266, note (23).

(12) The purely philological character of most of the treatises mentioned in the following list has been indicated in the introduction to the first vol. p. XXIII. They were composed of extracts made from the poems and sententious discourses of the desert Arabs.

(13) About twenty years before the promulgation of islamism, the tribe of Kuraish was embroiled in a war with that of Hawâzin, because Al-Barrâd Ibn Kais had slain Orwa Ibn Otba. At-Tibrîzi, in his commentary on the *Hamâsa*, page ۲٥١, alludes to this event. Mr. Caussin de Perceval gives a full account of it in his *Essai sur l'histoire des Arabes*, tome I, p. 301 et suiv.

(14) The word *hums* signifies *heroes*. It was a title assumed by the principal Koraichides and granted by them to some of the Kinânian and Khozâian families which resided in their neighbourhood. (*Hamâsa*, page ۲; *Essai sur l'hist. des Arabes*, t. I. p. 280.)

(15) For information respecting these two *imâms* of the Zaidiya sect, see de Sacy's *Chrestomathie arabe*, tome I, page 3, of the second edition, and my translation of Ibn Khaldûn's History of the Berbers, tome II, page 499.

(16) Obaid Ibn al-Husain, a member of the tribe of Numair, which was a branch of that of Aâmir Ibn Sâsâa, was an eminent arabian chief and an excellent poet. He received the surname of Ar-Râî (*the pastor*), or *Râî al-ibl* (*the camels' herdsman*), because he excelled in the description of these animals. He composed poems in praise of the Omaiyide khalif Abd al-Malik Ibn Marwân and died at an advanced age. (As-Suyûti's *Sharh shawâhid il-Mughni*; *Masâlik al-Absâr*.)

(17) The wit of Abû Obaida's answer is, for the translator, quite imperceptible.

(18) The word rendered here by *strength* means *grease*.

(19) Our author has already mentioned, in the life of Katari, that this chief of the Kharijite sect was surnamed Abû Naâma and had taken the title of Commander of the faithful.

(20) The battle of Kâdisiya was fought A. H. 15 and lasted three days. The first *journée* was afterwards called *Yaum Armâth* يوم ارماث; the second *Yaum Aghwâth* يوم اغواث, and the third *Yaum Aghmâs* اغماس, or *Amâs* عماس, or *Ghimâs* غماس. On the night preceding the third day and which was called *Lailat al-Harîr* ليلة الهرير (*The night of growling*, or *snarling*), the battle was renewed and victory finally

declared in favour of the Moslims. Arabic historians and geographers are uncertain whether the names given to these three *journées* designated places or not. For a full account of this celebrated battle see Mr. Caussin de Perceval's *Essai*, etc., t. III, p. 481 et suiv., professor Kosegarten's *Taberistanensis Annales*, t. III, and Price's *Retrospect of Mahommedan History*, vol. I, p. 804.

(21) As we do not possess the traditional explication of this piece, we can indicate its meaning by conjecture only.

(22) This verse may perhaps signify : that I may defend the honour of virtuous women and maintain, henceforward, an unspotted reputation.

(23) I suspect that this dialogue, in Arabic, offers a number of equivocal significations, such as were comprehensible to Moslim debauchees, in Eastern countries. In that case, the insertion of the anecdote does no honour to the author nor to the generation for whom he compiled his work.

(24) Abû Abd Allah Jaafar Ibn Sulaimân Ibn Abd Allah Ibn al-Abbas Ibn Abd al-Muttalib held, at one time, the government of Medina. He was removed from his post in the year 150 (A. D. 767), by the khalif Al-Mansûr. He died at Basra, but on what date is not ascertained.

(25) The author marks the orthography of these proper names, letter by letter. Such indications I suppress, as usual, but give the results.

(26) Al-Khidr is the name by which the Moslims seem to designate the prophet Elias. According to them, he discovered the fountain of life and, having drank of it, became immortal.

(27) See *Korân*, surat 18, verse 76.

MAAN, THE SON OF ZAIDA.

Abû'l-Walîd Maan ash-Shaibâni was the son of Zâida, the son of Abd Allah, the son of Zâida, the son of Matar, the son of Sharîk, the son of Amr, surnamed As-Sulb, the son of Kais, the son of Shurâhîl, the son of Hammâm, the son of Murra, the son of Duhl, the son of Shaibân. The rest of genealogy is well known (1). Ibn al-Kalbi (2) says, in his *Jamharat an-Nisab* : " Maan was the son of Zâida, the son " of Matar, the son Sharîk, the son of Amr, the son of Kais, the son of Shurâhîl, " the son of Murra, the son of Hammâm, the son of Murra, the son of Duhl, the son " of Shaibân, the son of Thalaba, the son of Okâba, the son of Saab, the son of Ali, " the son of Bakr, the son of Wâil, the son of Kâsit, the son of Hinb, the son of " Afsa, the son of Domî, the son of Jadîla, the son of Asad, the son of Rabîa, the son



"of Nizâr, the son of Maadd, the son of Adnân. Maan was generous, brave, liberal "and beneficent, highly extolled (*by poets*) and much visited (*by the needy*)." Al-Asmâi related as follows: "An Arab of the desert went to see Maan Ibn Zâida and recited "to him a poem in his praise. He then waited so long at the (*palace*) door that "he was about to depart, when he saw Maan on the point of riding out. He imme-"diately rose, went up to him and, seizing the bridle of the steed, he said:

> "O Maan! thy hands are all beneficence; (*they pour*) favours on the people and (*open new*)
> "ways to thy (*generosity*). The daughters of my uncle will know what I have obtained,
> "when, on my return, the saddle-bags shall be examined.

"Maan ordered five female camels, chosen from the best of his flock, to be brought "out, and, having them loaded with gifts, presents and clothes, he gave them to him "and said: 'Son of my brother! return, and may God protect thee! to the "'daughters of thy uncle; when they examine the saddle-bags, they will surely find "'something to rejoice at.' The Arab answered: 'By the House of God! thou "'hast spoken truly.'" — In the life of the poet Marwân Ibn Abi Hafsa (*p.* 343 *of this vol.*), will be found other anecdotes concerning him. Marwân was particularly devoted to him and most of his poems were in praise of this chief. Under the dynasty of the Omaiyides, Maan rose successively from one post of authority to another, and remained attached to the service of Yazîd Ibn Omar Ibn Hubaira al-Fazâri, governor of the two Irâks. When the sovereignty passed into the hands of the Abba-"sides, Abû Jaafar al-Mansûr besieged Yazîd Ibn Omar in the city of Wâsit. What occurred between them on this occasion is well known, and some account of it will be found in our article on Yazîd. Maan had displayed great bravery in support of Yazîd and, when this chief was put to death, he lay hid for some time, though fear of Al-Mansûr. During the period of his concealment he had a number of extraordinary adventures, one of which we here give in the words of Marwân Ibn Abi Hafsa, the celebrated poet: "When Maan Ibn Zâida was governor of Yemen (3), "he made me the following narration: '(*Abû Jaafar*) al-Mansûr caused the strictest "'search to be made for me and offered a reward in money to whoever would "'bring me to him. Perquisitions were made so closely that I was obliged to "'alter my complexion by exposing myself to the rays of the sun; I cut off my "'whiskers, put on a woollen frock and, having mounted on a camel, I proceeded "'towards the desert, with the intention of staying there. I had just gone out by

" 'the Bâb Harb, which is one of the gates of Baghdad, when a negro, with a
" 'sword suspended in a belt from his shoulder, followed me until I had got out of
" 'the sight of the guards. He then seized my camel by the halter and, making it
" 'kneel down, he grasped me by the hand: 'What is the matter? said I. He
" 'answered: 'Thou art he whom the Commander of the faithful is searching for.'
" '—I replied: 'And who am I, that search should be made for me?' — 'Thou
" 'art Maan, the son of Zâida,' said he. — 'My good fellow!' said I, 'have the
" 'fear of the Almighty before thy eyes! where is the likeness between me and
" 'Maan? — 'Cease denying,' said he, 'for, by Allah! I know thee better than
" 'thou knowest thyself.'—Perceiving that he was in earnest, I said to him: 'Here
" 'is a jewel worth many times the sum offered by Al-Mansûr to the person who
" 'may bring me to him, take it and be not the cause of shedding my blood.' —
" ' 'Hand it out,' said he. On my producing it to him, he looked at it for some
" 'time and then said: 'As for its value, thou hast told the truth, but I will not
" 'accept it before asking thee a question; if thou givest me a true answer, I shall
" 'let thee go.' — 'Ask,' said I. — 'All people,' said he, 'declare that thou art
" 'noted for thy generosity; tell me if thou didst ever give away at once the whole of
" 'thy fortune?'—'No.'—'Or the half?'—'No.'—'Or the third?'—'No,'— He
" 'proceeded thus till he said: 'Or the tenth?' on which I blushed and replied:
" ' 'I think I have sometimes done so.' — 'Well!' said he, 'that was no great
" 'matter (*for such as thee*); now I, by Allah! am a simple foot-soldier, living on
" 'the pay I get from Abû Jaafar al-Mansûr; every month, he gives me twenty dir-
" 'hems (4), and this jewel is worth many thousand dinars; here, I give it to thee
" 'back, as a present for thy own sake, and on account of the generosity for which
" 'thou art noted, and in order to make thee know that there is, in the world, a
" 'man more generous than thou art, So, for the future, be not proud of thyself,
" 'but consider henceforward the gifts thou makest as trifling, and stop not in thy
" 'career of generosity". He then threw the necklace into my lap and let go the
" 'halter of my camel. As he was turning to depart, I said to him: 'By Allah!
" 'thou hast disgraced me, man! I would suffer less from the shedding of my life's
" 'blood than from what thou hast done to me. Take back what I offered thee,
" 'for I am rich enough to do without it.'—He laughed and said: 'Thou intendest
" 'to make me belie my words; now, by Allah! I shall not receive it nor ever take
" 'a reward for doing a good action.' He then went his way and, when I had no

" 'longer any danger to apprehend, I had search made for him and promised " 'to whoever would bring him to me whatever reward he might ask; but I never " 'heard of him again; it was as if the earth had swallowed him up.' "—Maan remained in concealment till the affray of Al-Hâshimiya (5). On that memorable day, a band of Khorasanides revolted against Al-Mansûr and proceeded to attack him. A combat took place between them and the partisans he had in Al-Hâshimiya, a town which (*the khalif*) As-Saffâh had built in the neighbourhood of Kûfa. Ghars an-Nîma Ibn as-Sâbi (*see vol. I. p.* 290) says, as follows, in his work intitled *Kitâb al-Hafawât* (*book of faults*): " In the month of Zû'l-Kaada, 134 (May-June, A. D. 752), as-" Saffâh finished the building of the town which he had founded for himself near " al-Anbâr."—Maan, who was lying concealed in the neighbourhood (*at the time of this revolt*), set out at night disguised in a turban, with a veil over his face, and, having attacked the insurgents, in the sight of al-Mansûr, he displayed great bravery and resolution, and put them to flight. Al-Mansûr was no sooner delivered from danger than he said to him: " Deuce take thee! who art thou?" The other removed the veil from his face and answered: " Commander of the faithful! I am he " whom thou hast been making search for; I am Maan, the son of Zâida." Al-Mansûr immediately granted him a free pardon, heaped upon him gifts and honours, arrayed him in a fine dress, with splendid ornaments, and received him into the number of his favorites. Some days after, Maan entered into the presence of Al-Mansûr who, on seeing him, said: " Tell me, Maan! did you not give to Marwân " Ibn Abi Hafsa a reward of one hundred thousand dirhems for this verse?

> " 'Tis Maan, the son of Zaîda, by whose prowess the tribe of Shaibân had fresh glory added " to its glory."

" Not so! Commander of the faithful! but I gave it to him for this passage of the " same poem:

> " On the day of Al-Hâshimiya, you stood boldly forth with your sword in defense of God's " vicar (*upon earth*). You protected the spot where he stood and warded off from him the " strokes of the sword and spear."

" Well answered, Maan!" exclaimed the khalif.—Another day, he said to him: " Maan! people often speak ill of your tribe;" to which Maan replied:

> " You will always find the illustrious exposed to envy, but never will you find detractors of " the vile."

He went, one day, when advanced in age, to visit (*Al-Mansûr*) and (*this prince*) said to him : "Maan! you are growing old."—"Yes, Commander of the faithful! in "your service," replied Maan.—"And yet you are still vigourous," added the khalif.—"Yes, Commander of the faithful! in attacking your enemies."—"And "you have still some strength remaining?"—"Yes," answered Maan, "and it "shall be used for you." When Abd ar-Rahmân Ibn Zaid, a pious ascetic of Basra, heard of this conversation, he exclaimed : "Unfortunate man! he reserves "nothing for (*the service of*) the Lord." The best hnown of Marwân's *kasîdas* were composed in honour of Maan, and the finest of them is that which rhymes in *l* and of which I inserted a passage in the life of the former. It is rather long, as it consists of more than fifty verses; so, not to lengthen this article, I shall abstain from giving it. In another poem, he said of him :

God has secured against fear and want him who has Maan for a protector in adversity. Maan, the son of Zâida! he keeps his promises and gives the highest price to purchase fame. He considers what he bestows as so much gained, if it obtains for him lasting praise; yet he who receives his gifts thinks them cheaply earned. He has erected for (*the tribe of*) of Shaibân a (*monument of*) glory never to fall till the solid basis of Hadan shall pass away.

Hadan (حضن) is the name of a great mountain, situated between Najd and Tihâma, and at a day's journey from the latter country. There is proverb which says : *He is in Najd who sees Hadan*. It is frequently mentioned in poems and historical anecdotes.—A person noted for the elegance of his language visited Maan, one day, and adressed him in these (*choice*) terms : "It would have been easy for me to get my- "self recommended to you by one whom you might find irksome; but I preferred "chosing for intercessor your own merit and making an appeal to your own genero- "sity. If you think to place me as high in your noble favour as I have placed my "hopes in your beneficence, do so. I have not been too proud to solicit your "bounty; spare therefore my honorable feelings the shame of a disappointment." —Maan composed some good poetry, most of which is on bravery. Abû Abd Allah (*Hârûn*) Ibn al Munajjim (*see his life in this vol.*) speaks of him in the *Kitâb al-Bâri*, and gives a number of passages taken from his poems. Such is the following, addressed to Khattâb, a nephew of Abd al-Jabbâr Ibn Abd ar-Rahmân (6), on seeing him strut about at court after having been defeated and put to flight by the Khârijites :

Why didst thou not walk so, O Khattâb! on the morning you encountered the foe? Why

didst thou not stand firm when death was near? Thou wert saved by a steed, obedient to the rein and which, spurred on by thee through a cloud of dust, flew like an eagle. Thou didst leave thy companions when the spears came to their encounter, and so doth every man who is lost to honour.

The grammarian Abû Othmân al-Mâzini (*vol. I. p.* 264) relates as follows: " The " commander of Maan's police-guard (7) said to me : ' I was standing behind " ' Maan (*who was seated in his chair of state*), when he perceived a man riding (*on* " ' *a camel*) and coming up at full speed.' ' I do not think, said Maan, that he wants " ' to see any one else but me. Door-keeper! let him enter.' (*The stranger*) came in, " ' saluted Maan and said :

" ' God preserve thee! little is what I have; my family are numerous and I am not able to " ' support them. Stubborn fortune hath borne me down; so, they sent me to thee and await " ' the result.

" ' Maan, being then in one of his generous moods, made answer : All will be " ' right; by Allah! I shall hasten thy return! He then told one of his pages to bring " ' out such and such a female camel and a thousand pieces of gold (8), and all this " ' he gave to the man, without knowing who he was.' " It is in these terms that the occurrence is related by the Khatîb (*vol. I. p.* 75), in his history (*of Baghdad*). Numerous other anecdotes are told of Maan and of his generous deeds. Towards the end of his life, he was appointed governor of Sijistân. Having proceeded to that province, he did there many memorable acts, had numerous adventures and received frequent visits from poets.—In the year 151 (A. D. 768), or 152, or 158, according to other accounts, being then in Sijistân, he had workmen occupied in his palace, when some Khârijites slipped in amongst them and murdered him. He was at that moment undergoing the operation of cupping (9). His nephew, Yazîd Ibn Mazyad Ibn Zâida, whose life we shall give, went in pursuit of the assassins and slew them all in the town of Al-Bust. The poets composed admirable elegies on the death of Maan. One of the finest and noblest of those pieces we shall here give; it is a *kasîda* composed by his own poet, Marwân Ibn Abi Hafsa, and begins thus :

Maan has gone his way, leaving a glorious reputation, never to perish and never to be equalled. When Maan received the fatal stroke, the sun seemed to have shrouded himself in darkness. Maan was the mountain with which (*the tribe of*) Nizâr demolished the mountains of the foe (10). Since Maan is gone, the frontiers, where the lances used to quench their thirst, remain without defense. Irâk is overspread with gloom; his misfortune, so afflicting for us all, has left to it an

inheritance of disorder (*and ruin*). Syria trembled from side to side, when that pillar of might leant over and gave way. On the morning of his departure (*from life*), all the lands of Tihâma and of Najd had nearly been removed from their places. The countries which so long flourished proudly (*in his life time*) are now humbled by his death. When death struck Maan, on that day, it struck the noblest in deeds among those who were the best of men. Till Maan was borne to his grave (11), all mankind were his children; and never did a man who sought a favour think of going to any other (*patron*) than Maan, the son of Zâida. He is gone who lightened all (*our*) burdens, and the flow of whose beneficence anticipated (*our*) demands. Never did bands of visitors go to see (*another chief*) like Maan; never did they discharge their baggage in another court like his. All the hands of the freest givers never equalled the right hand or the left of Maan. The ponds of his generosity never went dry; the buckets always ascended from them full; (*ponds belonging*) to a man of fair renown who considered wealth as nothing unless bestowed on all who sought for aid. O, that those who rejoiced at his death had been sacrificed to save him! O, that his existence could be lengthened and prolonged! His treasures consisted, not in gold but in swords of Indian steel, and ample coats of mail, a lance from Al-Khatt (12) yellow and pliant, exhibiting flexibility and just proportion, and a store of lasting renown, and superabundant piety, by which he attained excellence.

Here is another passage from the same elegy:

He has gone his way by whose aid you hoped to see repaired the errors of fortune. I cannot stop the tears of those eyes; they will not be controlled but flow in torrents. For thee (*O Maan!*) my entrails are parched with sadness, ardent as a brightly-flaming fire. She who perceived both my body and complexion altered and changed since she saw me last (*exclaimed*): "Lo! "Marwân is like a sword worn thin and requiring to be brightened." She saw a man extenuated and injured by grief, which left to him an inheritance of misery; and I said to her: "That which seems to you so strange in me was caused by a stroke of misfortune grievous and "unforeseen. The days of time are full of changes and transport a man from one state in "another."

The same poem contains this passage:

After the death of Maan, each night (*of my sadness*) seems lengthened by the addition of many others. I grieve for him as for a father! now that my hopes have proved false and delusive; I grieve for him as for a father! now that the orphans are famishing and seem as if consumed by sickness; I grieve for him as for a father! now that our verses and he who was praised in them are lost (*to us*) for ever; I grieve for him as for a father! where are now those numerous battles which caused mothers to abort (*with terror*)? Plunged in despair, we have fixed our abode in Yemâma; we never intend to quit it and we say: "Whither should we go since Maan is dead? presents have ceased, and are not to be replaced." Never did battles witness a bolder warrior than thee (*O Maan!*) one more nobly-daring and more firm of heart. The khalif will call you to remembrance, but with no hostile feeling, when he is engaged in serious matters and men (*of action*) are wanting; neither will he forget those combats so fatal to his foes, nor that encounter in which you proved yourself (*his sole*) protector, when other horsemen feared to charge. The brother of Omaiya now offers you elegies, after having bestowed on you



his praises. He is now settled (*in a fixed abode*) who, every year before, used to remain so long without quitting the saddle (13). He has now discharged his baggage, through sorrow, and sworn a solemn oath never again to bind it up with a cord.

This is one of the finest elegies of its class. — Abd Allah Ibn al-Motazz (*vol. II. p.* 41) relates as follows, in his *Tabakât as-Shuwarâ:* "Jaafar the Barmekide " (*vol. I. p.* 301), having received a visit from Marwân Ibn Abi Hafsa, said to him : " 'Come now! recite part of you elegy on the death of Maan Ibn Zâida.'—'Nay!' " replied the poet, 'I would rather recite to you an elogium composed by me on " 'yourself.'—'No;' said Jaafar, 'recite to me part of the elegy.' Marwân then " commenced to recite :

" Till Maan was borne to his grave, all mankind were as his children.

" And he continued to the end of the poem. Jaafar, whose cheeks were now " bedewed with tears, asked him if any of Maan's children or family had given him " a recompense for that elegy? Marwàn replied that they had not. 'And,' said " Jaafar, 'if Maan were alive and heard you recite it, how much, do you think, " 'would he have given you for it?'—'May God favour the vizir!' (*he would have gi-* " '*ven*) four hundred pieces of gold.'—'But I,' said Jaafar, do not think he would " 'have considered that sum enough for you; so, in Maan's name, I shall order " 'you the double and, in my own, I shall give you as much more. Go to my " 'treasurer and receive from him one thousand six hundred pieces of gold, before " 'you return to (*mount*) your camel.'" In the following lines, Marwân mentioned how generously Jaafar acted in Maan's name :

You gave me, as a recompense coming from Maan's tomb, an ample portion of the wealth which you so generously bestow. That gift, you made it immediately, O son of Yahya! to one who lamented his death, and you did not delay the payment. A generous (*patron*) has replaced, for us, the spirit of Maan, and bestowed a recompense with the most liberal hand that ever lavished gifts. Khâlid and your father Yahya have erected for you, in the regions of beneficence, an edifice never to be equalled. When the hands of the Barmekide dispense wealth around, he thinks it so much gained for himself.

He then took the money and departed.—Abû 'l-Faraj al-Ispahâni (*vol. II. p.* 249) relates, in his *Kitâb al-Aghâni*, that Muhammad al-Baidak an-Nadîm (*the boon companion*) went to see Hârûn ar-Rashîd and was asked by him to recite the elegy com-

posed by Marwân on the death of Maan Ibn Zâida. He began, and had only repeated a part of it, when tears flowed from Ar-Rashîd's eyes, "and so copiously" said Al-Baidak, "that they filled a plate which was before him."—It is said that Marwân, after composing this elegy, could never gain any thing by his verses, for, as often as he celebrated the praises of a khalif or of any other person less elevated in rang, he to whom the poem was addressed would say to him: "Did you not say, in your famous elegy:

"Whither should we go, since Maan is dead? presents have ceased and are not to be "replaced?"

So the person he meant to praise would not give him anything nor even listen to his poem.—Al-Fadl Ibn ar-Rabî (*vol. II. p.* 468) related the following anecdote: "I saw Marwân Ibn Abî Hafsa after the death of Maan; he entered into the presence "of (*the khalif*) Al-Mahdi with a number of other poets, amongst whom was Salm "al-Khâsir (*vol. I. p.* 22), and recited to him a panegyric. 'Who art thou?' said "the khalif.—'Thy (*humble*) poet, Marwân, the son of Abû Hafsa.'—'Art thou not "'he who said: *Whither should we go since Maan is death?* and yet thou hast come "'to ask gifts from us! *presents have ceased;* we have nothing for thee. Trail him "'out by the leg!'" They dragged him out in that manner, but, on the following "year, he contrived to gain admittance with the other poets. At that time, "they were allowed to enter into the khalif's presence once a year. He then "stood before him and recited the *kasîda* which begins thus:

"A female visitor came to thee by night; salute her fleeting image."

— We have already given part of this poem in the life of Marwân (14).—"Al-"Mahdi listened in silence and, as the poet proceeded, he became gradually more "and more agitated, till at length he rolled on the carpet with delight. He "then asked how many verses were in the poem and, on being answered: 'One "hundred,' he ordered to the author a present of one hundred thousand "pieces of silver."—This does not tally with what we have related in the life of Marwân, but anecdotes vary according to the different channels by which they are handed down. People say that it was the first time, under the Abbaside government, that a poet received so large a sum.—"Very soon after," continued Al-Fadl, "the

"khalifate devolved to Hârûn ar-Rashîd, and I saw Marwân appear in his presence "with the other poets and recite to him a poem. 'Who art thou?' said the khalif. "—'I am thy poet, Marwân.'—'Was it not thou who said of Maan so and so?' (*re-* "'*peating the verse above given*). Take him by the hand and lead him out; we "'have nothing for him.' Marwân again managed to be introduced and then "'recited a poem for which he was amply rewarded."—One of the finest elegies which exists was that which Al-Husain Ibn Mutair Ibn al-Ashyam al-Asadi (15) composed on the death of Maan, and which is to be found in the *Hamâsa* (16). We give it here :

> Draw near, my two friends! unto (*the tomb of*) Maan and say: "May vernal showers water thee every morning!" Grave of Maan! how art thou able to contain such beneficence as filled both land and sea? Grave of Maan! thou art the first cavity ever formed in the earth, to serve as a couch for every virtue. 'Tis too true! thou containest beneficence itself, for beneficence is dead; were it living, it would have rent thee asunder. He is the man on whose bounty people live after his death; thus the bed of the torrent (*when dry*) becomes a pasturage. With Maan, beneficence has ended and disappeared, and the pinnacle of generous deeds has been overturned (17).

In our article on the Sâhib Ibn Abbâd (*vol. I. p.* 214) we have related an amusing anecdote concerning Maan, so, we need not repeat it here. Did I not fear being led too far, I should gives a number of highly interesting stories respecting Maan's noble deeds.—Al-Haufazân Ibn Sharîk as-Shaibâni, who was much renowned for generosity and bravery, was the brother of Matar Ibn Sharîk, one of Maan's ancestors. He received the name of *Haufazân* because Kais Ibn Aâsim al-Minkari (*see vol. I. p.* 166) gave him a *hafz*, that is, *a stroke in the back*, with his spear, to prevent him making his escape (18). His real name was Al-Hârith Ibn Sharîk. According to another account, the person who struck him in that manner was Bistâm Ibn Kais as-Shaibâni (19), but the first statement is truer.

(1) The genealogy of Shaibân will be found in Eichhorn's *Monumenta antiquissimæ historiæ Arabum*, and in Caussin de Perceval's *Essai sur l'histoire des Arabes*.

(2) The life of Hishâm Ibn al-Kalbi the genealogist will be found in this volume.

(3) When Maan obtained his pardon from al-Mansûr, he was appointed by that khalif to the government of Yemen. He was afterwards removed to the government of Adarbaijân (al-Makîn's *Hist. Saracen.* p. 10[illegible]), and then transferred to the goverment of Sijistân.

(4) About ten shillings.

(5) See the *Annals* of Abulfeda, A. H. 141, and Price's *Retrospect*, vol. II, p. 18.

(6) Abd al-Jabbâr Ibn Abd ar-Rahmân, of the tribe of Azd, was appointed governor of Khorâsân by the khalif al-Mansûr, in the year 140 (A. D. 757-8), according to the author of the *Nujûm*, or, two years later, according to Hamza al-Ispahâni. This historian gives some account of Abd-al-Jabbâr in his *Annals*, p. ٢٢٠ of the arabic text.

(7) The *shurta*, or police-guard, was a troop of armed horsemen, receiving regular pay and charged to maintain order in the city and punish offenders. It formed also the body-guard of the sovereign. Ibn Khaldûn furnishes information respecting the *shurta* in his *Prolegomena*, tom. II, p. 35, of my translation.

(8) About five hundred pounds sterling.

(9) Cupping was a favorite remedy with the Arabs in many cases.

(10) By the word *mountains*, the poet means to designate the *chiefs*. This is a common metaphor.

(11) Literally: visited the grave.

(12) Al-Khatt, a town in the province of Omân, was celebrated for the excellence of its lances.

(13) Such appears to be the meaning of the arabic words. Rendered literally they may signify: Remained long in attachment to the middle of the saddle; or: who was always sitting cross-legged on the saddle.— Dromedary-riders sit with their feet crossed and lean them on the animal's neck.

(14) This hemistich is in the measure called *kâmil*. but such is not the case with any of the verses given by our author in the life of Marwân. He seems to have confounded the piece of verse he was thinking of with that which begins thus: *In the day of battle, etc.*

(15) Al-Husain Ibn al-Mutair, a member, by enfranchisement, of the tribe of Asad and a poet of some reputation, accompanied Maan to Yemen. One of his poems is in honour of the Abbaside khalif al-Mahdi. Some of the verses composed by him are given in the *Hamâsa*. His death is placed on or about A. H. 150 (A. D. 767), by De Hammer who, in the third vol. of his *Literaturgeschichte der Araber*, gives, on the authority of the *Kitâb al-Aghâni*, some rather unsatisfactory information concerning him. Several fragments of his poems are to be found in the *Hamâsa*.

(16) *Hamâsa*, p. ۴٢٥.

(17) Literally: and the nose (*the pride*) of noble deeds has been cut off.

(18) For Kais Ibn Aasim, see vol. I, p. 166, and the *Essai* of Caussin de Perceval. The adventure of Haufazân is related in the *Essai*, tom. II, p. 595.

(19) Bistâm Ibn Kais, chief of the tribe of Shaibân, lost his life in a combat, six or seven years after the Hejira (A. D. 627-8).—(*Hamâsa*, p. ٢٨٢ and ۴٥٧; Caussin de Perceval's *Essai*, tom. II, pp. 593, 598, 599).

MUKATIL, *THE COMMENTATOR OF THE KORAN.*

Abû 'l-Hasan Mukâtil Ibn Sulaimân Ibn Bashîr, a member, by enfranchisement, of the tribe of Azd, and a native of Marw in Khorâsân, drew his origin from a family



of Balkh. Having removed to Basra, he proceeded from thence to Baghdad and taught Traditions in that city. He is known as an interpreter of God's noble book (*the Korân*) and as the author of a celebrated commentary. Traditions were taught to him by Mujâhid Ibn Jubair (*see vol. I. p.* 568, n. 8), Atâ Ibn Abi Rabâh (*vol. II. p.* 203), Abû Ishâk as-Sabîî (*vol. II. p.* 392), Ad-Dahhâk Ibn Muzâhim (*vol. I. p.* 580, n. 2), Muhammad Ibn Muslim az-Zuhri (*vol. II. p.* 581) and others. Bakiya Ibn al-Walîd al-Himsi (1), Abd ar-Razzâk Ibn Hammâm as-Sanâni (*vol. I. p.* 581), Harami Ibn Omâra (2), Ali Ibn al-Jaad (3) and others delivered Traditions on his authority. He held a high rank among the learned. The *imâm* As-Shâfi (*vol. II. p.* 569) was heard to say : "All the people derived their nourishment (*in knowledge*) "from three men : they had Mukâtil Ibn Sulaimân for the interpretation of the Ko- "rân, Zuhair Ibn Abi Sulma (4) for poetry, and Abû Hanifa (5) for dogmatic theology." — It is related that (*the khalif*) Abû Jaafar al-Mansûr was sitting (*in his palace*) when a fly came and settled on him. He drove it away, but it returned to him again and again, most pertinaciously, striking him on the face and continuing to tease him. He at length lost patience and called out : "See who is (*waiting*) at the door;" and, being informed that Mukâtil Ibn Sulaimân was there, he had him brought in and said to him : "Canst thou tell me why almighty God created flies?" Mukâtil replied : "I can; it was to humble the mighty by their means (6)." Al-Mansûr did not say another word. Ibrahîm al-Harbi (*vol. I. p,* 46) related the following anecdote : "Mukâtil "Ibn Sulaimân took his seat (*in order to teach*) and said : 'You may question me con- "'cerning whatever is beneath the throne of God (7).' On which a man said to him : "'When Adam performed the pilgrimage, who shaved his head (8)?'—'Nay!' replied "Mukâtil, 'such (*a question*) does not proceed from your own mind (9), but God meant "'to humble me for my presumption.'"—Sofyân Ibn Oyaina (*vol. I. p.* 578) relates (*the same anecdote*) as follows : "Mukâtil Ibn Sulaimân said, one day : 'You may "'ask me respecting whatever is beneath the throne of God; and a man addressed "him in these terms : 'Tell me, Abû'l-Hasan! are the intestines of ants and pismires "'in the fore part of the body or the back part?' The *shaikh* remained silent and knew "not what to answer. It seemed to me a just punishment inflicted on him."—The doctors (*in traditions*) differ in opinion respecting Mukâtil : some declare that, as a traditionist, he was worthy of confidence, and others accuse him of falsehood. Bakiya Ibn al-Walîd said : "I heard Shoba Ibn al-Hajjâj (*vol. I. p.* 493) questioned concer- "ning Mukâtil, and he never spoke of him but in a favorable manner." Abd Allah Ibn

al-Mubârak (*vol. II. p.* 12), being asked what he thought of him, replied: "We "have been told that he was apt to make mistakes." — It is related that the same Ibn al-Mubârak renounced (*making use of*) the Traditions delivered by Mukâtil. Ibrâhîm al-Harbi, being asked if Mukâtil had received Traditions orally from Ad-Dahhâk Ibn Muzâhim, replied: "No; Ad-Dahhâk died four years before Mukâtil was born, "and Mukâtil himself said: 'A gate of four years was closed between me and Ad- "'Dahhâk.' By this, he meant to designate the gate of the city which opens on "'the burying-ground." He said also that Mukâtil never received Traditions orally from Mujâhid nor ever met the man. Ahmad Ibn Saiyâr (10) says: "Mukâtil Ibn "Sulaimân, a native of Balkh, went to Marw, whence he proceeded to Irâk. His "veracity is suspected; his Traditions should be left aside and his declarations should "be rejected. Speaking of the divine attributes, he said things which it would be "sinful to repeat." Ibrâhîm Ibn Yakûb al-Jûzjâni (11) called Mukâtil an audacious liar. Abû Abd ar-Rahmân an Nasâi (*vol. I. p*, 58) said: "Liars notorious for "forging Traditions ard passing them off as coming from the Prophet were four in "number: Ibn Abi Yahya (12) at Medîna, Al-Wâkidi (*page* 61 *of this vol.*) at "Baghdad, Mukâtil Ibn Sulaimân in Khorâsân, and Muhammad Ibn Saîd, "surnamed *Al-Maslûb*, in Syria." Wakî Ibn al-Jarrâh (*vol. I. p.* 374) said of Mukâtil that he was a confirmed liar. Abû Bakr al-Ajurri (*page* 9 *of this vol.*) said: "I asked Abû Dâwûd Sulaimân Ibn al-Ashâth (*vol. I. p.* 589) concerning Mukâtil, "and he answered: "All Traditions given by him should be rejected." According to Omar Ibn al-Ghallâs (13), Mukâtil Ibn Sulaimân was a liar and his Traditions were to be rejected. "As for Mukâtil Ibn Sulaimân," said Al-Bukhâri (*vol. II.* "*p.* 594), pass him over in silence" In another place, he says of him: "He is "just nothing at all." Yahya Ibn Maîn (14) declared that Mukâtil's Traditions were of no value, and Ahmad Ibn Hanbal said: "As for Mukâtil Ibn Sulaimân, the "author of the Commentary, I should not like to cite anything on his authority." "His Traditions are to be rejected;" said Abû Hâtim ar-Râzi (15). According to Zakariya Ibn Yahya as-Sâji (16), people said of Mukâtil Ibn Sulaimân, the native of Khorâsân, that he was a liar and that his traditions should be rejected. Abû Hâtim Muhammad Ibn Habbân al-Busti (17) said; "Mukâtil Ibn Sulaimân received from "the Jews and the Christians such information on coranic matters as tallied with the "contents of their own (*sacred*) books He was an *assimilator* (18), declaring a "likeness to exist between the Lord and his creatures; besides which, he lied in

"his Traditions." On the whole, a great number of opinions have been emitted concerning him, but what we have just mentioned will suffice; it has even led me away from my subject, but I wished to make known what the learned said of his character. He died at Basra in the year 150 (A. D. 767-8).

(1) Abû Mohammad Bakiya Ibn al-Walîd, a member of the Himyarite tribe called al-Kalâi and surnamed al-Himsi (*belonging to Emessa*), was esteemed a good traditionist. Born A. H. 110 (A. D. 728-9); died A. H. 197 (A. D. 812-3).—(*Nujûm*).

(2) According to the author of the *Kâmûs*, Harami Ibn Omâra belonged to the tribe of Atîk (العتكى), a branch of that of Azd, and was esteemed a sure traditionist. I can find no other information respecting him.

(3) Ali Ibn al-Jaad al-Jauhari, a traditionist and a native of Baghdad, died A. H. 230 (A. D. 844-5), aged upwards of ninety six years.—(*Tabakât al-Huffâz, Nujûm*).

(4) This Zuhair is the author of the *Moallaka*. For his life see Rosenmüller's *Analecta Arabica*, pars secunda, and Caussin de Perceval's *Essai sur l'histoire des Arabes*, tom. II, p. 527, *etc.*

(5) The life of Abû Hanîfa Nomân will be found in this volume.

(6) According to an old tradition, God punished Nimrod by sending a gnat which penetrated into his brain and gave him intolerable pain, till he died.

(7) That is: every thing in the universe.

(8) Shaving of the head is one of the obligatory rites of pilgrimage.

(9) Literally: from your own knowledge.

(10) Abû'l-Hasan Ahmad Ibn Saiyâr al-Marwazi, the greatest traditionist who ever taught in the city of Marw, was distinguished also for his knowledge of the law, his piety and his self-mortification. Al-Bukhâri and An-Nasâi have given traditions on his authority. He died A. H. 268 (A. D. 881-2).—(*Nujûm*).

(11) Abû Ishâk Ibrahîm Ibn Yakûb al-Jûzjâni resided at Damascus. His authority as a traditionist is highly appreciated. He died A. H. 259 (A. D. 872-3).—(*Nujûm, Huffâz*).

(12) Ibrâhîm Ibn Muhammad Ibn Abi Yahya, one of the masters under whom the celebrated doctor As-Shâfi made his studies, is considered as a traditionist on whom no reliance can be placed. He died A. H. 184 (A. D. 800-1).—(*Nujûm*, the *Tahdîb al-Asmâ* of An-Nawawi).

(13) Abû Hafs Omar Ibn Ali as-Sairafi, surnamed al-Ghallâs, or, according to another reading, al-Kallâs, was a traditionist of great authority. He died A. H. 249 (A. D. 863-4) at Sarr-man-râa.—(*Huffâz, Nujûm*).

(14) The life of Yahya Ibn Maîn will be found in the next volume.

(15) Abû Hâtim Muhammad Ibn Idrîs al-Hanzali ar-Râzi, a traditionist of great learning and noted for his veracity, died at Râi, his native place, A. H. 277 (A. D. 890-1).—(*Huffâz, Nujûm*).

(16) Abû Yahya Zakariya Ibn Yahya as-Sâji composed an important work on the Traditions. He died A. H. 307 (A. D. 919-920), at a very advanced age.—(*Huffâz*).

(17) See page 364 of this volume. — In the page 365 is a note, the n° 5, which does not give sufficient information respecting certain names and surnames by which some doctors are designated in works on jurisprudence. I shall complete it here. *Abû 'l-Abbâs* is Ibn Suraij (*vol. I. p.* 46); *Abû Ishâk*, al-Marwazi (*vol. I. p.* 7); *Abû Saîd*, al-Istakhri (*vol. I. p.* 374); *Abû Hamîd*, al-Isfarâini (*vol. I. p.* 53); *Abû 'l-Kâsim*, al-Anmâti (*vol. II. p.* 186) and ad-Dâraki (*vol. II. p.* 137); *Abû 't-Taiyib*, at-Tabari (*vol. I. p.* 644) and Ibn



Salama or Salima (*vol. II. p.* 610); *Abd Allah*, Ibn Masûd, a celebrated traditionist and one of Muhammad's Companions; died A. H. 32 (A. D. 652-3); *ar-Rabi*, al-Murâdi (*vol. I. p.* 519) and *Ald*, Ibn Abi 'r-Rabâh.

(18) See Sale's *Preliminary discourse* to his translation of the Korân, *section VIII.*

ABU 'L-HAIJA SHIBL AD-DAWLA.

Abû 'l-Haijâ Mukâtil Ibn Atiya Ibn Mukâtil al-Bakri al-Hijâzi (*member of the tribe of Bakr Ibn Wâil and native of Hijâz*), surnamed Shibl ad-Dawlâ (*the young lion of the empire*), was the son of an Arab chief. Being obliged to quit his brothers in consequence of a quarrel, he proceeded to Baghdad and then set out for Khorâsân, whence he went to Ghazna. Having returned to Khorâsân, he devoted his services to the vizir Nizâm al-Mulk (*vol. I. p.* 413) and married into his family. When Nizâm al-Mulk was assassinated, he composed an elegy of which we have inserted two verses in the life of that vizir (*vol. I. p.* 415). He then went back to Baghdad and, after remaining there some time, he formed the intention of going to Kermân and soliciting the bounty of Nâsir ad-Dîn Mukram Ibn al-Alâ (1), the vizir of that country and a man renowned for beneficence. He therefore addressed a petition to the *imâm* (*khalif*) al-Mustazhir Billah, requesting to be favoured with a letter of recommendation for that person. Al-Mustazhir wrote the following words at the top of the petition (*and sent it back*); "Abû 'l-Haijâ! you go very far in search of a pasture-ground; mais God speed you back! from Ibn al-Alâ can be obtained satisfaction (*for every wish*); his path in beneficence is wide and, what he may bestow on you will make you savour with pleasure the fruit of gratitude and find sweetness in the waters of his beneficence. (*Receive my*) salutation." Abû 'l-Haijâ considered these lines quite sufficient, and resolved on setting out for Kermân without any other letter of recommendation. When he arrived there, he went to the vizir's audience-chamber and, having obtained permission to enter, he placed before his eyes the petition (*with the khalif's note inscribed on it*). The vizir, on seeing it, descended from his throne in order to show his respect for the note and for him who had written it; he then returned to his seat, after ordering a sum of one thousand dinars

to be given to Abû 'l-Haijâ. The poet then informed him that he had composed a poem in his praise and brought it with him. The vizir told to recite it, and he began thus:

> Let your camels measure the breadth of the desert (*if you mean*) to go to Ibn al-Alâ; if (*you mean it*) not, then (*let them*) not.

The vizir, on hearing this verse, ordered the poet another thousand dinars and, when the recitation of the *kasîda* was finished, he gave him one thousand more and had him arrayed in a robe of honour. An excellent horse being then brought out, saddled and bridled, the vizir said: "The wish of the Commander of the faithful "shall be heard and fulfilled (2); he prayed God to speed you back." He then provided him with every thing necessary (*for the journey*), and sent him off again to Baghdad. Abû 'l-Haijâ remained but a short time in that city and then proceeded to Transoxiana, whence he returned to Khorâsân. Having stopped at Herât, he fell in love with a woman of that place and composed a great number of poems in her praise. From thence he removed to Marw, where he settled. Towards the close of his life, he fell into a melancholy madness (3) and was transported to the hospital, where he died. This event took place on or about the year 505 (A. D. 1111-2). He ranked among the most accomplished literary scholars of the age. His poems are full of originality and sweetness. An epistolary correspondence, in a sportive style, was carried on between him and the learned doctor Abû 'l-Kâsim az-Zamakhshari (*page* 321 *of this vol.*). Before their first meeting, he wrote to him these lines:

> He (*Zamakhshari*) is a perfect scholar; the flow (*of his style*) is (*brilliant*) as the radiance of the stars. Zamakhshari has every merit; he is the noblest production of (*his birth-place*) Zamakhshar. (*For me*) he is like the sea; though I have not seen it, I have heard of it.

Zamakhshari wrote to him (*in reply*):

> Your verses outshine so much my own, that I have arrayed myself in a robe of envy. But why should not the (*humblest*) plant become a lion (*i. e. flourish*) when the sons of the lion (4), water it every night?

Abû 'l-Haijâ's detached pieces are very numerous and elegant.—The vizir above mentioned is the same we have spoken of in our article on Abû Ishâk Ibrâhîm al-



Ghazzi (*vol. I. p.* 38), a celebrated poet who went to Kermân and recited to him a *kasîda* made in his honour. This is the high-sounding poem which rhymes in *ba* and of which two very fine and original verses have been inserted in that article. The piece begins thus :

To drink from the wells of (*my*) tears will suffice for the camels which we ride on; to smell the odour of the soil where (*my beloved*) had her vernal residence, will relieve their bosoms (*from the pangs of thirst*). When you see the lightning flash over (*the valley of*) Al-Akîk, count on no other rain but that which our eyes afford.

In the transition to the encomium the poet says :

With camels whose proof (*of excellence*) is (*like*) that of Isa Ibn Maryam (*Jesus, the son of Mary*), when the deep and rugged defile disables the pursuer (5). They seem to dance through the mirage, now floating on waves, now sinking. They look like swimming castles, as if I had transformed them thus in traversing the deserts. They perceive a well-known odor breathing from Kermân and, in their ardour, they sport about and play. They saw (*i. e. they have left*) behind the horizon of Mina (*many*) sun-risings and settings which they now think of no more. (*For they hasten*) towards a glorious (*prince*) who received not his honours by inheritance, but who toiled to acquire them as a gain; (*towards*) a prince on whom fortune looks always with smiles as on one who, in serious undertakings, has no companion but a firm resolution.

The same poem contains this passage :

When he speaks, all ears are attentive; when he writes, all eyes are fixed on him. Never, till I met with Mokram, did I see a lion in his den aspiring to high renown and bestowing precious gifts. Were he not a lion, with all his generosity, he should at least be one when the finger-nails (or *pens*) with which he attacks have become claws.

Here is another passage of the same poem :

Let others be honoured by poets who describe their noble qualities; we have mentioned such excellence of his as gives fresh lustre to his virtues. To him belongs exalted merit such that, if it took a material form, it would become as the eye and the eye-brow of the face of time. He cast a look towards the vizirate, then hoary (*with age*), and that slight glance rendered it young again. He obtained it at first without stretching forth his arm; and he held it, at last, without springing forth (*to seize it*).

The rest of this splendid *kasîda* may be appreciated after the specimens here given.

(1) See vol. I, page 89, where this vizir is surnamed Nasr ad-Dîn.

(2) Literally: exalted.

(3) The verb *tesauden* is derived, by a strange anomaly, from *saudâ* (*melancholy*) and bears, to this day, in Syria, the signification which is here given to it.

(4) *The sons of the lion*, in Arabic, *Banû 'l-Asad*. The tribe of Bakr Ibn Wâil, to which Abû 'l-Haijâ belonged, was a branch of the Banû 'l-Asad. Az-Zamakhshari makes a poor quibble on the signification of the name and on the double meaning of the verb *istasad*.

(5) In scanning this verse it will be perceived that the verbe قتل must be prononced as if it belonged to the second form. These camels proved their excellence by saving the lives of the fugitives who rode them and bearing them through defiles in which the pursuers were completely knocked up. They thus gave life to the fugitives as Jesus gave life to the dead. Such is the conjectural explanation of the translator.

HUSAM AD-DAWLA AL-MUKALLAD.

Abû Hassân al-Mukallad Ibn al-Musaiyab Ibn Râfé Ibn al-Mukallad Ibn Jaafar Ibn Amr Ibn al-Mohanna Abd ar-Rahmân Ibn Buraid Ibn Abd Allah Ibn Zaid Ibn Kais Ibn Jûtha (1) Ibn Tahfa Ibn Hazn Ibn Okail Ibn Kaab Ibn Rabiâ Ibn Aâmir Ibn Sâsâa Ibn Moawîa Ibn Bakr Ibn Hawâzin; such is the genealogy of the Okailide chief who was lord of Mosul and bore the title of *Husâm ad-Daula* (*the glave of the empire*). His brother, Abû 'l-Dauwâd Muhammad, the son of Al-Musaiyab, was the first of the family who established his domination in Mosul. That event took place in the year 380 (A. D. 990-1). His daughter married the Dailemite (*sovereign*) Abû Nasr Bahâ ad-Dawla, the son of Adud ad-Dawla, the son of Buwaih (2). Abû 'd-Dauwâd died in the year 387 (A. D. 997), and his brother Mukallad succeeded him in the government (*of Mosul*). He had a cast in one of his eyes. Our professor Ibn al-Athîr (*vol. II. p.* 228) mentions, in his Annals, that Al-Mukallad's accession to power took place in the year 386; that he aspired to the throne on the death of his brother; that the Okailides refused him their support and conferred the supreme authority on his brother Ali, because the latter was advanced in age; that Al-Mukallad has recourse to treacherous means and continued to employ them till he obtained the command. We here present a summary of the long account which Ibn al-Athîr gives of these events. According to another author, Al-Mukallad was

highly intelligent, well skilled in the arts of government and an able politician. Having augmented his kingdom by the conquest of Sakî 'l-Furât (3), he obtained from the *imâm* (*khalif*) Al-Kâdir Billah the title of *Husâm ad-Dawla,* the standard (*of commandment*) and the pelisse of honour. This he put on at Al-Anbâr, and took into his service three thousand soldiers, part of them Dailemites, and the rest Turks. (*The tribe of*) Khafâja then yielded him obedience (4). Being himself a man of talent, he was fond of literary men and composed verses. Abû 'l-Haijâ Ibn Imrân Ibn Shâhîn relates as follows: "I once travelled on the road between Sinjâr and "Nasîbîn in company with Motamîd ad-Dawla Abû 'l-Manîa Kirwâsh, the son of Al-"Mukallad. We came to a halting-place and, some time after we had dismounted, "he sent for me. I found him lodged in a neighbouring castle, which was called after "Al-Abbâs Ibn Amr al-Ghanawi. This building commanded a fine view over "numerous gardens and streams of water. On going in, I found him standing "and looking at something which was written on the wall. I read the inscription, "which ran as follows:

> "Castle of Al-Abbâs Ibn Amr! why did thy Ibn Amr quit thee? Long didst thou defy the "strokes of fortune; how then did (*ill-*) fortune take thee by surprise? Alas! where is thy "magnificence? or rather, where is thy hospitality? or rather, where is thy renown? or "rather, where is thy glory?

"Underneath were inscribed these words: 'Written by Ali, the son of Abd Allah, "'the son of Hamdân, with his own hand; in the year 331 (A. D. 942-3).' "—I may here observe that the writer of these lines was Saif ad-Dawla Ibn Hamdân (*vol. II. p.* 334), he whose praises are celebrated in the poems of Al-Mutanabbi (*vol. I. p,* 102).— "Underneath was written:

> "O castle! time hath shaken thee and abased thy glory. It hath defaced the beauty of these "lines which ennoble thy solid wall. Alas! where is their illustrious writer? where is all "his might which so well befitted thine?

"Below this were inscribed the following words: 'Written by Al-Ghadanfir, "'the son of Al-Hasan, the son of Ali, the son of Hamdân, with his own hand; in "'the year 363 (A. D. 973-4).' "—The writer of this was Oddat ad-Dawla (*Fadl-Allah, see vol. I. p.* 405), the son of Nâsir ad-Dawla al-Hasan who was the brother of Saif ad-Dawla. — Lower down was written:

> "O castle! what has become of those who pitched their tents in thy court? Time has des-

> " troyed and removed them whilst thou remainedst widely extended (5). Alas! how short was " the existence of those who walked in thee so proudly, and how long has been thine!

" Under these verses were inscribed the following words: ' Written by Al-" ' Mukallad Ibn al-Musaiyab Ibn Râfê, with his own hand; in the year 388 (A. D. " ' 998).' "—The writer of this note was the person whose life we are giving.— " then followed these lines:

> " O castle! what has become of the noble ones who dwelt here in former times? Thou " wert coeval with them and, in long duration, hast outlived them all. The lines traced upon " thy walls renew my grief for the son of Al-Musaiyab. Know that I shall soon join him and " that I am hastening on in his foot-steps!

" These verses were subscribed: ' Written by Kirwâsh, the son of Al-Mukallad " ' Ibn al-Musaiyab, with his own hand; in the year 401 (A. D. 1010-1011).' I " was surprised at what I saw and said to Kirwâsh: ' Was it you wrote that?' He " replied: ' It was; and I am thinking of having this castle thrown down, for it " ' is an unlucky place and has sent many to their graves.' I wished him long " life and, three days after, we set out again on our journey, but the castle has not " yet been demolished."—Al-Abbâs Ibn Amr al-Ghanawi, the person above mentioned, was a native of Tell Bani Saiyâr, a place situated between Ar-Rakka and Ras-Aîn, in the neighbourhood of Hisn Maslama, a fort which bears the name of Maslama the Hakamide, who was the son of (*the Omaiyide khalif*) Abd al-Malik Ibn Marwân (*Ibn al-Hakam*). (*Al-Abbâs*) was governor of Yemâma and Bahrain when the (*khalif*) Al-Motadid billah sent him to fight the Karmats, who were then making their first appearance. He gave them battle, but was defeated and taken prisoner. Some time afterwards, he obtained his liberty and returned to join Al-Motadid, at Baghdad. He arrived there on the eve of Sunday, the 12th of the month of Ramadân, 287 (10th sept. A. D. 900). Abû Abd Allah al-Azîmi, of Aleppo, states in his lesser historical work (6), that Al-Abbâs Ibn Amr al-Ghanawi died in the year 305 (A. D. 917-8). It is a singular fact that the ten thousand men he lead against the Karmats were all slain and that he alone escaped with his life. (*An occurrence equally strange befel*) Amr Ibn al-Laith the Saffâride: he marched with an army of fifty thousand men against Ismaîl Ibn Ahmad (*the Sâmânide who afterwards became*), lord of Khorâsân, and was taken prisoner, but all his soldiers escaped.—Seventy years elapsed from the time Saif ad-Dawla wrote the above mentioned lines till Kirwâsh wrote his. In the

life of Abd al-Malik Ibn Omair (*vol. II. p.* 117), we have inserted an anecdote similar to the foregoing and taken from a conversation which passed between him and Abd al-Malik Ibn Marwân; to it we refer the reader.—One day, as Al-Mukallad was in the sitting-room (*of his palace*) at Al-Anbâr, with some familiar acquaintances, a young turkish page sprung upon him and slew him. This occurred in the month of Safar, 391 (January, A. D. 1001). It is stated that he was buried on the border of the Euphrates, at a place called Shîfya (7) and situated between Al-Anbâr and Hît. Some relate that the Turk murdered him (*through fanaticism*), because he heard him say to a person that was taking leave of him with the intention of going on a pilgrimage (*to Mekka*): "When you arrive at the tomb of God's apostle, draw near to it and "say to him in my name: 'Were it not for your two companions, I should pay you "'a visit (8).'"—The *sharîf* Ar-Rida (*page* 118 *of this vol.*) composed two elegies on his death, and a number of poets wrote verses on the same subject. His son, Motamid ad-Dawla Abû 'l-Manîa Kirwâsh, who was absent at the time, succeeded him in the supreme command, but had to maintain a struggle for its possession against two of his uncles, one of them named Abû 'l-Hasan Ibn al-Musaiyab and the other Abu 'l-Murrakh Mosab Ibn al-Musaiyab. The former died in the year 392 (A. D. 1001-2), and the latter in 397. Kirwâsh then remained sole master of the principality and was delivered from the anxiety which they had given him. His possessions consisted of Mosul, Kûfa, al-Madâin and Saki 'l-Furât. In the year 401 (A. D. 1010–1011) he had the *Khotba* offered up throughout all his states for the prosperity of Al-Hâkim, the sovereign of Egypt, whose life we shall give, but he afterwards discontinued the practise. The Ghozz (9), having penetrated into Mosul, pillaged the palace of Kirwâsh and carried off from it more than two hundred thousand dinars. On this, he called to his assistance Nûr ad-Dawla Abû 'l-Aazz Dubais Ibn Sadaka, a chief of whom we have already spoken (*vol. I. p.* 504), and their united forces attacked the Ghozz, slew a great number of them and obtained the victory. Abû Ali Ibn (*Abi 's*-)Shibl al-Baghdâdi (*page* 102 *of this vol.*), a celebrated poet, composed a *kasîda* in his praise and spoke in it of this battle. He says:

> You spared your native soil the disgrace of entombing their corpses; the only tomb they got was the vulture's maw. Yet they had overrun the land and obtained all that was possible of worldly wealth. They had broken open the gate (*ritâj*) of the barrier which kept Gog confined, but they found, in your prowess, the might of Alexander (10).

Kirwâsh bore the surname of *Majd ad-Dîn* (*glory of religion*). His mother

was sister to the emir Abû 'l-Haijâ al-Hadbâni, lord of Irbel (*Arbela*). He wâs a good scholar and an elegant poet. Some of his pieces have got into general circulation; such, for instance, as that which Abû 'l-Hasan al-Bâkharzi (*vol. II. p.* 323) has given in his *Dumya tal-Kasr* and which we reproduce here :

Praised be adversity! it tarnishes the vile but gives polish to the noble. I was a mere mass of iron when adversity forged me into a sword, and the vicissitudes of fortune gave to my edge a free career.

The same author cites the following piece as a production of Kirwâsh :

Let those who have inherited paternal wealth be praised or reviled (*I care not*). As for me, I give abundant thanks to the only God, so as to draw down (*upon me*) an increase of favour. Mine is a bay horse, impatient when reined in, and who, in our incursions, procures for us, by his efforts, all we can hope for. Mine is the sharp sword which seems to flash undulating lightnings when drawn from the scabbard; mine, the sharp and pliant spear, the point of which seems to be tipped with death itself (11). By these I acquired wealth, but I granted to the liberality of my hand full power to spend it.

These verses are really fine and well turned. The following lines are said to be his :

(*That girl*) habitually perfumed, using odours, not every second day (*but always*), delicately limbed, whose skin is smooth to the touch. When the vapour of the aloes-wood ascends through the bosom of her (*robe*) and covers her face, it seems to me a cloud shadowing the sun.

Al-Bâkharzi, in his *Dumya tal-Kasr*, attributes the following lines to Abû 'l-Jûtha (12), a cousin of the emir Kirwâsh :

When they dash through the dust of the battle-field, they seem like suns (*in brilliancy*) and like moons (*in beauty*). Let fortune treat them justly or unkindly, they never withhold their gifts from those who ask. When their help is called for, in impending danger, they risk their existence and care not for their lives. When the fire of war is dying out, they light it up again with the points of their spears (13).

Among the pieces of verse contained in the *Dumya tal-Kasr*, we find an elogium on Kirwâsh composed by Az-Zâhir al-Jazari, and offering this very good specimen of the (*rhetorical figure called*) *istitrâd* (14) :

On a night gloomy as the visage of Al-Barkaïdi, cold as his ditties and long as his horns,



I travelled forth. My sleep, that of a fugitive, was troubled like the reason of Sulaimân Ibn Fahd and like his religious belief. The camel which bore me was headstrong, and dashed forward with the giddiness and folly of Ibn Jâbir; till the light of morning appeared, bright as the face of Kirwâsh, and brilliant as his forehead (15).

Sharaf ad-Dîn Ibn Onain, a poet of whom we have already spoken (*page 176 of this vol.*), is the author of a piece composed in the same style and directed against two jurisconsults of Damascus, one of whom was nicknamed *the mule* and the other *the buffalo*. We give it here :

The mule and the buffalo had a dispute which made them a show for every spectator. They went forth one evening and contended, one with his horns, the other with his hoofs. They did nothing well but vociferate, as if they had learned to argue from Al-Murtada Ibn Asâkir. 'Twas all long talk with meaning slender as the wits of Abd al-Latîf, the speculative philosopher. These two I warrant you, have uot a third to match them in stupidity, except the poet Madlawaih (16).

A friend of mine told me that he spoke to Ibn Onain respecting the verses composed by Az-Zâhir al-Jazari, and praised him at the same time for having imitated them so well, but the poet assured him that he had never heard them before. God knows best!—*Madlawaih* : the person who bore this surname was Ar-Rashîd Abdar-Rahmân Ibn Muhammad Ibn Badr an-Nâblosi (*native of Napluse*), a well-known poet who resided at Damascus and on whom Ibn Onain composed a number of (*satirical*) pieces. He died on the 15th of the month of Safar, 619 (31st March, A. D. 1222), at Damascus, and was interred near the gate called Bâb as-Saghîr.—The *Dumya tal-Kasr* contains another piece of verse composed by Az-Zâhir al-Jazari. It is so witty that I cannot refrain from giving it here :

See what a ample share of love fell to the lot of Ibn Shibl! he never ceased lighting desires in every bosom. For him, the women neglected their husbands, et in juventute sua, immemores uxorum ipsos reddidit maritos. Illum impuberem amaverunt mares; puberem feminæ; gloria Deo! nunquam amatoribus carebit.

Of these three verses, I have since met with the two last in an article on Abû Nasr Ibn an-Nahhâs al-Halabi (17), which is contained in the *Kharîda* (18). The author of that work says that Abû 's-Salt (19) gives them in his *Hadîka* as the production of that person, meaning Ibn an-Nahhâs. God knows best! His (*az-Zâhir's*) poetry abounds in fine ideas.—Let us return to our account of the emir Kirwâsh. He

was very generous, a great plunderer and a free giver, following thus the custom of the desert Arabs. It is related that they reproached him for having two sisters for wives at the same time, and that he made this reply: "Tell me what thing we ever did "which was permitted by law." He said also: "I have nothing on my con- "science except the death of five or six inhabitants of the desert whom I slew; as for "the town's people, God makes no account of them." He had governed fifty years when a quarrel arose between him and his brother, Baraka Ibn Mukallad, who resided outside the city: he fell into his hands, in the year 441 (A. D. 1049-1050), was bound in chains and cast into prison. Baraka took his place in the supreme command, assumed the title of *Zâim ad-Daula* (*the guardian of the empire*) and governed for two years. He died in the month of Zû 'l-Hijja, 443 (April-May, A. D. 1052). His nephew and successor, Abû 'l-Maâli Kuraish, was the son of Abû 'l-Fadl Badrân and the grandson of Al-Mukallad. Badrân was lord of Nasîbîn; he died in the month of Rajab, 425 (May-June, A. D. 1034). The first thing Kuraish did was, to hold an audience and have his uncle Kirwâsh put to death in his presence. This took place in the beginning of Rajab 444. Kirwâsh was buried at Tell Tauba, a place situated to the east of Mosul. He was generous and brave, an elegant speaker and a poet. His name *Kirwâsh* is a derivative noun of the form *fiwâl* (20); it comes from the root *Karach*, which signifies, in Arabic, *to gain and to collect*. (The tribe of) Koraish drew its name from the same root, because the people which composed it was engaged in commerce.—(*The emir*) Kuraish joined with Arslân al-Basâsiri (*vol. I. p.* 172) in plundering the seat of the khalifate (*Baghdad*). Some time after, the *imâm* (*khalif*) Al-Kâim bi-amr Illah, being again enabled to govern after his own will, wrote to the sultan Toghrulbek (*see page* 224 *of this vol.*), requesting him to treat Kuraish with indulgence. After these events, news was brought (*to Baghdad*) of his death; that is, of the death of Kuraish Ibn Badrân, who was carried off by the plague, in the town off Nasîbîn, towards the beginning of the year 453 (Jan., A. D. 1061). He died at the age of fifty-one years. The command of the tribe of Okail devolved on his son, Abû 'l-Mukârim Muslim Ibn Kuraish, who was surnamed *Sharaf ad-Dawla* (*the nobleness of the empire*). After the death of the Seljûkide sultan Toghrulbek, he aspired to the possession of Baghdad, but then gave up his project. He extended his rule over Diâr Rabiâ, Diâr Modar and Aleppo; he even received tribute from the country of the Greeks (*Asia Minor*). Having laid siege to Damascus, he was on the point of taking it when he was informed that the people of

Harrân had ceased to acknowledge his authority. He immediately marched against that city, attacked and took it, and massacred a great number of the inhabitants. This occurred in the year 476 (A. D. 1083-4). None of his family ever possessed so extensive a kingdom as he. Under his administration, which was remarkably good and equitable, all the roads throughout his states were perfectly safe. Among the numerous anecdotes related of him, we may indicate the following: Ibn Haiyûs, the poet of whom we have already given a notice (*page* 138 *of this vol.*), died in the house where Muslim resided and left a fortune of more than ten thousand dinars. This was taken to the treasury of Muslim who, however, ordered the sum to be remitted (*to the heirs*). "No," said he, "never shall it be said of me that "I gave money to a poet and then, through covetousness, took it back. The cash "which enters into my treasury is taken from the vilest of mankind (21)." The whole amount of the poll-tax (22) was distributed by him to the descendants of Abû Tâlib; none of it being reserved for his own use. It was he who repaired the walls of Mosul: the work began on Sunday, the 3rd of Shauwâl, 474 (6th March, A. D. 1082) and was finished in six months. The anecdotes told of him are very numerous. He lost his life in a battle fought, at the gates of Antioch, between him and the Seljûkide sultan Kutlumish, sovereign of Ar-Rûm (*Asia Minor*). This occurred on the 15th of Safar (23), 478 (12th June, A. D. 1085). "He was then aged forty "five years and some months;" so says Muhammad Ibn Abd al-Malik al-Hamdâni in the work entitled *Al-Maârif al-Mutaakhkhira* (*information respecting later times*) (24). Ibn as-Sâbî (25) says, in his chronicle, that Muslim, the son of Kuraich, was born on Friday, the 23rd of Rajab 432 (28th of March, A. D. 1041). Al-Mâmûni (*vol. II. p.* 334) states, in his historical work, that one of his favorite slaves attacked and strangled him in the bath; he places this event in the year 474 (A. D. 1081-2). The Seljûkide sultan Malakshâh established Abû Abd Allah Muhammad, the son of Muslim, in the government of Rahaba, Harrân, Sarûj and the territory of Al-Khâbûr, and gave to him in marriage his sister Zulaikha, the daughter of the sultan Alp Arslân. Muslim, the son of Kuraish and the father of Abû Abd Allah, had imprisoned his brother, Abû Muslim Ibrâhîm Ibn Kuraish, in the castle of Sinjâr and kept him there fourteen years. On the death of Muslim, his son, Muhammad, was established in the command (*of the tribe*), but his family rallied round Ibrahîm, delivered him from confinement and placed him at their head. Some time afterwards, he was shut up again, with his nephew Muhammad, by the order of Malakshâh. On the death of

that sultan, they obtained their liberty. Ibrâhîm then assembled the Arabs and attacked Tâj ad-Dawla Tutush, the Seljûkide (*see vol. I. p.* 273), at a place called Al-Mudaiya (26). Tutush took him prisoner and afterwards put him to death. This happened in the year 486 (A. D. 1093).—Another chief of the Okailides was Abû 'l-Hârith Mahârish, the son of Al-Mujalli, the son of Okaib (27), the son of Kiân (28), the son of Shoaib, the son of Al-Mukallad the elder, the son of Jaafar, the son of Amr, the son of Al-Muhanna. He was sovereign of (the town of) Al-Hadîtha. When the *imâm* Al-Kâim left Baghdâd, in consequence of the affair of Al-Basâsîri, he was hospitably received by Mahârish and treated, during a whole year, with the highest honour and attention. This is an event so well known that we need not give a more particular account of it (29). Mahârish was constant in almsgiving and prayer, and a regular attendant at the mosque and at (*religious*) assemblies. He died in the month of Safar, 499 (Oct.-Nov. A. D. 1105), at the age of eighty years. May God have mercy on them all!

(1) In one manuscript, this name is written *Hautha*.

(2) Bahâ ad-Dawla succeeded his brother Sharaf ad-Dawla in the government of Irak, A. D. 980. Eleven years later, he deposed the Abbâside khalife At-Tâiê lillah. He died at Arrajân, A. H. 403 (A. D. 1012-3).

(3) *Saki 'l-Furât* signifies the country irrigated by the Euphrates. The author of the *Marâsid* says, under the word *Furât*, that the territory of the Saki extended from Aâna to Sîb. This shows it to have been situated towards the south-eastern extremity of Arabian Irâk.

(4) The Banu Khafâja descended from Khafâja, the son of Amr, the son of Okail, and belonged therefore to the same family as Al-Mukallad. In Ibn Khaldûn's time, a little after the middle of the fourteenth century, this numerous and powerful tribe occupied a great part of the country situated between the Euphrates and the Tigris (see the *Hist. des Berbers*, tome I, page 26). The Khafâja were noted for their turbulence and love of plunder.—(*Abulfedæ Annales*, t. III, p. 20).

(5) Literally: and folded them up in consequence of thy being long spread out.

(6) See vol. I, page 655, note 3.

(7) According to the author of the *Marâsid*, the village of Shîfya was situated at seven parasangs from Wâsit.

(8) Abû Bakr and Omar, whose memory the Shîites detested, were buried in the mosque of Medîna, by the side of Mohammad's grave.

(9) By the Ghozz is here meant that race of Turks which founded the Seljûk dynasty. Our author has already (pages 225, 226 of this volume), given a sketch of their early history and noticed the departure of a fraction of that people from Ispahân to Adarbaijân. Ibn Khaldûn, in his Universal History, chapter on the Okailides, enables us to trace the path followed by this detachment. In the year 429 (A. D. 1037-8), they took and plundered Marâgha, defeated the Hadbâniya Kurds and then stormed the city of Rai, which was occupied at that time by Ibn Kâkuyah. They marched from thence to Kazwîn, ravaged Armenia, and devas-

tated Dînawar in the year 430 (A. D. 1038-9). From Armenia they passed into the country of the Hakkarite Kurds and, in 433, they entered Diâr Bakr and took possession of Jazîrat Ibn Omar. Having then defeated Kirwâsh, they laid siege to Mosul, took it and commenced there again the work of plunder and massacre. The inhabitants at length took up arms and slew all the invaders whom they found in the city. The rest of the Ghozz penetrated into Mosul, the year 435 (A. D. 1043-4) and put the inhabitants to the sword. During twelve days, the city was given up to plunder. Kirwâsh then united his forces to those of Dubais and proceeded to Mosul. The enemy retreated to Tell Afar and, in the month of Ramadân 435 (April, A. D. 1044) they encountered the Arabs. A desperate struggle ensued, in which the latter were victorious. They seized on the camp and baggage of the Ghozz, who fled to Nasîbîn. Kirwâsh pursued them as far as that town. They then entered Diâr Bakr which they ravaged and passed from that province into Armenia and Asia Minor, where they acted in a similar manner. From thence they returned to Adarbaijân.

(10) The musulman fables concerning Gog and Magog (Yajûj and Mâjûj) are well known. According these legends, Alexander the Great chastised this people and built the barrier of Derbend, in order to prevent them from invading Syria and Mesopotamia.

(11) Literally : as if the mother of the fates was fixed on the wood of it.

(12) Or *Hautha*, according to another reading.

(13) The author employs here the term *zinâd*, which signifies the flint and steel, or the two pieces of wood made use of for producing fire.

(14) This technical term signifies, in rhetoric, the bringing about of the transition. In the Arabic literary schools it is defined thus : *Istitrâd* signifies giving to the discourse such a turn as leads necessarily to a subject which was not, at first, that of the discourse.

(15) The name of Sulaimân Ibn Fahd occurs in the second volume, page 191. According to Abû 'l-Feda (*Annales*, tome III, p. 50), he entered into the service of Al-Mukallad, the father of Kirwâsh, and was appointed intendant of the latter's demesnes. As he acted most tyrannically towards the farmers, Kirwâsh had him imprisoned and subsequently put to death, A. H. 411 (A. D. 1020-1021). The same historian cites the verses of Al-Jazari, whom he designates by the surname of Ibn ar-Ramkarem, and informs us that Barkaîdi was a singer attached to the service of Kirwâsh and that Ibn Jâbir was the door-keeper or chamberlain of that emir. They were all present when the poet recited these verses.

(16) A few lines farther on, the author gives some account of this poet.

(17) Abû Nasr Ibn an-Nahhâs, a native of Aleppo, and a good poet, lived in the fifth century of the Hejira, for we know that his contemporary, Ibn Sinân al-Khafâji (see vol. II, p, 179), died A. H. 466 (A.D. 1073-4). —(Imâd ad-Dîn, in his *Kharîda*, ms. of the Bib. imp., ancien fonds, n° 1414, fol. 156 recto).

(18) See page 309 of this volume.

(19) Omaiya Ibn Abd al-Aziz Abi 's-Salt, a Spanish moslem, is the compiler of a poetical anthology intitled *Al-Hadîka* (*the shady bower*), and containing extracts from the works of his countrymen. He passed the first twenty years of his life in Seville, his native place; twenty more in Ifrîkiya (the kingdom of Tunis), at the court of the Sanhâjian kings (the Zîrides who succeeded the Fâtimides and whose dynasty furnished to Ibn Khaldûn the matter of a long chapter in his *Histoire des Berbers*, tome II, p. 9 *et seq*); he passed twenty years more as a prisoner in the (sultan's) library at Cairo. He had been sent to that city on a mission by (Al-Hasan Ibn Ali), the Zîride sovereign who held his court at Al-Mahdiya, but the Egyptian sultan had him arrested and confined in that establishment. On leaving it, he had acquired an intimate acquaintance with the philosophical sciences and the arts of medicine and musical composition. It was he who set to music the



verses contained in the book of songs composed by African authors. He died at Al-Mahdiya in the year 560 (A. D. 1164-5), or in 568, according to another account.—(*Makkari*, vol. I, p. ٥٣٠).

(20) That is: the first of the three radical letters in this word must have after it the vowel *i*, and the second must be separated from the third by the letters *wâw*, *alif*. *Fiwâl* is derived from the root *fâl* (*to do*); the divers forms of which verb are employed by Arabic grammarians as types serving to represent the forms of all other verbs.

(21) That is, from the inhabitants of towns, merchants and farmers, three classes of men whom the Arabs of the desert heartily despised.

(22) This tax was imposed by the law of Muhammad on all Christians, Jews and Sabeans.

(23) One manuscript has: the 25th of Safar.

(24) Muhammad Ibn Abd al-Malik al-Hamdâni, the author of the historical abridgment mentioned here, died A. H. 521 (A. D. 1127).

(25) The life of Hilâl Ibn as-Sâbi will be found in this volume.

(26) In arabic characters الصّنيع. This is the reading offered by the autograph manuscript of Abû 'l-Fedâ's Annals. The place which bore this name was a district in the neighbourhood of Mosul.

(27) According to another reading *Okaith*.

(28) According to another manuscript *Kidr*.

(29) In the Annals of Abû 'l-Fedâ, year 450, will be found an account of al-Kâim's expulsion from Baghdad and of his reception by Mahârish.

MUKHLIS AD-DAWLA MUKALLAD.

Abû 'l-Mutauwaj Mukallad Ibn Nasr Ibn Munkid al-Kinâni, surnamed *Mukhlis ad-Dawla* (*saviour of the empire*), was the father of the emir Sadîd ad-Dawla (1) Abû'l-Hasan Ali, lord of the castle of Shaizar, him of whom we have already spoken (*vol II. p.* 342). He was a man of great influence and wide renown, singulary fortunate in his sons and grandsons. In the article on is son we have related succinctly how the power of this family took its origin and how they obtained possession of the above-named fortress. Mukallad dwelt, with a numerous band of retainers, in the vicinity of Shaizar, near the bridge called after them *Jisr Beni Munkid*, and from thence they went to reside alternately at Aleppo, Hamât and other places, in the vicinity of which they possessed magnificent houses and valuable estates. This

was before the family got possession of the castle of Shaizar. The princes who reigned in Syria treated them with great honour and showed them the highest respect. The poets of the time used to visit them and celebrate their praises: for many illustrious chieftains, noble, high-spirited and learned, belonged to the family of Munkid. We have already spoken of one of his (*Mukallad's*) great-grandsons, Osâma Ibn Murshid (*vol. I. p.* 177). Mukhlis ad-Dawla remained in the command of his people and in the enjoyment of exalted rang till the day of his death. That event took place in the month of Zû 'l-Hijja, 450 (Jan.-Feb., A. D. 1059). His corpse was born to Kafr-Tab (*and there buried*). I find, in the collected works of the poet Ibn Sinân al-Khafâji (*vol. II. p.* 179), a passage to this effect: "And he (*Ibn* "*Sinân*) recited the following elegy on his (*Al-Mukallad's*) death, which happened in "the month of Zû 'l-Hijja, 435." God knows which is the true date. I give here an elegy which is really a very fine production and which was composed on his death by the *kâdi* Abû Yala Hamza Ibn Abd ar-Razzâk Ibn Abi Husain, who recited it to Abû 'l-Hasan Ali, him whom we have mentioned above. Though it is very long, I shall insert it in full, because copies of it are rarely to be found. I never met any person who knew by heart more than a few verses of it; so, for that reason, I am induced to give it:

How well death aims its strokes against all living beings! the moment most to be feared speeds on more quickly than the rest. The man (*hitherto*) safe and unharmed, how can he be gay when the cavalry of death and its ambushes are always before him? To human existence safety is granted but for a time, yet he who is most deceived by life's illusions confides in them the most. He to whom the robe of life has been lent must strip it off; he who defers paying his debt (*to nature*) is forced to acquit it. The Cæsars have disappeared, and their palaces availed them not; the Chosroes have been prostrated to the earth, and their citadels could not protect them. The kingdom of Solomon could not save him from death, neither did his father find protection in his coats of mail (2). Nought is in the world but travellers, arriving and departing; they journey towards a place far distant from their home. The breath of man is the bridle by which fate leads him on; and the nights (*of his existence*) are the stages of his journey. Why did death begin by assaulting Mukhlis ad-Dawla? why were its sudden strokes turned away from others? Death is a watering-place towards which man hastens after man, and others follow in rapid succession. The people have buried a noble chief, but never shall disappear (*the memory of*) his virtues. May the dew and the cloud-drops water the tomb of him upon whom has been poured the earth of the grave; for it contains a cloud whose (*beneficent*) showers used to dispel the parching droughts, a sea of generosity, whose waves flowed over all the land. The son of Nasr, borne upon his bier, seems like a dark vernal cloud whose (*expected*) rains were dissipated by the winds. He (*now*) passes the river, and its sands extol him (3); he passes by assembled people, and the widows burst into tears. His bier is borne forth on (*men's*) shoulders (*rigâb*),

but often were his gifts and presents borne away by travellers (*rikâb*). O, thou poet, who meanest to lament his death! see what thou hast to say; for the souls of all men will be suspended in attention to thy words. Earth in thy mouth (4)! thou knowest not what hath been committed to the earth; thou art ignorant (*of it*), and he who is ignorant of a thing, underrates its importance. He was a lord (*whose glory seemed*) like the moon hastening towards its full; whose hands were always ready to bestow, and whose spear, to strike. He now draws floods of tears from all; so that their eyes are like his hands from the torrents which they pour forth (5). Eyes! spare not your tears, but let them flow in streams for the loss of a glorious chief whose flow of gifts never knew what stinting was. When asked for money, his hands showered it around; when asked to punish oppression, his lances showered streams of blood. How often did the self-sufficient depart humbled from his presence; how often did the modest obtain from him their wishes. His were victories which destroyed each warrior who dared to face him and every rival who had courage to resist him. His guests (*reposed*) in a garden the shade of which was his beneficence; those who tried to rival him in glory lost their lives in the attempt. O, how short was his life! short his stay (*here below*), short (*the days of*) his generosity! short (*the time he went*) sword in belt (6). Noble ambition was the steed (7) that bore him to a goal which others could never reach. He died not before obtaining his utmost wishes; he disappeared like the moon when she has passed through all her stations. How long was he accustomed to receive with hospitality the troops which came to ask it; and to march against them if they came as enemies. Indulgent for offenders, his sword's blade spared them and his clemency sufficed to chastise them. (*In battle*) he ensanguined the bushy tail of his steed, and used to make the shoulders of his (*horse*) throw out drops of blood (8). Generous steed! how long did thy back sustain the pain inflicted by thy intrepid (*rider*); O, that it sustained it now (9)! Confusion and trouble abound since the death of that sagacious man whose genius cleared up every perplexity. His conjectures never deceived him, but guided always to results from which other men were misled. May the showers of divine mercy never depart from him! may they always descend upon him, morning and evening. May the source of mercy water every morning the grave of him who shed, every evening, upon the needy, the torrents of his gifts. God decided that the emir's might should be no longer feared, yet numerous still are his horses and his spears. Here are his young warriors whose swords, now in their scabbards, gleamed like the lightning-flash to obey his orders, and whose lances shone like lamps. O, that his arrows were to-day rustling before him, and that the bellies of his horses rumbled still, but not from fasting (10)! Sons of Munkid! be patient under your misfortune; in him whom you have lost, both rich and poor (11) have received a fatal stroke. Every man is overwhelmed with grief, and, if their sorrow persists, none will be found to blame them. Whilst the hands of other men are parched up (*by avarice*), you, sons of Munkid! are meadows and groves of generosity. When a man escapes from the burden of adversity, you are his support and his refuge. Aid me to bear our loss with patience; he who has patience for his companion is not dismayed by the departure of his friend. He (*Mukallad*) did not sleep (*in death*) till there appeared in you (*his son*) a man fit to succeed him, one gifted with vigilance and firm resolve (12). You and he are as two opposite constellations in the sphere of glory; one has set and the other has arisen. Your people had not charged you with the (*supreme*) command, did they not know that you accomplish what you undertake. Like him, you toiled to acquire honour and, had you not toiled, his superabundant merits would have sufficed for your renown. But you did not intend rising (*to power*) by means of what he did; you were in the right! the actions which raise a man must be his own (13). I swear by your life that, in all which has happened, I was (*his*) bridle-companion and bestowed

on him my sincerest love. How could my heart be devoid of that affection, whose influence has penetrated into my bosom, to remain there for ever?

We have here given the whole *kasída*. In our article on as-Sâlih Talâî Ibn Ruzzîk (*vol. I. p.* 659), who was vizir of Egypt, we have spoken of an elegy composed on his death by the jurisconsult Omâra tal-Yamani (*vol. II. p.* 367). It is in the same measure and the same rhyme as the foregoing. I quoted only a few verses of it, because copies of Omâra's collected poetical works are in every one's hands; whereas, the poem I have inserted here is seldom found complete. For this reason, I gave the whole of it. Two of its verses have been already inserted in the article on Jamâl ad-Dîn Abû Jaafar Muhammad al-Ispâhâni, vizir of Mosul (*p.* 298 *of this vol.*).—Abû 'l-Mughîth Munkid Ibn Nasr Ibn Munkid, the brother of Mukallad, died in the year 439 (A. D. 1047-8). An elegy was composed on his death by the learned scholar, al-Khafâji, whose names were Abû Muhammad Abd Allah Ibn Muhammad Ibn Saîd Ibn Yahya Ibn al-Husain Ibn Muhammad Ibn ar-Rabî Ibn Sinân (14). This celebrated poet, who was a native of Aleppo, is the author of a collection of verses. The elegy of which we speak was one of his earliest productions, as he composed it when a boy. We give it here:

Thy excellent qualities have disappeared most strangely: we had them near us, but fortune hurried them away (15). Their departure was like that of spring, and to spring's abundant showers has succeeded the burning heat (*of sorrow*) in our bosoms.

A long *kasída* rhyming in *r*, was composed by Al-Khafâji on the death of Makhlis ad-Dawla; another, by the same author and rhyming in *h*, was in praise of that emir. The poet displayed in both great talent.

(1) In the article on this chief, the author intitles him Sadid al-Mulk.

(2) See vol. I, p. 591, note 2.

(3) This seems to mean that the sands of the river admired his beneficence as being more copious than the waters which flowed over them, or because his noble deeds were more numerous than they.

(4) A well known imprecation. It means: may you be dead and buried!

(5) The poet means that the tears caused by that emir's death flowed in a torrent, copious as the gifts which he used to shower from his hand.

(6) Such seems to be the meaning of this verse. Here is the literal translation: O life of him! why wert thou shortened? and why were not long his stations, or rather, his hand, or rather, his shoulder-belt?

(7) The adverbial expression ملاء فروجها is not easy to be rendered. It is applied to horses of the noblest



breed and denotes that their long and bushy tails fill up completely the space formed by the bifurcation of the hind legs. See Az-Zauzani's commentary on the fifty-eighth verse of the *Moallaka* composed by Amro 'l-Kais. Here it signifies *at full speed.*

(8) The meaning of this verse appears to be that the tail of his horse was reddened in passing through torrents of blood and that his shoulders were bleeding from the strokes of the whip. The word rendered by *bushy* signifies a tail of which all the hairs are equally long.

(9) The poet means evidently the pain caused by the whip.

(10) The rumbling noise produced by the belly of some horses in trotting is well known.

(11) Literally: the shod and the bare-footed.

(12) Literally: abundant and perfect in resolution.

(13) This verse contains a grammatical quibble, as the last hemistich bears two meanings, one of which is that the subject of a verb must be put in the nominative case. Trifling allusions of this kind are quite in the musulman taste.

(14) This is the same poet of whom mention has been made in vol. II, page 179.

(15) Literally: but time darted its remoteness against their proximity.

MAKKI THE TEACHER OF *THE KORAN-READINGS.*

Abû Muhammad Makki Ibn Abi Tâlib Hammûsh Ibn Muhammad Ibn Mokhtâr al-Kaisi al-Mukri (*a member of the tribe of Kais, a teacher of the Koran-readings and*), a native of Kairawân, passed into Spain and settled in Cordova. He was deeply read in the sciences connected with the Koran and the Arabic language; his intellect was clear, his person handsome, his piety sincere and his understanding great. The numerous works composed by him on the Koranic sciences are very good. He was well acquainted with the *seven readings* (*or editions of the Koran*) and the signification of every various reading which they offer. His birth took place at Kairawân on the 22nd of Shabân, 355 (13th August, A. D. 966) at the hour of sunrise, or a little before it, according to another account; but the *Koran-reader*, Abû Amr ad-Dâni (1) says that he was born in the year 354. Al-Makki passed his early youth at Kairawân; at the age of thirteen years he went to Old Cairo and frequented the schools where the teachers of youth and the professors of arithmetic gave their lessons. He then returned to Kairawân and, in the year 374, he finished

learning the Koran by heart; having previously terminated his studies in arithmetic and general literature. In the year 377, he proceeded to Egypt for the second time, after acquiring a complete knowledge of the *readings* (*as taught*) at Kairawân. The same year, he made the pilgrimage which is obligatory for the followers of Islamism, and, in the beginning of the year 378, he commenced studying the *readings* at Old Cairo under the tuition of Abû 't-Taiyib Abd al-Munim Ibn Ghalbûn (2). During the remainder of the year and part of the next, he continued his studies under that master, and then returned to Kairawân. As some various readings of the Koran still remained for him to learn, he went to Egypt for the third time, in the year 382, and completed his task. In the following year he returned to Kairawân, where he began to teach the *readings*, and he continued his lessons till the year 387. Having then proceeded to Mekka, he resided there till the end of the year 390, and made the pilgrimage four years consecutively. In 391, he returned from Mekka to Old Cairo, whence he proceeded to Kairawân, the year following. From that city he set out for Spain and, having arrived there, in the month of Rajab, 393 (May-June, A. D. 1003), he commenced a course of lectures on the Koran-*readings* in the principal mosque of Cordova. A great number of students profited by his lessons and acquired a competent knowledge of the Koranic text; this spread his reputation through the city and obtained for him high respect. On arriving at Cordova, he stopped at the mosque of An-Nukhaila (*the little palm-tree*), situated in the street called *Az-Zukakain* (*the two lanes*), near the Gate of the Druggists (*Bâb al-Attârîn*), and there taught the *readings*. He was removed from that to the principal mosque of As-Zâhira (3), by al-Muzaffar Abd al Malik Ibn Abi Aâmir (4), and continued to give lessons there till the power of the Aâmerides was overthrown. (*The khalif*) Mohammad al-Mahdi, the son of Hishâm (*Ibn al-Hakam*) transferred him to the Outer Mosque (*al-Masjid al-Khârij*) of Cordova, and there, Makki gave lessons during the whole period of the civil war. On the death of Yûnus Ibn Abd Allah (5), he was appointed *imâm* and preacher of the principal mosque by Abû'l-Hasan Ibn Jahwar (6). Notwithstanding his learning and intelligence, he was hardly adequate to the duties of that place, yet he continued to fill the office of preacher till his death. Makki was noted for his virtue, his merit, his humility and his piety; the readiness with which heaven granted whatever he prayed for gained him great celebrity, and some anecdotes of his (*miraculous powers*) are still preserved. One of them is thus related by Abû Abd Allah at-Tarafi (7), a teacher of the *readings*: "We had at

"Cordova a man of some sharpness, who had the talent of annoying the *shaihh* Abû
"Muhammad (*Makki*) : he would draw near to him when he was about to preach
"and nod at him and take a note of every fault he made. The *shaikh* had a great
"hesitation in his speech and often stopped short. One Friday, that man came to
"public prayers and kept glancing his eye at the *shaikh* and nodding to him.
"Makki and I went out together and, on reaching the place where he usually gave
"his lessons, he bid us say *amen* to the prayer he was about to make. Having then
"raised up his hands, he exclaimed : "Almighty God! deliver me from that man,"
"which words he repeated three times. We said *amen* to the prayer; so, the man
"became a cripple and never again went to the mosque." — Makki composed a great number of instructive works, such as the *Hidâya ila Bulûgh an-Nihâya* (*guidance towards the attainment of one's object*), treating of the rhetorical figures employed in the noble Koran, of its interpretation and of the various sciences connected with it, and forming seventy parts (8); the *Muntakhib al-Hujja* (*selections from* Abû Ali al-Fârisi's *Hujja*) (9), in thirty parts; the *Tabsira* (*elucidation*), on the Koran-*readings*, in five parts and the best known of his works; the *Mujaz* (*abridgment*), treating of the *readings*, in two parts; the *Kitâb al-Mâthûr*, etc. (*opinions transmitted down* from Mâlik (*vol. II. p.* 545), relative to the maxims of law contained in the Koran and its interpretation, in four parts; the *Reâya li-Tajwîd il-Kurân* (*guide to the correct recitation of the Koran*) in four parts; the *Ikhtisâr Ahkâm il-Kurân* (*abridgment of the legal decisions contained in the Koran*), in four parts; the *Kushûf ân Wujûh il-Karaât wa Ilaliha* (*indication of the various channels through which the different readings have been transmitted down and of the defects remarked in these channels*), in twenty parts; the *Idâh* (*Elucidation*), on the abrogating and abrogated verses of the Koran, in three parts; the *Kitâb al-Ijâz* (*Abridgment*), on the same subject, in one part; the *Kitâb az Zâhi fi 'l-Lumâ ad-dâllat âla mustâmalât il-Irâb* (*the blooming, being a treatise on the lights which indicate the grammatical inflexions in general use*), four parts; the *Tanbîh* (*Indication*) on the principles of Nâfi's (10) system of Koran-*readings* and its controverted points, two parts; the *Intisâf* (*vindication*), being a refutation of Abû Bakr al-Adfûi's (11) *Kitâb al-Ibâna* (12) and an indication of that author's mistakes, three parts; the *Kitâb ar-Risâla* (*Epistle*) adressed to the disciples of Al-Antâki (13) in order to justify the system of Warsh (14) relative to the *madda*, in three parts; the *Ibâna* (*Elucidation*), on the rhetorical figures of the Koran, in one part; the *Kitâb al-Wakf*, treating of the pause to be made after the words *Kalla* (*by*

no means) and *bala* (*certainly yes*) when they occur in the Korân, two parts; the *Kitâb al-Ikhtilâf fi Adad il Aâshâr* (*on the diversity of opinions respecting the number of tenths*) (15), one part; the greater *Idghâm*, treating of the organs of pronunciation, in one part; the *Bayân al-Kabâir wa 's-Saghâir* (*distinction between sins and faults*); in two parts; the *Ikhtilâf fi 'd-Dabîh* (*differences of opinion relative to the Victim*) (16); a treatise on the substitution of one preposition for another, one part; the *Tanzîh al-Malâika ân iz-Zunûb* (*on the impeccability of the Angels*) and their pre-eminence over the sons of Adam, in one part; a treatise on the letter *i* as it occurs redoubled in the Koran and in ordinary discourse, in one part; a work on the opinions of the learned concerning what is meant by the terms *nafs* (*soul*) and *rûh* (*psirit*), in one part; another on the necessity of exacting a fine from him who kills game unintentionally in the sacred territory round Mekka, being a maxim of Malikite jurisprudence, with the proofs in its favour, one part; the *Mushkil Gharîb il-Kurân* (*coranical expressions of rare occurence and doubtful signification*), three parts; the *Baiyân al-Aml fi 'l-Hajj* (*indication of what is to be done during the pilgrimage*), from the moment of putting on the pilgrim-dress till the visiting of the Prophet's tomb, one part; a treatise on the obligation of making the pilgrimage for him who has means to perform that duty, one part; the *Tazkira* (*remembrancer*), treating of the points on which the Koran-*readers* disagree, one part; the *Tasmiya tal-Ahzâb* (*indication of the names given to the sixty equal sections of the Koran*), one part; selections from Ibn Wakî's (17) *Ikhwân*, in two parts; a treatise on the letters which coalesce in pronunciation, two parts; the *Sharh at-Tamâm wa 'l-Wakf* (*explication of the difference between the full stop and the pause*), in four parts; the *Mushkil al-Maâni wa 't-Tafsîr* (*obscure passages and figurative expressions*) found in the Koran, fifteen parts; the *Hijâ 'l-Masâhif* (*on the number of letters contained in the different editions of the Koran*), two parts; a miscellany entitled *Ar-Riâd* (*meadows*), in five parts; the *Muntaki fi 'l-Akhbâr* (*historical selections*), in four parts; and many other treatises on the *readings*, on the points wherein the *readers* disagree, and on the sciences connected with the Koran. The titles of these works I suppress, so as to avoid prolixity.—Makki died at Cordova on Saturday, the 1st of Muharram, at the hour of the dawn-prayer, in the year 437 (19th of July, A. D. 1045); he was interred, the next day, in the suburb, and the funeral service was said over him by his son, Abû Tâlib Muhammad.—Abû 't-Taiyib Abd al-Munim Ibn Ghalbûn, the teacher of the Koran-*readings* of whom we have spoken, was a native of Egypt. Ath-Thaâlibi (*vol. II. p.* 129) mentions him in the

Yatîma and says : " To his piety, his talent and his profound acquaintance with " the rhetorical figures and the grammatical analysis of the Koran, he joined the " knowledge of other branches of science and of literature. I heard a *kasîda* of his " recited in which was the following passage :

" Let your visits be rare; if frequent, they lead to mutual dislike. See you not that rain, " falling without intermission, is an affliction; and that, if it be withheld, it is prayed for with " uplifted arms. "

Another author says that Abû Taiyib Ibn Ghalbûn was born in the month of Rajab, 309 (Nov.-Dec. A. D. 921), and that he died in Old Cairo on Thursday, the 7th of the first Jumâda, 389 (26th April, A. D. 999).

(1) Abû Amr Othmân Ibn Saîd, a *mawla* to the Omaiyide family and surnamed ad-Dâni, was born at Cordova in the year 371 (A. D. 981-2). He began his studies in the year 387, set out for the East in 397, spent four months at Cairawân, one year in old Cairo, and made the pilgrimage. He returned to Spain in the year 399, after acquiring much traditional learning from the lips of Ibn Ghalbûn and other great masters. The number of works composed by him is stated to be one hundred and thirty. He died in the month of Shauwâl, 444 (Jan-Feb. A. D. 1053). Ad-Dânia (*Denia*) was his usual place of residence and, for that reason, he received the surname of ad-Dâni.—(*Al-Makkari*).

(2) See at the end of this article.

(3) The town of az-Zâhira was built near Cordova by al-Mansûr Ibn Abi Aâmir. See professor Dozy's *Histoire des Musulmans d'Espagne*, tome III, page 179.

(4) Al-Muzaffar was the son and successor of the celebrated al-Mansûr, prime minister of Hishâm al-Muwaiyad, the Omaiyide sovereign of Spain.

(5) Abû 'l-Walîd Yûnus Ibn Abd Allah, surnamed Ibn as-Saffâr (*the son of the brazier*) was *kâdi of the community* (*kâdi 'l-Jamâa*), or chief kâdi, of the kingdom of Cordova. He was distinguished for his piety and learning. Some treatises were composed by him on Sufism, for which doctrine he had a great inclination. One of his works bore the title of *Kitâb al-Munkataîn ila Allah* (*book of those who renounced the world for God*), from which may be concluded that it was a history of pious ascetics. He died in the year 429 (A. D. 1037-8), aged upwards of ninety years.—(Casiri's *Bib. Arab.*, t. II, p. 148; *Bughya tal-Multamis*).

(6) Abû 'l-Hazm (not *Abû 'l-Hasan*, as Ibn Khallikân writes it), Ibn Jahwar, one of the vizirs in the service of Hishâm III, took into his hands the government of Cordova in the year 422 (A. D. 1031), on the deposition of that sovereign. He retained the supreme authority till his death, which event took place in 435 (A. D. 1043-4).

(7) Muhammad Ibn Ahmad Ibn al-Mutarrif al-Kinâni, a native of Cordova, celebrated as a teacher of the Koran *readings* and generally known by the surname of at-Tarafi (*native of Tarifa?*) was born in the year 387 (A. D. 997); he died in the month of Safar, 454 (A. D. 1062).—(*Tabakât al-Kurrâ*).

(8) It is not probable that the word جزء (*part*) should be employed throughout this article to signify *volume*; it may mean *quire* or *chapter*.

(9) See vol. I, page 381.

(10) The life of Nâfi will be found in this volume.

(11) Abû Bakr Muhammad Ibn Ali al-Adfûi (native of Edfou in Upper Egypt), was a grammarian, a commentator of the Koran and a teacher of its *readings*. He was considered as the great master of the age in these sciences. His commentary on the Koran filled one hundred and twenty volumes. He died in the month of the first Rabî, 388 (March, A. D. 998), at the age of eighty-eight years.—(Suyûti, *de Interpretibus Korani*.)

(12) According to another reading *Kitâb al-Imâla* (*treatise on the inclination*); that is, indication of the cases in which the prononciation of the letter *a* inclines towards that of the letter *i*. The work is not mentioned by Hajji Khalifa.

(13) This is perhaps the same person of whom mention is made in vol. I, page 337.

(14) The nickame of *Warsh* (*milk-curds*) or *Warshân* (*wild pidgeon*) was given, by the celebrated Koran-*reader* Nâfi, to his second disciple Abû Saîd Othmân Ibn Saad, a native of Egypt and a copt by origin, or according to another account, a native of Ifrîkiya (the province of Tunis). Warsh was born A. H. 110 (A. D. 728-9) and died A. H. 167 (A. D. 783-4).—(*Tabakât al-Kurra*). His system consisted in softening the prononciation of the *alif-hamza* moved by a *fat'ha*, when it is preceded by another letter bearing a *fat'ha* and followed by a quiescent letter. According to him the words أأنذرتهم (*sur.* 2, *verse* 5) and أرأيتكم (*sur.* 6, *verse* 40) should be pronounced *andartahum* and *araitakum* and not *aandartahum*, *araaitakum*. The translator is indebted to professor Fleischer for these indications.

(15) This title is too vague to indicate the sujet of the work, which treated, perhaps, of the number of verses, counted by tens, which are countained in the Koran.

(16) In this work the author probably discussed the question whether it was Ismaîl or Isaac whom Abraham intended to offer up as a victim.

(17) Hajji Khalîfa furnishes no information respecting this author or his work.

MAKKI AD-DARIR.

Abû'l-Hazm Makki Ibn Raiyân Ibn Shabbah Ibn Sâlih, surnamed Sâin ad-Dîn (*guarding the religion*) ad-Darîr (*the blind*), a teacher of the Koran-*readings* and a grammarian, was born at Mâkisîn and resided at Mosul. His father made leather carpets at Mâkisîn and died poor, leaving nothing after him but a wife, a daughter and a son, this Abû'l-Hazm. The widow, being unable to support them on account of her poverty, was so much afflicted that her son left her. On departing from his native place, he set out for Mosul and there applied to the study of the Koran and

general literature. Having them proceeded to Baghdad, he met there the ablest professors of literature and took lessons in Koran-*reading* from Abû Muhammad Ibn al-Khashshâb (*vol. II. p.* 66), Ibn as-Saffâr, Ibn al-Anbâri (*p.* 53 *of this vol.*) and Abû Muhammad Saîd Ibn ad-Dahhân (*vol. I. p.* 574). Having then returned to Mosul, he began to give lessons and had a great number of pupils. His reputation then spread throughout the country and his renown was borne far and wide. In Abû'l-Barakât Ibn al-Mustaufi's (*vol. II. p.* 556), History of Arbela he is spoken of in these terms : " To a knowledge of the philological sciences he joined (*a perfect acquain-*" *tance with the passages serving as examples and*) proofs of (*pure*) Arabic phraseo-" logy; his piety and his intelligence were universally acknowledged and all agreed " respecting (*the extent of*) his learning and (*the greatness of*) his merit. He went " to Baghdad and there met the ablest masters in grammar, philology and Traditions. " The quantity of oral information which he transmitted down is very considerable. " He set up as teacher of the Koran, and was acquainted with all the branches of " literature. He recited to me the following piece of his own composition :" — Ibn al-Mustaufi had studied under him at Mosul ; —

" I am weary of life and have ceased to care for it; now it treats me as a friend, and then it " afflicts me (1). My foes cease not to harm me, and such also is the conduct of my friends. " Al-Hadba was my earliest abode, but those whom I love are now dwelling in the desert " of al-Akîk (2). "

Al-Hadba (*the knoll*) is a word used to designate the city of Mosul. — " By the same :

" When a favour requires solicitation, receive it not, so that you may rise next morning with " a tranquil mind (3). If a favour bestowed with a single reproach be disagreeable, how much " more so, if bestowed with two.

" By the same :

" At thy door is a servant who desires admission; he looks for an usher (4) to annonnce him; " being assured that thy bounty is withheld from none. If he obtain his wish, he will enter " (*thy door*) as good fortune has done; if not, he will retire as adversity has retired."

This thought is borrowed from the following passage, composed by another poet :

One of thy servants stands at the door, overwhelmed with thy bounty and acknowledging his

gratitude. Shall he approach thee like the favours of fortune? Mayest thou never cease to enjoy them as long as time endures! or shall he retire from thee as adversity has done?

"At the age of eight or nine years," continues Ibn al-Mustaufi, "he lost his "sight. He had always a great partiality for Abû'l-Alâ al-Maarri (*vol. I. p.* 94) and "took much delight in learning from him his poems. Such was the conformity "which blindness and the love of literature had established between them that he "took him for a model in the composition of his own poems." A person who had received lessons from Abû'l-Hazm Makki relates that, in his native town, his neighbours and acquaintances called him *Mukaik*, which is the diminutif of *Makki* (5). Having subsequently gone abroad to prosecute his studies, he felt a longing to revisit the place of his birth and returned there. On learning his arrival, those of his former acquaintances who were still alive went to see him and express their happiness that so eminent a man had been born in their town. The next morning, as he was going out to take a bath, he heard a woman calling from the upper room of a house and saying to another: "Do you know who is come? Mukaik, the son of such "a woman."—"By Allah!" he exclaimed, never shall I stop in a town were they "call me *Mukaik;*" and he set out immediately althought he had meant to made a residence there (6). He then returned to Mosul and, towards the close of his life, he proceeded to Syria with the intention of visiting the holy temple of Jerusalem. Having executed his project, he went to Aleppo and from that to Mosul, where he arrived in the month of Ramadân 603. He died there on the eve of Saturday, the 6th of Shauwâl, the same year (6th May, A. D. 1207), leaving one son, a little boy. He was intered in the plain outside the Bâb al-Maidân (*Hippodrome gate*), in the cemetery called after al-Muâfa Ibn Imrân (*vol. I. p.* 259). His grave is near those of Abû Bakr al-Kortubi (7) and Ibn ad-Dahhân, the grammarian. It it said that he died of poison given to him by the order of Nûr ad-Dîn Arslân Shâh (*vol. I. p.* 174), the sovereign of Mosul, who had some motive for desiring his death. The orthography of the names *Raiyân* and *Shabbah* as given above, is exact. *Al-Mâkisîn* is a town in one of the provinces of Mesopotamia and situated on the river al-Khâbûr. Though small, it resembles a city in the beauty of its edifices and houses.

(1) The poet says: afflicts me in my saliva. This expression seems to signify: rendering the saliva bitter, making a man unhappy.



(2) A number of valleys in Arabia bore the name of al-Akîk.

(3) Literally : that you may be next morning with a cool eye. The coolness of the eye indicates that it has not been inflamed by weeping. It is a very usual expression. In this verse we meet a verb which must be written تضحى (*todhi*).

(4) The word rendered by *usher* must be written and pointed thus آذنا.

(5) This proves that, in the name of *Makki*, the *k* is double.

(6) The correct reading is تربث.

(7) The life of Abû Bakr Yahya al-Kortubi will be found in the fourth volume.

MAK'HUL ASH-SHAMI

Abû Abd Allah Mak'hûl Ibn Abd Allah ash-Shâmi (*the Syrian*) was one of the captives taken at Kâbul (*on the first conquest of that city by the Musulmans*). Ibn Mâkûla (*vol. II. p.* 248) speaks of him in the *Ikmâl*, under the article *Shâdil*, and indicates his origin : " Mak'hûl," says he, " was the son of Abû Salama Shahrâb, " the son of Shâdil, the son of Sind, the son of Shirwân, the son of Bardak, the son " of Yàkûb, the son of Kisra." Ibn Aâisha (1) states that he had been enfranchised by a woman belonging to the tribe of Kais, that he was a native of Sind and that he spoke (*Arabic*) incorrectly. Al-Wâkidi (*vol. III. p.* 61) says that he was a *mawla* to a woman of the tribe of Hudail; others say that he was a *mawla* to Saîd Ibn al-Aâsi (2), or to the tribe of Laith, " His grandfather Shâdil," says the Khatîb (*vol. I. p.* 75), " was a native of Herât and married a daughter of a king of Kâbul. He " died, leaving her pregnant, and she returned to her family, where she gave birth " to Shahrâb, who remained in Kâbul, with his maternal uncles, till he had a son " called Mak'hûl. When Mak'hûl grew up to manhood, he was carried off prisoner " from that place and then passed into the possession of Saîd Ibn al-Aâsi, by whom " he was given to a woman of the tribe of Hudail, from whom he received his " liberty." Mak'hûl was the preceptor of al-Auzâi (*vol. II. p.* 84) and of Saîd Ibn Abd al-Azîz (3). " The learned men," says az-Zuhri (*vol. II. p.* 581), " are four " in number : Saîd Ibn al-Musaiyab (*vol. I. p.* 568) at Medina, Ash-Shabi (*vol. II.*

"*p.* 4) at Kûfa, al-Hasan al-Basri (*vol. I. p.* 370) at Basra and Mak'hûl in Syria." There was not in that age a more clearsighted *mufti* than he; and he never gave an opinion on a point of law without saying : "There is no power and no might but "through God! this is (*the result of*) private judgement, and private judgement is "sometimes wrong, sometimes right." He learned traditions from Anas Ibn Mâlik (*vol. II. p.* 587), Wâthila Ibn al-Ashka (4), Abû Hind ad-Dâri and a number of others. Damascus was the place of his residence. He spoke with a strong foreign accent, substituting some letters for others. Nûh Ibn Kais (5) relates that a certain emir, having asked him what free-will (*al-kadar*) was, received this answer : *Am I awake?* (*a-Sâhir* (أساهر) *ana*): whereas Mak'hûl meant to say : *Am I a conjurer?* (*a-Sâhhir* (أساحر) *ana*). He at one time declared his belief in (*the doctrine of*) man's freewill, but afterwards abandoned that opinion. Mâkil Ibn Abd al-Aâla al-Kurashi relates as follows : "I heard him address a man in these terms : *ma faalt tilk al-* "*hâja* (هاجة), meaning to say : *ma faalt tilk al-hhâja* (حاجة) (*I did not do that busi-* "*ness*); and this fault of prononciation is very common with the natives of Sind." It is related that Abû Atâ Marzûk as-Sindi, a poet of some reputation and a *mawla* of the family of Asad Ibn Khuzaima, had the same defect in his prononciation, and that, one evening, Hammâd ar-Râwia (*vol. I. p.* 470), Hammad Ajrad the poet (*vol. I. p.* 474), Hammâd Ibn Zibrikân (6) and Bakr Ibn Musâb al-Mazani met together for the purpose of holding a conference. One of them then said : "We have here ready, in our assembly-room, every thing we may require; "suppose that we send for Abû Atâ as-Sindi, so that the company may be com- "plete?" They sent for him, and Ibn Zibrikân asked if any of them were inclined to entrap Abû Atâ and induce him to pronounce the words *jarâda* (*locust*), *zujj* (*the but end of a spear*) and *shaitân* (*demon*). He chose these words because Abû Atâ pronounced the *j* like a *z* and the *sh* like an *s*. "I shall do it," replied Hammâd ar-Râwia. Abû Atâ entered soon after and said : *Haiyakum Allah* (*God grant you long life!*), (*pronouncing the first word with an ordinary* h (ه) *instead of the emphatic* h (ح); on which they made answer : *Marhaban! Marhaban!* (*Welcome! Welcome!*), (*substituting one* h *for the other and thus*) imitating his (*vicious*) pronunciation. They asked him if he had dined (*taashshît*)? and he replied : "Yes I have "dined (*taassît*); but have you got any *nabîd* (7) here?" They answered that they had and, when it was brought, he drank till he relaxed from his gravity. Hammâd ar-Râwia then said to him : "Tell me, Abû Atâ! have you a talent for solving riddles?" He

replied : " Pretty fair" (*hasan*), meaning to say *hhasan*. Hammâd then propounded to him the following enigma of which the word is *locust* (*jarâda*) :

> What is the yellow thing nicknamed Umm Aûf, whose two little legs are like two reaping-hooks?

" *Zarâda*," replied Abû Atâ. " Right!" said the other. Hammâd then proposed this riddle, the word of which is *zujj* :

> What is the name of the iron fastened to the spear, somewhat below the center of it, and which is not the head?

" *Zuzz*," said Abû Atâ. " You have hit upon it," said Hammâd. He then propounded the following riddle, on a mosque near Basra :

> Knowest thou a mosque belonging to the Banû Tamîm, a little beyond an-Nîl and on this side of Banû Abbân?

" It is Banû Saitân," answered Abû Atâ. " Right!" said Hammâd. They thus passed an agreeable night, conversing and carousing till morning. This Abû Atâ was a good poet and an *akhrab* slave; *akhrab* means : *having the ears slit*. Some fine pieces of his are given in the *Hamâsa* (8) and, were I not afraid of being prolix and led away from my subject, I should insert here a number of them,—Mak'hûl died in the year **118** (A. D. **736**); other accounts place his death in the years **113**, **116**, **112** and **114**.—Kabul is a well known place in the province of Sind.

(1) Abû Abd ar-Rahmân Abd Allah Ibn Muhammad at-Taimi, surnamed Ibn Aâisha, taught Traditions at Baghdad. He was noted for his piety, his literary information and his acquaintance with the anecdotes respecting the Arabs of the desert and their combats. His death took place in the year 228 (A. D. 842-3).—(*Nujûm, Kitâb al-Maârif*).

(2) Saîd Ibn al-Aâsi Ibn Abi Uhaiha Saîd, descended from Omaiya, the progenitor of the Omaiyide family. His birth took place soon after the Hejira, and his death in the year 59 (A. D. 678-9). He was governor of Kûfa under the khalif Othmân.—(*Nujûm*.)

(3) Abû Muhammad Saîd Ibn Abd al-Azîz of the tribe of Tanûkh, was one of the principal jurisconsults and Traditionists of Syria. He died in the year 167 (A. D. 783-4).—(*Huffâz*.)

(4) Wâthila Ibn al-Ashka Ibn Abd al-Ozza emigrated from Mekka to Medina when the persecution began against the first Moslims. He died in the year 85 (A. D. 704).—(*Nujûm*.)

(5) Nûh Ibn Kais, a native of Basra, died in the year 183 (A. D. 799-780).—(*Nujûm*.)



(6) The three Hammâds were strongly suspected of holding infidel doctrines (*zendikiya*). The year in which the third died is not mentioned in the works consulted by the translator.

(7) See vol. I, p. 316, n. 8.

(8) In Freytag's edition of the *Hamâsa*, we find only one piece by Abû Atâ.

MALAK SHAH, THE SON OF ALP ARSLAN.

Abû 'l-Fath Malak Shâh, the son of Alp Arslân Muhammad, the son of Dâwûd, the son of Mîkâyil, the son of Saljûk, the son of Dukâk, bore the surname of *Jalâl ad-Dawla* (*the magnificence of the empire*). We have already spoken of his father (*page* 230 *of this vol.*) and of some other members of the same family. At the time of Alp Arslân's death, his son Malak Shâh was with him, though he had never accompanied him in any previous expedition. When Alp Arslân was about to breathe his last, he nominated Malak Shâh as his successor and caused the emirs and the troops to swear fealty to him; he ordered, at the same time, his vizir, Nizâm al-Mulk Abû Ali al-Hasan (*vol. I. p.* 413), to distribute the provinces of the empire between his other sons, on the condition of their acknowledging the supremacy of Malak Shâh. The directions being executed, Malak Shâh crossed the Jaihûn and returned into the province (*of Khorâzân*). As we have spoken of this event (*the death of Alp Arslân*), we need not relate it here. On arriving in that country, Malak Shâh, being informed that his uncle Kâderd, lord of Kermân, had revolted against him, hastened to attack him and gave him battle near Hamadân. Kâderd was defeated and, being closely pursued by a detachment of Malak Shâh's troops, he fell into their hands and was brought back into the presence of his nephew. Finding that all his promises of repentance were of no avail and that the declaration of his willingness to remain imprisoned for life, provided his life were spared, obtained no reply from Malak Shâh, he sent to him a casket containing the letters of those emirs who had pushed him to revolt. The sultan called for Nizâm al-Mulk and told him to examine the contents of the casket; but the vizir, instead of obeying his orders, threw it unopened into a brazier which happened to be at hand. As a great



number of Malak Shâh's officers had written to Kâderd, the discovery of the casket gave them much alarm, but the burning of its contents allayed their apprehensions and secured their fidelity. This proceeding, which established the authority of the sultan, is considered as a striking example of Nizâm al-Mulk's consummate prudence. Malak Shâh then ordered his uncle to be put to death and had him strangled with the string of his own bow. Having settled his power on a solid basis, he increased his empire by conquests such as had never been made by any Moslim prince, since the time of the ancient khalifs. He reduced under his sway the country beyond the Jaihûn, the territory of the Haiâtila (*Tokharistân*), Bâb al-Abwâb (*Derbend*), ar-Rûm (*Asia Minor*), Diâr Bakr, al-Jazîra (*Mesopotamia*) and Syria. The public prayer was offered up in his name from all the pulpits of Islamism, excepting those of Maghrib (*Africa and Spain*); for his dominion extended in length from Kâshghar, a city in the farthest extremity of the country inhabited by the Turks, to Bait al-Makdis (*Jerusalem*), and, in breadth, from (*the vicinity of*) Constantinople to the country of the Khazars (1) and the Indian Ocean. He was thus enabled to entrust to his Mamlûks the government of the world. The justice of his conduct ranked him among the best of kings and obtained for him the title of *al-Malik al-Aâdil* (*the just prince*). Successful in war, he laboured also with zeal in spreading (*throughout his empire*) the benefits of civilisation: he dug numerous canals, walled a great number of cities, built bridges and constructed *ribâts* (2) in the desert places. The mosque at Baghdâd which is called *Jâmi as-Sultân*, was erected by him; the building of this edifice, which added new splendor to the seat of the empire, was commenced in the month of Muharram, 485 (Feb.-March, A. D. 1092). He spent immense sums in constructing (*caravanserails*) on the road leading to Mekka, and he suppressed all (*illegal*) tolls and duties (3) throughout his dominions. His fondness for the chase was excessive; it is stated that he had an account taken of the number of animals killed by him, with his own hand, and that it amounted to ten thousand. He therefore gave ten thousand pieces of gold in alms; but previously to that, he had slain many more of which no reckoning had been kept. "I fear," said he, "offending "Almighty God by shedding the blood of animals (*for pleasure and*) not for food;" so, ever after, when he killed a head of game, he bestowed a piece of gold in charity. Having set out from Kûfa, with the intention of accompanying the pilgrim caravan a part of the way, he passed through al-Ozaib (4) and went with them as far as Wâkisa. As he had met a great number of wild animals on his way,

he erected there a tower with the hoofs of the onagers and the horns of the deer which he killed during the journey. This took place in the year 480 (A. D. 1087-8). The tower still remains standing and is called the *minaret of horns* (*Minâra tal-Kurûn*). During his reign, all the roads were safe, and places of danger no longer inspired terror; caravans travelled without an escort from the country beyond the Jaihûn to the farthest extremity of Syria; even one or two persons might undertake a journey without fear or apprehension. Muhammad Ibn Abd al-Malik al-Hamadâni (*vol. I. p.* 405) relates, in his History, that the sultan Malak Shâh marched against his brother Tukush, and, on passing by the funeral chapel erected at Tûs over Ali Ibn Mûsa ar-Rida (*vol. II. p.* 212), he entered into it with Nizâm al-Mulk. They both remained a long time in prayer, after which the sultan asked the vizir what he had prayed for. Nizâm al-Mulk replied: "I implored God to assist "you and grant you the victory over your brother."—"Well!" said Malak Shâh, "that was not what I asked for; I only said: 'Almighty God! come to our assistance "'and give thy aid to him of the two whose reign will be the more advantageous to "'the Musulmans and the more profitable to the people." Farther on, al-Hamadâni says: "It is related that a preacher entered into his presence and made him an "exhortation, in which he said, amongst other things: A certain Chosroes happened to "go apart from his army and pass near a garden. He went up to the gate and asked "for a drink of water. A young girl brought him out a cup filled with sugar-cane "juice (*cooled*) with snow. Finding the draught very good, he asked how it was made, "and she answered: The sugar-cane grows so well with us that we can squeeze it "with our hands and press out of it this juice. Go then, said he, and bring me more. "The girl obeyed (*and went in*) without knowing who he was, and Chosroes said to "himself: I must remove those people elsewhere and take their garden for myself. "Almost immediately after, the girl came out weeping and said: The intentions of "our sultan are changed!—How do you know that? said he.—She replied: I used "to take at random as much of that (*sugar-cane*) as I wanted; but now, notwith-"standing all my efforts in pressing it, I cannot obtain from it even a small part of "what I got the first time.—The sultan felt the truth of her words, gave up his in-"tention and told her to go back again, saying that she would succeed. The girl "obeyed and then came forth rejoicing, with an abundance of sugar-cane juice.— "The sultan here said to the preacher: Why do you not relate to the people how "Chosroes passed by a garden and asked for a bunch of grapes just ripening. The

" keeper made answer: That I cannot give, for the sultan has not yet received the
" share to which he has a right, and it is not lawful for me to wrong him of his
" due.—The persons present admired the talent of the sultan in matching one story
" with another and adducing an anecdote favorable to his own rights in reply to one
" which reminded him of his duties."—The following anecdote is related by the
same historian: " This sultan met a native of as-Sawâd (*vol. II. p.* 417) and, seeing
" him weep, he asked him what was the cause of his grief. The man replied:
" ' I bought a water-melon for a few pence, the only money I had, but I was met
" ' by three turkish pages who took it from me; yet that (*melon*) was the only
" ' ressource I had (*for making a small gain*).' The sultan told him to keep silent,
" and, as the season for early melons was just coming in, he called on a tent-pitcher
" and said: 'I have a longing for melons; go therefore through the camp and, if
" ' you find one, bring it here.' " The man (*obeyed and*) brought back a melon.
" The sultan asked him in whose possession he had found it and, being informed
" that it was such and such an emir who had it, he caused that officer to be brought
" into his presence. 'Where did you get this melon?' said he. The emir replied:
" ' It was brought to me by my pages.'—' Bring them here immediately;' said the
" sultan. The emir withdrew and, being aware of the sultan's intention with
" respect to them, he bade them take to flight. When he came back, he
" declared that he could not find them; on which the sultan turned towards the
" native of as-Sawâd and said: 'Take this slave of mine; I give him to you
" ' because he has not delivered up the persons who took your property; now, by
" ' Allah! if you let him go, I shall strike off your head.' The man laid hold of
" the emir and led him out of the sultan's presence. He then sold him his liberty for
" three hundred pieces of gold and, having come back, he said: 'O Sultan!
" ' I have sold your slave for three hundred pieces of gold.'—' Are you satisfied?'
" said the sultan.—' I am.'—' Well,' go away and good luck attend you (5).' The
" sultan's prosperity and good fortune never abandoned him (6): when he entered
" Ispahân, Baghdâd or any other city, accompanied by his followers, the number
" of whom was immense, a great diminution ensued in the price of provisions and
" other objects, so that the persons who sought to gain their livelyhood furnished
" provisions to the troops with much profit to themselves." The same al-Hama-
dâni relates that, when the sultan was at Rai, a female singer was presented to him.
Being struck with her beauty and charmed with her voice, he resolved to gratify

his passion, but she addressed him in these terms : "Sultan of the universe ! I love "too well (7) this handsome face of mine to have it tormented hereafter in the fire "of hell. A lawful act is easy to be done and one single word suffices to distinguish "it from an unlawful one (8)." The sultan felt the truth of what she said and, having sent for the *kâdi*, he got united to her in marriage. He died, leaving her a widow. His noble deeds were numerous beyond description. It is stated by al-Hamadâni that the vizir Nizâm al-Mulk gave to the boatmen who ferried the sultan and his troops across the Jaihûn a bill payable by the revenue-collector of Antioch; so vast was the extent of the empire. The sum for ferriage amounted to eleven thousand pieces of gold (*dinârs*). The khalif al-Muktadi billah married a daughter of this sultan. The ambassador sent to ask her in marriage was the *shaikh* Abû Ishâk as-Shîrâzi (*vol. I. p.* 9), the author of the *Muhaddab* and the *Tanbîh*. Being dispatched on this mission, he proceeded to Naisâpûr where he found the sultan, delivered his message and succeeded in the negociation. "In somewhat less than "four months," says al-Hamadâni, "Abû Ishâk returned. When at Naisâpûr, he "discussed (*points of law*) with the Imâm al-Haramain (*vol. II. p.* 120) and, on his "departure, the Imâm came out to bid him farewell and even held his stirrup till "he mounted. The utmost respect was shewn to Abû Ishâk in Khorâsân; the "people gathered up the dust in the footsteps of his mule and preserved it as a relic "of great virtue." In the year 480 (A. D. 1087-8), the daughter of the sultan was conducted in state to the khalif, and, on the morning of the day in which the marriage was consummated, the khalif caused the sultan's troops to be brought to a banquet (*simât*) which he had prepared for them and in which forty thousand *manns* (9) of sugar alone were consumed. The same year, in the month of Zû 'l-Kaada (February, A. D. 1088), the princess bore the khalif a son to whom he gave the name of Abû 'l-Fadl Jaafar. The city of Baghdâd was splendidly adorned on this occasion; it formed part of the sultan's states, the khalif having there only a nominal authority. This was the second time the sultan visited Baghdâd. He entered it for the third time in the beginning of the month of Shawwâl, 485 (Nov. A. D. 1092), and set off immediately on a hunting party, in the direction of the Dujail (10). Having then killed an antelope and eaten of its flesh, he was taken ill and had to be bled; but, as enough of blood was not drawn from him, he returned to Baghdâd very unwell and none of his officers were admitted into his presence. He entered the city on the 15th of Shawwâl, 485 (18th Nov. A. D. 1092), and died the

next day. He was born on the 9th of the first Jumâda, 447 (6th August, A. D. 1055). Some say that his death was caused by a poisoned tooth-pick. His funeral was conducted in the most private manner; no prayer was said over the grave, no sittings of condolence were held, no hair was cut off the tails of horses, though such a thing was customary in the case of persons such as he. One would have thought he had been snatched away bodily from the world. His corpse was borne to Ispahân and interred in the great college appropriated to the Shâfites and Hanefites. We shall here relate a singular circumstance: When he entered Baghdâd for the third time, the khalif had two sons, one of whom was (*subsequently*) the *imâm* al-Mustazhir billah; the other, who bore the name of Abû 'l-Fadl Jaafar, was the son of the sultan's daughter. The khalif had solemnly designated as his successor the first named of these two, because he was the elder, but the sultan insisted that he should revoke the nomination, declare Abû 'l-Fadl heir to the khalifate, put him in possession of Baghdâd and then remove himself to Basra. The khalif felt the greatest repugnance to execute what had been required of him; he used every effort to change the sultan's determination and, finding all his remonstrances fruitless, he asked and obtained a delay of ten days in order to make the necessary preparations for his departure. It is related that, during these days, he kept a rigourous fast and, when he did take food, he sat upon ashes and invoqued the assistance of the Almighty God against the sultan. That period of time had not yet elapsed when the sultan fell ill and died, and the khalif was thus delivered from his trouble.—In the year 502 (A. D. 1108-9), the *imâm* al-Mustazhir billah married Khâtûn al-Eisma, the daughter of Malak Shâh.—We have already spoken of this sultan's three sons, the princes Barkyârûk (*vol. I. p.* 251), Sinjar (*vol. I. p.* 600) and Muhammad (*see this vol. p.* 236).—Having mentioned (*above*) where *Kâshghar* is situated, we need not repeat our observations.—*Al-Wâkisa* is a well known halting-place on the road to Mekka. It is called also *Wâkisa tal-Harûn* (واقصة الحرون).

(1) The Khazars inhabited the country to the north of the Caspian Sea.

(2) See vol. I. page 159.

(3) The word *khafârât*, here rendered by duties, signifies more exactly the sums paid by travellers for an escort or safe-conduct, when passing through a dangerous country.

(4) Al-Ozaib in the name of a source situated at the distance of four miles from al-Câdisiya.—(*Marâsid.*)

(5) It is possible that the word مصاحبا may here signify *quietly*.

(6) Literally : Were attached to his fore-lock.

(7) Literally : I am jealous of.

(8) The word تزوجتك (*I take thee in marriage*) is meant.

(9) The *mann* is a weight of about two pounds.

(10) This river falls into the Tigris, above Baghdâd.

MANSUR AT-TAMIMI *THE JURISCONSULT.*

Abû 'l-Hasan Mansûr Ibn Ismaîl Ibn Omar at-Tamîmi (*member of the tribe of Tamîm*) ad-Darîr (*the blind*), was a native of Egypt and a jurisconsult of the shâfite sect. His family belonged to Râs-Aîn, a well known town in Mesopotamia. He acquired his knowledge of the law from the immediate disciples of as-Shâfi (*vol. II. p.* 569) and from those who had studied under them. Some good works were composed by him on the doctrines of his sect, such as the *Wâjib* (*necessary*), the *Mustâmal* (*usual pratice*), the *Musâfir* (*traveller*) and the *Hidâya* (*direction*). He left also some fine poems which became popular. The *shaikh* Abû Ishâk as-Shîrâzi (*vol. I. p.* 9) speaks of him in the *Tabakât al-Fukahâ* (*classified biography of the jurisconsults*) and attributes to him the following piece of verse :

Foolish people depreciate the study of the law, but it suffers no harm from their contempt. It harms not the mid-day sun that his light is not perceived by the blind.

It was from this passage that Abû 'l-Alâ al-Maarri (*vol. I. p.* 94) borrowed the idea which he thus expressed in a well known *kasîda :*

To our eyes the stars seem very small; but the fault of littleness belongs not to the stars but to our eyes.

In another piece he (*Mansûr*) says :

I can guard against the calumniator, but not against the liar. Against him who invents what he says, my resources are small indeed.

By the same:

> A dog, despicable as he is, would be fitter for a companion than a man who contends for superiority before the time of his obtaining it has come.

It is related that, in a year of excessive drought, he suffered greatly from hunger; so, one night, he went up to the (*flat*) roof of his house and recited in his loudest voice the following verses:

> Help! O ye generous! you are seas (or *tanks of beneficence*) and we are the rivulets (*which they should supply*). Assistance is good in the hour of need, not when provisions are cheap.

These words were heard by his neighbours and, the next morning, he found one hundred charges of wheat deposited at his door. The anecdotes told of him are well known. He died at Old Cairo, in the month of the first Jumâda, 306 (Oct.-Nov. A. D. 918). The *shaikh* Abû Ishâk (*as-Shîrâzi*) says, in his *Tabakât*, that his death took place before the year 320. The *kâdi* Abû Abd Allah al-Kudâi (*vol. II. p.* 616) speaks of him in the *khitat* and says: "He drew his origin from "Râs-Aîn and inhabited Ramla, whence he removed to Old Cairo. He resided "there for some time and died in the year 306. He was a jurisconsult of high "authority, versed in every branch of knowledge and a good poet. The like of "him was not to be found in Old Cairo. The *kâdi* Abû Obaid (1) professed the "utmost esteem for him up to the moment of the (*discussion they had on a*) point "of law. Abû Obaid held a sitting every evening in which he examined legal "questions with some person learned in that science, but, on Fridays, he remained "alone. One of these evenings he gave to Mansûr, another to Abû Jaafar at-"Tahâwi (*vol. I. p.* 51), a third to Muhammad Ibn ar-Rabî al-Jîzi (2), a fourth to "Affân Ibn Sulaimân, a fifth to as-Sijistâni, and a sixth to discussions with juris-"consults, and, sometimes, to the teaching of Traditions. One evening, during "his conversation with Mansûr, mention was made of (*the maxim according to* "*which*) the pregnant woman, divorced by three (*declarations*) (3) is intitled to "alimony (4). On this, Abû Obaid observed: 'Some persons have pretended that, "'after a divorce by three (*declarations*), she has no right to alimony, being intitled "'to it only after the first and the second.' Mansûr condemned that doctrine and "declared that whoever held it was no Moslim (5). He then withdrew and

"acquainted Abû Jaafar at-Tahâwi with the conversation, and this doctor repeated "it again to Abû Obaid. The latter denied having said so, and al-Mansûr, being "informed of this, declared that he would give him the lie. The company having "agreed that they should be present at this scene, met again at the *kâdi*'s. All "being assembled, no person uttered a word till Abû Obaid said: 'I do not want "'any one to come into my presence! I want neither Mansûr, nor Nassâr nor "'Muntasir (6)! a set of people whose hearts are as blind as their eyes, and who "'attribute to us things which we never mentioned.' On this, Mansûr said to "him: 'God well knows that you said so and so.'—'You lie!' exclaimed Abû "Obaid.—'God,' replied Mansûr, 'well knows who is the liar!' He then rose up, "but none would take him by the hand to lead him out except Abû Bakr Ibn al-"Haddâd (*vol. II. p.* 602) who did so and then helped him to mount (*his mule*). "The mutual animosity of the two doctors increased to such a degree that "Zakâ, the governor of the city, and a number of the soldiers (7), with other "individuals besides, took the part of Mansûr, whilst another set of people joined "in support of the *kâdi*. Muhammad Ibn ar-Rabî al-Jîzi deposed that he had heard "Mansûr enounce a certain (*heterodox*) opinion (*which he mentioned*) and that "he gave it on the authority of an-Nazzâm (*vol. I. p.* 186). On this, the *kâdi* "declared that if a second witness made a similar declaration, he would have "Mansûr's head struck off (8). Mansûr was thus put in fear of his life and died "in the month of the first Jumâda of the above year (A. H. 306). Abû Obaid, "being afraid of the soldiers who had taken Mansûr's part, abstained from going to "the funeral, but it was attended by the emir Zakâ, Ibn Bastâm the land-tax "collector, all the grandees, and a great crowd of people. Abû Obaid was informed "that Mansûr said, on his death-bed:

> "I fulfilled my destiny, but silly people, heedless and plunged in lethargy, rejoice. My sleep "(*of death*) was a thing decreed, and short shall be the day of those who rejoice in the "misfortunes of others.

"When Abû Obaid heard these verses, he held down his head for some time and "then recited as follows (9):

> "Let him die even but a day before us, we shall be the (*favoured*) people on the day of the "resurrection. Yes! we have rejoiced and delighted in (*his*) misfortunes, and no blame to "those who have rejoiced therein."

(1) Abû Obaid Ali Ibn al-Husain Ibn Harbawaih, a native of Baghdad and a jurisconsult of the shâfite sect, acquired his knowledge of the law from some of as-Shâfi's immediate disciples. He because deeply versed in jurisprudence, the Koran *readings*, the traditions and many other sciences. The number of those who studied under him was very great. He went to Egypt, and, in the year 292 (A. D. 904-5), was appointed chief *kâdi*. This place he filled during eighteen years and six months; he afterwards removed to Baghdâd, where he died in the year 319 (A. D. 931).—The history of the *Kâdi*'s of Egypt by Ibn Hajar al-Askalâni contains a long article on Abû Obaid.

(2) This person was the son of ar-Rabî al-Jizi, one of as-Shâfi's disciples and of whom our author has already spoken (vol. I. p. 520).

(3) The orthodox shâfite doctrine is that no maintenance is due to a woman repudiated by irreversible divorce (that is, by three declarations), unless she be pregnant. See Hamilton's *Hedaya*, vol. I. p. 406.

(4) The terme نفقة (*alimony, maintenance*) includes food, clothes, and lodging.

(5) Literally : Was not one of the people of the Kibla.

(6) These proper names are derived from the same root and signify respectively : *aided, assistant, assisted.*

(7) We learn from the *Tabakât as-Shâfiyîn*, that Mansûr had served in the police guards, or regular troops (*jund*), before he lost his sight.

(8) According to the moslim law, a fact is not proved unless two witnesses attest it. In cases of adultery, four are required.

(9) Abû Obaid's verses are in the same rhyme and measure as those of Mansûr.

AL-HAKIM BI-AMR ILLAH.

Abû Ali al-Mansûr, surnamed al-Hâkim bi-amr-illah (*the executor of God's orders*) and sovereign of Egypt, was the son of al-Azîz, the son of al-Moizz, the son of al-Mansûr, the son of al-Kâim, the son of al-Mahdi (1). We have spoken of his ancestors and some of his descendants; his father also we shall mention (2). All these princes arrogated to themselves the title of khalif. In the month of Shâbân, 383 (Sept.-Oct. A. D. 993) al-Hâkim was solemnly designated by his father as successor to the throne, and he assumed the supreme authority on the day of his father's death. He was prodigal of wealth and fond of shedding blood : a great number of persons holding eminent stations in the administration of the state were put to death by him in an arbitrary manner. The whole tenor of his conduct was most extraordinary, and, every moment, he promulgated new orders to which the people were obliged

to conform. Thus, in the year 395 (A. D. 1004-5), he commanded that maledictions, directed against the Companions (*of Muhammad*), should be inscribed on the walls of the mosques, the bazars and the streets; he wrote also to those who governed his provinces, ordering them to do the same; then, in the year 397, he caused these inscriptions to be torn down and forbade the practise. Soon after, he gave orders that the persons who uttered curses against the Companions should be flogged and paraded ignominiously through the streets. In the year 395, he caused all the dogs to be killed, so that not one of them was to be seen in the market-places, or in the streets or in the lanes. He forbade the sale of beer, of *molûkhya* (3), of lupin-pellets made to be eaten with that (*pot-herb*), of the rocket and of fish without scales. Persons transgressing this ordinance were to be punished with the utmost severity, and some who had been convicted of selling such things were beaten with whips, paraded through the streets and then beheaded. Thus again, in the year 402, he forbade the sale of raisins, either in large or in small quantities, no matter of what kind they were; and merchants were prohibited from importing them into Egypt. A great quantity of this fruit was then collected and burned by his orders; the expense incurred in burning it amounted, it is said, to five hundred dinars. In the same year, he forbade the sale of grapes and dispatched inspectors to al-Jazîra (4) (*where they remained*) till a great part of the vines in that place had been cut down, thrown on the ground and trod under foot by oxen. He caused all the jars of honey which were in the stores to be collected together; and these, to the number of five thousand, were carried to the border of the Nile, where they were broken and their contents poured into the river. In this year also he gave orders that the Christians and the Jews, with the exception of their doctors (5), should wear black turbans, that the Christians should place on their necks crosses one cubit in length and five *ratls* (*or ten pounds*) in weight; the Jews were enjoined to wear on their necks logs of wood equal in weight to the crosses worn by the Christians. He forbade them to ride with embroidered saddles, and commanded that their stirrups should be of wood. They were forbidden to have a Moslim in their service, to ride on asses hired out by a Moslim and to embark in a vessel having a moslim crew. The Christians, when they entered into a public bath, were to bear crosses on their necks and the Jews bells, in order that they might be distinguished from the Moslims. He afterwards assigned baths to the Jews and the Christians, distinct from those of the Moslims; on those of the Christians he placed crosses and, on the jewish baths, logs of wood. This took place in the year 408

(A. D. 1017 8). The same year, he gave orders that the church known by the name of *al-Kumâma* (6) should be demolished, as also all the churches in Egypt; the vases belonging to them, with all the *rabâs* (7) and properties settled on them he granted to a moslim corporation. The result was that a number of Christians embraced Islamism. The same year, he forbade the kissing of the ground in his presence and annulled the (*usual form of*) prayer made for him in the *khotba* and in the writings addressed to him. Instead of that prayer, they were ordered to employ these words: *Salutation to the Commander of the faithful.* In the year 404 (A. D. 1013-4) he forbade consulting the stars and practising astrology; those who professed that art he ordered to be banished from the country. In consequence of this, all the astrologers appeared before the *kâdi* Mâlik Ibn Saîd, chief magistrate of Old Cairo, and bound themselves to turn (*from their evil ways*); the sentence of banishment was therefore revoked. The professional musicians were treated in a similar manner. The same year, in the month of Shabân, he gave orders that no woman should go out into the streets, either by night or by day; he forbade the shoemakers to make boots such as were worn by women, and he removed from the baths the emblems which indicated those reserved for the use of the female sex. The women remained confined to their houses till the accession of az-Zâhir, al-Hâkim's son (*vol. II. p.* 340); their captivity having lasted seven years and seven months. In the month of Shabân, 411 (Nov.-Dec. A. D. 1020), a number of those Christians who had embraced Islamism returned to their former creed, and al-Hâkim gave orders that such churches of theirs as had been destroyed should be rebuilt. He restored to them also the properties settled on their churches. Upon the whole, we may say, that these were but a small portion of his strange doings and that a full account of them would lead us too far.—It was for al-Hâkim that the astronomer, Abû 'l-Hasan Ali, surnamed Ibn Yûnus (*vol. II. p.* 365), composed the very extensive work called the *Hâkimite Tables*.—I copied the following anecdote from a document in the handwriting of the *hâfiz* Abû Tâhir Ahmad as-Silafi (*vol. I. p.* 86): al-Hâkim was, one day, sitting in state when a person present recited aloud the following passage of the Koran: *No, I swear by thy Lord! they will not* (*perfectly*) *believe until they make thee judge of their controversies, and they shall not afterwards find in their own minds any hardship in what thou mayest ordain, but shall acquiesce therein with submission* (8). Whilst pronouncing these words, the man kept pointing at al-Hâkim, but he had no sooner finished than a person named Ibn al-Mushajjar, who was a man of holy life,

recited aloud these words from the same book: *O men! a parable has been propounded, wherefore hearken unto it: those whom ye invoke besides God will never be able to create a fly although they joined together for that (purpose), and, if the fly snatch any thing away from them, they cannot recover the same from it. Weak is the petitioner and (weak) the petitioned! they have not esteemed God at his just value. Verily God is powerful and mighty* (9). When he had finished, al-Hâkim changed countenance, but then ordered him one hundred dinars and granted nothing to the other. One of Ibn al-Mushajjar's friends then said to him: "You know "al-Hâkim's character and are aware of his frequent prevarications; take heed lest "he conceive a hatred for you and punish you later. You would then have much "te suffer from him. My advice is that you get out of his sight." In consequence of this warning, Ibn al-Mushajjar prepared for making the pilgrimage, and went off by sea, but the vessel sunk. His friend saw him afterwards in a dream and asked him in what state he was? To this Ibn al-Mushajjar replied: "Our captain did not "stop short on the voyage; he anchored with us at the gate of Paradise." Such was the recompense of Ibn al-Mushajjar's pure intentions and good design.—It was al-Hâkim who erected and completed the great mosque (*jâmî*) at Cairo, which had been commenced by his father al-Azîz. He built also the Jâmî Râshida outside of Old Cairo. It was on Monday, the seventeenth of the first Rabî, 393 (24th Jan. A.D. 1003), that the construction of the edifice was commenced. The person charged with the direction of the work was the *hâfiz* Abû Muhammad Abd al-Ghani Ibn Saîd (*vol. II. p.* 169), and the astronomer who fixed the position of the *mihrab* (*vol. I. p.* 37) was Ali Ibn Yûnus. Al-Hâkim founded a number of other mosques in the Karâfa and elsewhere. He sent to the *jâmîs* a quantity of Korans, objects in silver, curtains and Sâmânide mats (10) to an immense amount. He was constantly doing and undoing. In the year 395 (A. D. 1004-5), Abû Rakwa al-Walîd Ibn Hishâm al-Othmâni (11), a native of Spain, revolted against him and stirred up a rebellion in the neighbourhood of Barka (*in Cyrenaica*). A great multitude of people embraced his cause, and he defeated a large body of troops which al-Hâkim had sent against him; but, being at length overwhelmed by numbers, he was taken prisoner, in the year 397 (A. D. 1006-7), after having lost, it is said, about seventy thousand of his partisans on the field of battle. Being carried before al-Hâkim, he was paraded contumeliously (*through the streets*) and put to death by that sovereign's order. This happened on Sunday, the 27th of the latter Jumâda of that year (19th of March,

A. D. 1007). A full account of Abû Rakwa's proceedings is given by Ibn as-Sâbi (12). —Al-Hâkim was born at Cairo on the eve of Thursday, the 23rd of the first Rabî, 375 (13th August, A. D. 985). He was fond of solitude and liked to ride out unaccompanied. It therefore happened that, on the eve of Monday, the 27th of Shawwâl, 411 (13th February, A. D. 1021), he went into the country outside of Old Cairo and passed the whole of the night in rambling about. The next morning he was at the tomb of al-Fokkâi (13), and from that he proceeded with two of his footmen towards the east of Hulwân. One of the footmen returned back, accompanied by nine Suwaidian Arabs (14); the other arrived afterwards and stated that he had left his master in the neighbourhood of that tomb and of al-Maksaba (15). The people (*in his service*) continued, as usual, to go out and await his return, taking with them the horses used when the prince rode in state. On Thursday, the last day of the month just mentioned, they ceased going out and, on Sunday, the 2nd of Zû 'l-Kaada, Muzaffar, the bearer of the imperial parasol, went out with Hatti, the Sclavonian, Nasîm the guardian of the (*door-*) curtain (*or chamberlain*), Ibn Bashtikîn the Turk who was al-Hâkim's lance-bearer, and a number of Ketamian and Turkish officers. After reaching Dair al-Cosair and the place called Hulwân, they went up into the mountain (*Mukattam*) and discovered, on the very summit, the grey ass, called al-Kamr (*the moon*), which al-Hâkim was accustomed to ride. It still had on the saddle and bridle which he always made use of, and its fore legs had been hacked by the strokes of a sword. They retraced (*backwards*) the footsteps of the animal and perceived by the tracks, that one man had been walking before it and another after it. They continued following the footsteps till they came to the cistern which lies to the east of Hulwân. One of the officers having gone down into it, found there al-Hâkim's clothes, which consisted in seven *jubbas* (*long vests*). They were still buttoned and bore marks shewing they had been pierced by daggers (16). These *jubbas* they carried to the Castle, at Cairo, and no doubt then remained of his having been assassinated. Some foolish people, who were extravagantly attached to al-Hâkim, continued to believe that he was still living and would certainly reappear; they would swear *by the absence of al-Hâkim!* and hold very absurd discourses. Some say that it was his sister who caused him to be murdered; the particulars of their recital are, however, too long for insertion (17).— The orthography of the name *Mushajjar* is certain.— *Hulwân* is the name of a pretty and most agreeable village, situated about five miles above Old Cairo. It was formerly the residence of Abd al-

Azîz Ibn Marwân Ibn al-Hakam the Omaiyide, when acting as governor of Egypt in the name and under the khalifate of his brother, Abd al-Malik. He died there, and his son, Omar Ibn Abd al-Azîz, was born in that place.

(1) For fuller information respecting al-Hâkim, see the extract from al-Makrîzi's *Khitat* in the first volume of M. de Sacy's *Chrestomathie arabe*, and the *Vie du khalife Hakem*, in the first volume of the same author's *Exposé de l'histoire des Druzes.*

(2) The name of al-Hâkim's father was *Nizâr; al-Azîz* was only his title or surname.

(3) The *mulûkhya* is a species of mallows. The botanical name is *corchorus olitorius.*

(4) If *al-Jazîra* (الجزيرة), the reading of my MSS. be correct, the *island* of ar-Rauda must be meant. In the extract from the *Khitat* given by M. de Sacy we read *al-Djîza* (الجيزة).

(5) The orthography of the word here rendered by *doctors*, is uncertain. I read حيابرة, a plural form of حبير, which word is the diminutif of حبر.

(6) *Al-Kumâma* (القمامة) means *sweepings, dirt.* The Musulmans apply this name contemptuously to the church of the Resurrection (*al-Kiâma* القيامة) at Jerusalem. The word *Kumâma*, with this signification, is sometimes employed without the article.

(7) See vol. I. p. 347.

(8) Koran, sûrat 4, verse 68.— The object of the speaker was to have al-Hâkim put on a level with Muhammad, and even to induce his hearers to acknowledge the divine nature of that prince. It is well known that al-Hâkim founded a sect the adepts of which acknowledged him to be an incarnation of the Divinity.— See M. de Sacy's *Exposé.*

(9) Koran, sûrat 22, verse 72.

(10) What sort of mats these were I cannot determine.

(11) For the history of Abû Rakwa see the *Exposé*, p. CCCXVII, and my translation of Ibn Khaldûn's *History of the Berbers*, tome I. p. 40. It does not appear for what reason this adventurer bore the surname of *al-Othmâni*, unless it was his being a collateral relation of the khalif Othmân. They both descended from Omaiya, the ancestor of the Omaiyide khalifs.

(12) The life of Hilâl Ibn as-Sâbi is given in this work.

(13) Al-Makrîzi states, in his *Khitat*, vol. II. p. ٢٥٦ of the Bûlak edition, that the *masjid*, or chapel of al-Fokkâi was erected by Kâfûr al-Ikhshîdi. The person to whom it was dedicated was the son of a brewer (*fokkâi*) who inhabited Old Cairo; he bore the names of Abû 'l-Hasan Ali Ibn al-Hasan.

(14) The powerful tribe of Suwaid, the Soueid of the translation of Ibn Khaldûn's *Berbers*, passed afterwards into north Africa.

(15) *Maksaba* signifies a place overgrown with reeds.

(16) When al-Hâkim was assassinated, the murderers cut off his arms; this circumstance explains how the *jubbas* could have been taken off the body without being unbuttonned.

(17) See M. de Sacy's *Exposé*, page CCCCXV.

AL-AAMIR BI-AHKAM ILLAH.

Abû Ali al-Mansûr the Obaidide, surnamed al-Aâmir bi-Ahkâm illah (*the commander who executes God's decrees*), was the son of al-Mustâli, the son of al-Mustansir, the son of az-Zâhir, the son of al-Hâkim (see the preceding article). In the life of his father,—see among the *Ahmads*, under the letter *A* (*vol. I. p.* 159),—will be found the rest of genealogy. Al-Aâmir was proclaimed successor to the throne on the day of his father's death, and al-Afdal Shâhanshâh, the son of Amîr al-Juyiûsh (*vol. I. p.* 612) and al-Mustâli's vizir, took in hand the government of the empire. In the life of al-Afdal we have related some particulars concerning al-Aâmir. When this prince grew up and was capable of judging for himself, he took al-Afdal's life and conferred the vizirship on al-Mâmûn Abû Abd Allah Muhammad Ibn Abî Shujâa Fâtik Ibn Abi 'l-Husain Mukhtâr, surnamed Ibn al-Batâihi. The new vizir excluded his sovereign from the exercise of power and acquired so foul a reputation by his tyranny, that al-Aâmir at length arrested him and confiscated all his property. This happened on the eve of Saturday, the 4th of Ramadân, 519 (4th Oct. A. D. 1125). He caused him to be put to death in the month of Rajab, 521 (July-Aug. A. D. 1127), and had his body exposed on a cross outside the walls of Cairo. He executed, at the same time, five of al-Mâmûn's brothers, one of whom bore the name of al-Mutamin. Al-Aâmir was haughty, inconsiderate and extravagant in his conduct. The anecdotes (*on this subject*) are well known. Evil-minded and tyrannic, he made a show of his vices and indulged openly in sports and amusements. It was under his reign and in the month of Shaabân, 497 (May, A. D. 1104) that the Franks took the city of Akka (*Açre*); on Monday, the 11th of Zû 'l-Hijja, 502 (12th July, A. D. 1109), they carried Tripolis of Syria by storm, plundered the houses, made the men prisoners and reduced to slavery the women and children. The wealth and property of the inhabitants, the books belonging to the college (*dâr al-ilm*) and other treasures of incalculable value fell into their hands. The survivors were put to the torture and despoiled of all they possessed. The Egyptian troops sent to the relief of the city arrived when all was lost. The same

year, in the month of Ramadân (April-May, A. D. 1109), the Franks took Arka, to which they had laid siege on the 1st of Shaabân (6th March). In this year also they took Bânyâs and obtained possession of Jubail by capitulation. On Friday, the 21st of Zû 'l-Hijja, 511 (15th April, A. D. 1118), they took the castle of Tabnîn and, on Monday, the 22nd of the first Jumâda, 518 (7th July, A. D. 1124), they gained possession of Tyre (*Sûr*). The officer who commanded in that place held his authority under the Atâbek Zahîr ad-Dîn Toghtikîn (*see vol. I. p.* 274), who then possessed Damascus and the neighbouring countries. During the three years which followed the conquest of Tyre, the Franks continued to beat money in the name of al-Aâmir, but then they discontinued the practise. On Friday, the 21st of Shawwâl, 503 (13th May, A. D. 1110), they took Bairût by assault and, on the 20th of the first Jumâda, 504 (4th December, A. D. 1110), they occupied Sidon (*Saida*). In the year 504, during the reign of al-Aâmir, or in 511, according to another account — God knows which is the true date! (1) — Bardwîl (*Baldwin*) the Frank undertook an expedition into Egypt for the purpose of taking that country into his possession. On arriving at (*the town of*) al-Farama, he burned down the houses, the principal mosque and the others also. Having then set out whilst suffering under an indisposition, he died on the way, before reaching al-Arîsh. His companions opened his body and threw away the intestins; and, to this very day, passengers cast stones on that spot. His corpse was borne to the Kumâma (2) and there buried. It is from this Bardwîl that the *sibkha* (*or salt-marsh*) of Bardwîl, situated in the midst of the sands, on the road to Syria, takes its name. It is there the stones are thrown, and people call the place *the tomb of Bardwîl*, though it contains nothing but his entrails. Bardwîl was sovereign of Jerusalem, Acre, Jaffa and a number of other towns on the sea-coast of Syria, and by him it was that these places were taken from the Moslims. In the same year (*that is, in* 505), the Mahdi Muhammad Ibn Tumart (*see page* 205 *of this vol.*) departed from Egypt, which was then under the rule of al-Aâmir. He went to Maghrib in the dress of a legist and there encountered the adventures of which we have already given the relation.— Al-Aâmir was born in Cairo on Tuesday, the 13th of Muharram, 490 (31st December, A. D. 1096), and came to the throne at the age of five years. When his allotted days were passed, he went forth from Cairo, early in the morning of Tuesday, the 3rd of Zû 'l-Kaada, 524 (8th Oct. A. D. 1130), and proceeded to Old Cairo, whence he crossed the bridge and entered into the island (3) opposite to that city.

Some persons who had plotted his death were lying there concealed with their arms ready; it being agreed among them that they should kill him as he was going up the lane through which he had to pass in order to reach the top of the hill. As he was going by them, they sprang out and fell upon him with their swords. He had then crossed the bridge and had no other escort than a few pages, courtiers, and attendants. They bore him in a boat across the Nile and brought him, still living, into Cairo. The same night he was taken to the Castle and there he died, leaving no posterity. Such was the end of the tenth in lineal descent from the Mahdi Obaid Allah, the same who, as we have already stated (*vol. II. p.* 78), made his first appearance at Sijilmâssa. The supreme authority devolved on his cousin al-Hâfiz Abd al-Majîd (*see vol. II. p.* 179) (4). Al-Aâmir's conduct was detestable: he oppressed the people, seized on their wealth and shed their blood; he committed with pleasure every excess which should be avoided and regarded forbidden enjoyments as the sweetest. The people were delighted at his death. He was of a middle size, having a remarkably clear complexion and prominent eyes; his handwriting was good, his information and intelligence were very considerable.—Al-Mâmûn al-Batâihi, the vizir of whom we have just spoken, was the same who, in the year 515 (A. D. 1121-2) built the Grey Mosque (*al-jâmî al-akmar*) in Cairo. During his vizirship he completed the erection of the mosque of the female Elephant (*jâmî 'l-Fîla*) which al-Afdal, the son of Amîr al-Juyiûsh, had commenced building in the year 498 (A. D. 1104-5), and which is situated outside of Old Cairo, near the Observatory that overlooks Birkat al-Habash (*the pond of the Abyssinians*).

(1) The true date is 511.

(2) The church of the Resurrection at Jerusalem; see page 454.

(3) This is perhaps the island of Rauda. One of the manuscrits has *Jîza* (الجيزة), which may be the right reading.

(4) In the article on al-Hâfiz, his name is erroneously written Abd al-Hamîd.

KUTB AD-DIN MAUDUD.

Kutb ad-Dîn (*the axis of the faith*) Maudûd, surnamed al-Aâraj (*the lame*) and lord of Mosul, was the son of Imâd ad-Dîn Zinki (*vol. I. p.* 539), the son of ak-Sunkur (*vol. I. p.* 225). In the life of his brother Nûr ad-Dîn Mahmûd (*page* 338 *of this vol.*), lord of Syria, we have mentioned some particulars concerning him and spoken of his three sons (1). One of them, Saif ad-Dîn Ghâzi (*vol. II. p.* 441) succeeded him as sultan; the others were Izz ad-Dîn Masûd (*page* 356 *of this vol.*) and Imâd ad-Dîn Zinki (*vol. I. p.* 541), lord of Sinjâr. In the article on Ghâzi we have given an account of Nûr ad-Dîn's conduct on the death of his brother Kutb ad-Dîn and mentioned that, after having proceeded to Mosul, he confirmed Ghâzi in the possession of that city and settled matters with all his nephews. Whilst he was on this expedition, he founded the Nûrian Mosque (*al-Jâmi an-Nûri*) within the city of Mosul. Every Friday, the public prayer is celebrated in this mosque, which is an edifice much noted in that city. The motive which led to its construction is thus stated by the *kâtib* Imâd ad-Dîn (*p.* 300 *of this vol.*), in that part of his work, the *al-Bark as-Shâmi*, where he speaks of Nûr ad-Dîn's arrival at Mosul: "There was at Mosul, in "the center of the city, an extensive ruin respecting which such rumours were cur- "rent as appalled every heart, and it was generally reported that no one ever un- "dertook to rebuild it without losing his life and failing in the attempt. Moîn ad- "Dîn Omar al-Malâ, a *shaikh* much renowned for the sanctity of his conduct and "the austerity of his life, advised Nûr ad-Dîn to buy the ruin and build a mosque "with the materials. The prince spent large sums on this edifice and con- "verted into a *wakf* (2) for its maintenance a landed estate situated in the vicinity "of Mosul."—Kutb ad-Dîn obtained the sultanate of Mosul and that region on the death of his elder brother al-Ghâzi. His conduct was exemplary and his administration just. It was under his reign that the vizir Jamâl ad-Dîn Muhammad al-Jawâd (*see this vol. p.* 295) attained the heighest consideration. He was imprisoned, as we have already mentioned, by that prince, whohad then for prime minister and privy-counsellor the emir Zain ad-Dîn Ali Kutchek, father of Muzaffer ad-Dîn,

lord of Arbela (*vol. II. p.* 535). He had there a truly able minister, a sincere adviser for his welfare and prosperity, and, moreover, an undaunted warrior, a renowned horseman. We have spoken of him also in the life of his son Muzaffar ad-Dîn. Kutb ad-Dîn continued to hold the sultanate and rule with absolute sway till the hour of his death. This event took place in the month of Shawwâl, 565 (June-July, A. D. 1170) or, as some say, on the 22nd of Zû 'l-Hijja of that year (6th Sept.). Osâma Ibn Munkid (*vol. I. p.* 177) states, in a little work of his containing the mention of those provincial sovereigns who were his contemporaries, that Kutb ad-Dîn died towards the end of the latter Rabî, 566; but this date cannot be exact, because Nûr ad-Dîn, Kutb ad-Dîn's brother, was at Mosul that very month; he had been encamped outside the city when messengers came to him from the khalif, and did not enter it till after his brother's death. Kutb ad-Dîn died at Mosul, aged somewhat more than forty years. He left a number of sons, most of whom became sovereigns in different provinces. We have already spoken of his father, his grand-father and other members of the family.

(1) This reference is not exact. The author probably intended to indicate the article on Masûd, the son of Maudûd, page 356 of this volume.

(2) See vol. I. p. 49.

MUWARRIJ AS-SADUSI.

Abû Faid Muwarrij Ibn Amr Ibn al-Hârith Ibn Thaur Ibn Harmala Ibn Alkama Ibn Amr Ibn Sadûs Ibn Shaibân Ibn Dohl Ibn Thalaba Ibn Akkâba as-Sadûsi was a grammarian of Basra. He learned Arabic grammar from al-Khalîl Ibn Ahmad (*vol. I. p.* 493), and delivered traditions on the authority of Shoba Ibn al-Hajjâj (1), Abû Amr Ibn al-Alâ (*vol. II. p.* 399) and others. He used to say: " I " came from the desert, unacquainted with the application of inductive reasoning " to Arabic grammar; what I knew of it was merely a natural gift, and it was " only at the school of Abû Zaid al-Ansâri (*vol. I. p.* 570), in Basra, that I learned

"the use of induction." Al-Akhfash Saîd Ibn Masâda (*vol. I. p.* 572), having gone to see Muhammad Ibn al-Muhallab (2), was asked by him whence he came? He answered: "From the residence of the *kâdi* Yahya Ibn Aktham (3)."—"What is "going on there?" said Ibn al-Muhallab. The other replied: "He asked me who, "of all the disciples of al-Khalîl Ibn Ahmad, was the most trustworthy, the first in "rank, and the most deserving of confidence (*for his information*); to which I an- "swered: 'An-Nadr Ibn Shumail (4), Sîbawaih (*vol. II. p.* 396), and Muwarrij as-Sa- "'dûsi."' The dominant studies of Muwarrij were philology and poetry. He left a number of works such as the *Kitâb al-Anwâ* (5), which is a good treatise on the subject, the *Kitâb Gharîb al-Korân* (*rare expressions occurring in the Koran*), the *Kitâb Jamâhîr il-Kabâil* (*a general notice of the* (*Arabic*) *tribes*), and *the Kitâb al-Maâni* (*book of rhetorical figures* (*employed in the Koran*). He drew up also a succinct account of the genealogy of the Kuraish family; it forms a small volume and bears the title of *Hadf Nisab Kuraish* (*the coraishide genealogies cleared from dross*). Having accompanied al-Mâmûn (*the Abbaside*) from Irâk to Khorâsân, he settled in the town of Marw, but subsequently removed to Naisâpûr. During his residence there he gave lessons which were attended by even the *shaikhs* (*or professors*) of the place. He composed some poetry, and the following verses are given as his by Hârûn Ibn Ali Ibn Yahya al-Munajjim (6) in the *Kitâb al-Bârî*:

> So oft have I suffered the pains of separation, that I heed them no longer; I feel no more the misfortunes which wound me by striking my family and friends. Fortune never left with me one whom I dearly prized, without intending to remove that person or to estrange her from me.

Ibn al-Munajjim here remarks that these verses were the finest ever composed to express such a thought. A similar idea is found in the following lines, composed by a modern poet:

> So oft have I been torn from my friends, that I dread no longer the pains of separation; even though neighbours, dear to my heart, should be removed away. I have now closed my mind against despair, and my eyes can yield to sleep even on the departure of a beloved friend.

It was from (*as-Sadûsi's*) piece that Ibn at-Taâwîzi (*page* 162 *of this vol.*) borrowed the idea of this verse:

> Here am I, my heart no longer afflicted at the loss of friends! no longer rejoicing under the seductions of fortune!



This line is taken from a *kasîda* in which he expresses his grief for the loss of his sight. It contains this passage wherein he alludes to his wife:

Behold her weeping! her who had never to complain of privations and whose nearest friends were never driven (*by misfortunes*) into a distant land. But now the hand of time hath wounded her in the object of her affection (7), striking her with a piercing calamity, and calamities pierce (*the heart*). She suffers from an awful (*mishap*) under the like of which patience would be unbecoming and grief never disgraceful. Why blame her even if she shed tears of blood for him who supported her by his toils and by travelling into distant lands. How painful for her to see me cowering to the ground, without a spot in the wide-extended earth though which to roam. (*She sees me*) no longer able to direct the camel as it goes panting through the clouds of dust, nor to guide the sleek six-year-old (8) steed which prances when reigned in. I remain imprisoned in a fixed abode and pledged to suffer grief from morn to night. Here, where I dwell on earth, the sky (9) is dark and cloudy; my walking-place is narrow, yet it is a vast plain exposed to the sun (10). I am led about therein, submissive as a camel (11) to the halter; I who had never been submissive, were it not for the perfidy of fortune. I am as a corpse having no grave in which to lay its side; alas! it is not every corpse which obtains a grave. Here am I, my heart no longer afflicted at the loss of friends! no longer rejoicing under the seductions of fortune! I was once an admirable spear, but now its point (12) is blunted, and my youth (*once firm*) as wood, is now (*shattered*) and rent asunder. Blessings on the days in which I rode uncontrolled on the steed of love; one as I was then, would suffer no control in his love for gracefully moving (*maidens*) (13). My youth, which I enjoyed to the utmost, is now departed; it has been snatched away, yet the eyes of fortune retain their azure hue and sparkle still. O what nights I joyfully passed with the fair, whose glances were alternately directed towards me and turned away! nights in which my ardour was many-fold greater than now; I plaintively allude to them, for they will declare openly (*what I have been*).

This long and high-sounding *kasîda* was composed in praise of the *imâm* an-Nâsir li-dîn illah, the khalif of Baghdad.—Al-Marzubâni (*p.* 67 *of this vol.*) states that he met with the following passage in the handwriting of Muhammad Ibn al-Abbâs al-Yazîdi (*p.* 50 *of this vol.*): "Abû Faid Muwarrij as-Sadûsi gave a robe as a present "to my grand-father and was thanked by him in these terms:

"I shall express my thanks for what Muwarrij, the son of Amr, has bestowed, and shall offer "him my best praises and my love. Illustrious is Sadûsi! (14), a man for whom his fathers, "passionately fond of (*doing*) honorable deeds, procured a noble reputation! We went to Abû "Faid, hoping to obtain a draught from the torrent of his bounty and to strike fire from that "steel which was never dull and which never refused its sparks. Having quenched our thirst, "we parted with gifts and presents from a man who has always been praised by those who "arrived to visit him and by those who went away (15). He clothed me gratuitously, though "I asked him not for clothing; and gifts so made are the most agreeable of all. He arrayed me "in that garment, ample as it was, and, the evening I put it on, I departed strutting so proudly "that I mistook (16) my way. It was a robe of beauty, if made use of for ornament, and a

" winter-dress, if one feared the severe cold. Trimmings (17) were seen on it of which the
" fringes (18) (*shone*) like the sword newly polished and just drawn from the scabbard. Whilst
" I live, I shall thank as-Sadûsi for his generosity and recommend (*in dying*), those I leave
" behind me (19) to be grateful to as-Sadûsi."

The anecdotes concerning Muwarrij are very numerous. Ibn an-Nadîm (*vol. I. p.* 183) states that he found a note in the handwriting of Abd Allah Ibn al-Motazz (*vol. II. p.* 41) in which it was mentioned that Muwarrij as-Sadûsi was one of al-Khalîl Ibn Ahmad's (*vol. I. p.* 493) pupils and that he died in the year 195 (A. D. 810-1) and on the same day as Abû Nuwâs (*vol. I. p.* 391). This indication cannot be admitted unless we adopt the opinion of those who place the death of Abû Nuwâs in that year. We have noticed the disagreement which exists on that point; but it is universally allowed that Muwarrij died in the year 195; Ibn Kutaiba (*vol. II. p.* 22) gives that date in the *Kitâb al-Maârif* and other authors (*repeat it*). In a copy of as-Sadûsi's *Kitâb al-Anwâ*, I found the following passage: " Abû Ali Ismaîl Ibn Yahya " Ibn al-Mubârak al-Yazîdi said: 'We studied this book at Jurjân under al-Muwar-" 'rij; then, in the year 202, we went to Irâk (*for the purpose of seeing*) al-Mâmûn, af-" 'ter which al-Muwarrij proceeded to Basra where he died.' " This indication disagrees with the one just given, and God knows best which of them is the truest.— The word *faid*, taken in its primitive signification, designates the *flower of the saffron plant* or, according to some, the *saffron* itself. —*Muwarrij* is the active participle of the verb *arraj* which signifies *to excite people to quarrel*. We have already explained the word *Sadûsi* in the life of Katâda (*vol. II. p.* 513). Some say that *Muwarrij* was a nickname and that the real name (*of this grammarian*) was *Marthad*. Al-Jauhari (*vol. I. p.* 22) says, in his (*dictionary, the*) *Sahâh*, that the verb *rathad* signifies " to " arrange wares, in placing them one over the other, or side by side;" he then adds: " In the expression: 'When I left such and such a tribe, they were *murthidîn* " 'and had not yet loaded their baggage,' the word *murthidîn* means *arranging* " *their effects*." Ibn as-Sikkît (20) says: " From thence is derived *marthad*, which " is the name of a man and *al-marthad*, one of the names by which the lion is de-" signated." Al-Muwarrij himself said: "My name and my surname are of rare " occurrence; the Arabs (*of the desert*) employ the verbs *arraj* and *arrash* with the " meaning of the verb *harrash* (*to excite quarrels*). *Faid* is the flower of the saffron-" plant. The verb *fâd*, with the aorist *yafîd* and the noun of action *faid*, signifies *to* " *die*, when employed in speaking of a man."

(1) See vol. I. p. 498.
(2) This person was probably the son of the Muhallab whose life is given in this volume.
(3) The life of Ibn Aktham will be found in the fourth volume.
(4) An article on an-Nadr is given in this volume.
(5) This work treated probably of the twenty eight-mansions of the moon.
(6) The life of Ibn al-Munajjim is given in the fourth volume.
(7) Literally: In the lion of her forest.
(8) I read وجرد المذاكى on the authority of two manuscripts.
(9) الجوّ is the true reading.
(10) Read ضحيان with one of the manuscripts.
(11) The right reading is الجنيبة.
(12) Read غرارة.
(13) Read الغيد with two manuscripts.
(14) Two manuscripts and the edition of Bûlak read اغرّ.
(15) Literally: Always praised as to the goings out (from his pond) and the goings down (to it).
(16) I read جرت.
(17) Read حبكا.
(18) Here the readings of the manuscripts and the printed editions all differ. The true reading seems to be طرازها, that which I adopt.
(19) For بعدى read من بعدى.
(20) The life of Yakûb Ibn as-Sikkit is given in the fourth volume.

MUSA 'L-KAZIM.

Abû 'l-Hasan Mûsa 'l-Kâzim (1), the son of Jaafar as-Sâdik, the son of Muhammad al-Bâkir, the son of Ali Zain al-Aâbidîn, the son of al-Husain, the son of Ali, the son of Abû Tâlib,—God bless them all! — was one of the *twelve imâms*. The Khatîb (*vol. I. p.* 75) says, in his History of Baghdad: Mûsa 'l-Kâzim was surnamed *al-Abd as-Sâlih* (*the holy servant*) on account of his piety and his efforts (*to please God*). It is related that he entered (*one evening*) into the mosque of God's apostle (*at Medîna*) and, just as the night was setting in, he made a prostration which lasted until morning and, during that time, he was heard to repeat, without intermission: "O

"thou who art the object of (*our*) fear! O thou whom it becometh to shew mercy! "let thy pardon be kindly granted to me whose sin is so grievous!" Mûsa was highly generous and beneficent: being informed that a man had spoken ill of him, he sent to him a purse containing one thousand dinars. He used to tie up in packets sums of three hundred, or four hundred, or two hundred dinars and distribute them in the city of Medîna. That was his place of résidence till al-Mahdi had him brought to Baghdad and shut up in a prison. (*Soon after, this khalif*) had a dream in which Ali, the son of Abû Tâlib, appeared to him and said: "O Muhammad! (2) "*were ye ready, therefore, if ye had been put in authority, to commit evil in the earth,* "*and to violate the ties of blood?*" (3). Ar-Rabî (*see vol. I. p.* 521) related in these terms what resulted: "He sent for me at night, and that put me in great dread; "I went to him and found him chanting the above mentioned verse, and no man "had a finer voice than he. He said to me: 'Bring me Mûsa, the son of Jaafar.' "I did so and he embraced him, seated him by his side and said to him: 'Abû "'l-Hasan! I have just seen in a dream the Commander of the faithful, Ali Ibn "'Abî Tâlib, and he has recited to me such and such a verse; give me the assu-"'rance that you will not revolt against me or against any of my children.' He "answered: 'By Allah! I am incapable of revolting.'—'You say the truth,' "replied the khalif; 'give him three thousand pieces of gold and restore him to his "'family in Medîna.' I arranged the affair of his (*departure*) that very night, "lest some obstacle might turn up, and, before morning, the man was on his "journey." Mûsa resided in that city (*Medîna*) until the reign of Hârûn ar-Rashîd. In the month of Ramadân, 179 (Nov.-Dec. A. D. 795), Hârûn visited the Omra (4) and, on his departure for Baghdad, he took Mûsa with him and had him imprisoned for life. It is related that Hârûn, in his pilgrimage, went to visit the tomb of the Prophet, in the midst of a band of Kuraishides and some eminent members of (*Arabian*) tribes, and took with him Mûsa 'l-Kâzim. Wishing to show how much he was superior in glory to those around them, he said (*in addressing the tomb*): "Salutation unto thee, O prophet of God! unto thee who art my cousin!" On hearing this, Mûsa said (*to the tomb*): "Salutation unto thee, O my dear "father!" Hârûn changed countenance at these words and said: "Abû 'l-Hasan! "such glory as thine is truly to be vaunted of." End of the Khatîb's relation.— Abû 'l-Hasan Ali al-Masûdi, the son of al-Husain, the son of Ali (*see vol. II. p.* 618) says, in that part of his work, the *Murûj ad-Dahab,* which contains the

history of Hârûn ar-Rashîd: "Abd Allah Ibn Mâlik al-Khuzâi, the intendant of
" ar-Rashîd's palace and chief of the police guards (*Shurta*), related as follows: A
" messenger came to me from ar-Rashîd at an hour in which I never before
" received his visits; he pulled me out of the place where I was and would
" not even allow me to change my clothes. This put me in great fear. When I
" arrived at the palace, a servant went in before me and informed ar-Rashîd of
" my presence. (*The khalif*) ordered me to be introduced, and I found him sitting
" up in his bed. I saluted him, but he kept silent for some time; so, my mind
" was much troubled and my fears greatly augmented. He at length said:
" Abd Allah! do you know why I sent for you at such an hour? I answered: By
" Allah! I do not, Commander of the faithful!—Know, said he, that I just had a
" dream in which it seemed to me as if an Abyssinian came to me with a javelin in
" his hand and said: 'Let Mûsa, the son of Jaafar, be set at liberty this very hour,
" 'otherwise I shall slay thee with this javelin!' Do you therefore go and set him
" free. I replied: Commander of the faithful! shall I then liberate Mûsa, the
" son of Jaafar, for the third time?—'Yes, said he, go and set Mûsa, the son of
" 'Jaafar, at liberty; give him thirty thousand dirhems and say to him (*in my name*):
" 'If you would like to remain with us, you will obtain from me whatever you may
" 'desire; and if you prefer going to Medîna, you have permission to do so.' I
" went to the prison in order to take him out and, when he saw me, he sprung up
" on his feet, thinking that I had received orders to treat him in a manner he
" should not like, but I said to him: Fear not! he (*the khalif*) has ordered you to
" be set at liberty and told me to give you thirty thousand dirhems and to deliver
" you this message: if you would like remaining with us, you will obtain whatever
" you desire; but, if you prefer going to Medîna, you have free permission to do
" so. I then gave him the money, set him free and said to him: I see something
" in you extraordinary (*what is it?*). He replied: I shall tell you: whilst I was
" asleep, behold! the apostle of God came to me and said: 'O Mûsa! thou hast
" 'been imprisoned unjustly; so, recite the words I am going to repeat to thee, for
" 'assuredly, thou shalt not pass all this night in prison.' I replied: 'For thee I
" 'should give up father and mother! what must I say?'—Repeat these words, said
" he: 'O thou who hearest every voice! O thou who lettest no opportunity escape!
" 'O thou who clothest the bones with flesh and who wilt raise them up after
" 'death! I invoke thee by thy holy names and by that grand and awful name

" 'which is treasured up and closely hidden! by that name which no created being
" 'shall ever know! O thou who art so mild and whose patience is unequalled!
" 'O thou whose favours never cease and cannot be numbered! set me free!' So
" 'you see what has happened."—Numerous stories and anecdotes are related of Mûsa. His birth took place at Medîna, on a Tuesday of the year 129 (A. D. 746-747), before the break of day; but the Khatîb places this event in the year 128. He died at Baghdad, on the 25th of the month of Rajab, 183 (1st Sept. A. D. 799), or in 186, according to another account. Some say that his death was caused by poison (5). According to the Khatîb, he died in prison and was buried in the Shûnîzi cemetery (6), outside the dome (7); his tomb is a well known object of pilgrimage; over it is erected a large chapel containing an immense quantity of gold and silver lamps, with divers sorts of furniture and carpets. It is on the west side (*of the river*).—We have already spoken of his father, his forefathers, and some of his descendants.—The person charged to guard him during his imprisonment was as-Sindi Ibn Shâhik (*vol. I. p.* 318), ancestor of the celebrated poet Kushâjim (*vol. I. p.* 301).

(1) *Kâzim* is the active participle of a verb which signifies : *to restrain* one's inclinations, *to suppress* one's anger. The Koran uses it in this sense. It was given to Mûsa as a surname, by the Shîites, on account of his forbearance and mildness.

(2) The real name of the khalif surnamed al-Mahdi (*the well directed*), was Muhammad. He was the son of Abû Jaafar Abd Allah, surnamed al-Mansûr.

(3) *Koran*, sûrat 47, verse 24.

(4) See page 248 of this volume. The Omra may be visited in any month of the year.

(5) He was put to death secretly by order of ar-Rashîd. See M. de Sacy's *Chrestomathie arabe*, deuxième édition, tome I, p. 6.

(6) See vol. I. p. 556.

(7) This indication is not clear unless it means the dome which covered the tomb of Sari as-Sakati.

KAMAL AD-DIN IBN MANA.

Abû 'l-Fath Mûsa, the son of Abû 'l-Fadl Yûnus, the son of Muhammad, the son of Manâ, the son of Mâlik, the son of Muhammad, and surnamed Kamal ad-Dîn (*per-*

fection of religion), was a doctor of the Shâfite sect. He studied the law at Mosul under his father; then, in the year 571 (A. D. 1175–6), he proceeded to Baghdad and took up his residence in the *Nizâmiya* college (*vol. II. p.* 164) where he had for tutor the *moîd* (*répétiteur*) as-Sadîd as-Salamâsi (*vol. II. p.* 643). At that time, the *shaikh* Rida 'd-Dîn Abû 'l-Khair Ahmad al-Kazwîni, the son of Ismaîl, the son of Yûsuf, the son of Muhammad, the son of al-Abbâs, was the professor (*of law*) in the college. Kamâl ad-Dîn (*there*) studied the controverted points of jurisprudence and its fondamentals; he applied also to philological disquisitions under the direction of Kamâl ad-Dîn Abû 'l-Barakât Abd ar-Rahmân Ibn Muhammad al-Anbâri (*see vol. II. p.* 95). Previously to that, he had studied philology at Mosul with distinguished success, under Abû Bakr Yahya Ibn Saadûn al-Kortobi, a *shaikh* whose life we shall give. Having then gone up (*from Baghdad*) to Mosul, he resumed his studies with great assiduity and, on the death of his father, an event of which the date will be found in our article on that doctor, he replaced him as professor in the mosque which is called the *Zainiya* after Zain ad-Dîn, lord of Arbela. This edifice I have myself seen; it is laid out in the manner of a college and is now called the *Kamâliya* college, because Kamâl ad-Dîn, he of whom we are now speaking, resided in it for a long time. When the reputation of his merit had spread abroad, jurisconsults hastened in crowds to study under him. He was profoundly versed in every branch of knowledge and knew certain sciences which are never found together in the same individual. In the mathematical sciences he was particularly distinguished. I met him at Mosul in the month of Ramadân, 626 (July.-August. A. D. 1229), and went frequently to see him, on account of the close and intimate friendship which existed between him and my deceased father; but I had not an opportunity of receiving lessons from him, because I could not make any stay (*in that town*) and was obliged to hurry off to Syria. The doctors of the time declared that he had a solid and perfect knowledge of twenty-four different sciences, one of which was the (*doctrine of the Shâfite*) sect. In this last he was the paragon of the age. A number of Hanefites studied under his tuition the doctrines of their own sect, and received from him the most satisfactory solution of the problems contained in the *al-Jâmî 'l-Kabîr* (1), a work noted for its difficulties. He had a perfect acquaintance with the two systems of polemical jurisprudence, the (*Shâfite*) which prevails in Irak and the (*Hanefite*) which is taught at Bukhâra; he knew also the fondamentals of jurisprudence and those of divinity. When the works of Fakhr ad-Dîn ar-Râzi (*vol. II. p.* 652) were first

brought to Mosul, there was a great number of well-informed men in that city, but none of them, excepting Kamâl ad-Dîn, was able to understand the technical language employed by the author. Having met with al-Amîdi's (*vol. II. p.* 660) ***Irshâd***, he solved, in a single night, all the difficulties contained in that work and then caused his pupils to read it (*whilst he explained it*); such, at least, is the general report. He knew the philosophical sciences, logic (*that is, the Organum of Aristotle*), physics, metaphysics and medicine; he was acquainted with all the parts of mathematical science explained by Euclid, astronomy, conic sections, mean proportionals (*mutawassita*), the Almagest, the different modes of calculation both numerical (2), and algebraic, arithmetic, the system of double false position, music and mensuration. In all these sciences he was without a rival; others had a superfical knowledge of them, but none knew so well as he the abstruse doctrines and truths which they contain. In a word, one might well apply to him the words of the poet :

> In the sciences he was such that, from his knowledge of one alone, you might conclude he knew them all.

He discovered also a mode of calculating the hours of prayer (3) which no one had ever fallen upon before. His researches in the study of Arabic and its grammatical inflexions were so profound that he was capable of reading (*without a master*) the *Book* of Sîbawaih (*vol. II. p.* 396), the *Idâh* and the *Takmila* of Abû Ali 'l-Fârisi (*vol. I. p.* 379), and the *Mufassal* of az-Zamakhshari (*p.* 321 *of this vol.*). In the interpretation of the Koran, in the science of traditions, in that which treats of the names of those men (*by whom traditions have been handed down*), and in every matter connected with such subjects, he was a most able hand. He knew by heart a mass of historical relations, accounts of the combats which took place between the (*ancient*) Arabs, pieces of poetry and dialogues. Jews and Christians used to go and read under his tuition the Pentateuch and the Gospels; they even declared that they could find no one so capable as he of explaining these two books. He knew so perfectly each of the above mentioned branches of knowledge that one would have supposed he could not have found time to learn the others. In a word, none of his predecessors were ever known to have been acquainted with so many sciences as he. In the year 625 (A. D. 1228) (4), the *shaikh* Athîr ad-Dîn al-Mufaddal al-Abheri, the author of the *Tâlîka fi 'l-Khilâf* (*notes on controverted matters*), the *Zîj* (*astronomical tables*) (5), and other well-known works, left Mosul and came to Arbela where we were then residing.

He took up his lodgings in the *Dâr al-Hadîth* (*school for traditions*), and I studied under his direction some controverted points of jurisprudence. I was with him one day when an eminent legist of Baghdad, who was residing in the *Dâr al-Hadîth*, came in. Some time passed in an animated conversation (6) when mention was made of the *shaikh* Kamâl ad-Dîn. On this, Athîr ad-Dîn said (*to his visitor*): "When the "*shaikh* Kamâl ad-Dîn made the pilgrimage and went to Baghdad, were you there?" The other replied in the affirmative. "How," said Athîr ad-Dîn, "did the Grand "Divan (*the imperial court*) receive him?"—"Not in a manner worthy of his de-"sert," was the reply. "That is much to be wondered at," exclaimed Athîr ad-Dîn, "for never did the like of such a *shaikh* enter Baghdad!" These words surprised me so much that I said to him: "Tell me, master! what makes you say so?" He answered: "My son! no one like Abû Hâmid al-Ghazzâli (*vol. II. p.* 621) had ever "before entered Baghdad, and I declare, by Allah! that even he is not to be com-"pared with the *shaikh* (*Kamâl ad-Dîn*)." Notwithstanding his high reputation as a master of the sciences, Athîr ad-Dîn used to sit down before him (*Kamâl ad-Dîn*) with a book in his hand and read it to him (*in order to profit by his observations*); and yet, on the same day, scholars would be studying works composed by himself; that I saw with my own eyes. He thus read the Almagest under his direction. The following anecdote was related to me by a jurisconsult: "I asked the *shaikh* Kamâl "ad-Dîn what rank Athîr ad-Dîn might hold as a scientific man, and he answered "that he did not know. 'How can that be, Sir!' said I, 'since he has been in "'your service for many years and still studies under you?' He replied: 'When-"'ever I made an observation to him, he received it (*without making any remark*) "'and merely said: 'Yes, sir!' He never entered into a discussion with me; so, "'I have not been able to appreciate his talents.'" There is no doubt that Athîr ad-Dîn acted in this manner through politeness and respect. He served Kamâl ad-Dîn as under-tutor (*moîd*) in the *Badriya* college and used to say: "I should not have "left my native place and come to Mosul, had I not formed the intention of studying "under the *shaikh* (*Kamâl ad-Dîn*)." One of my *shaikhs* (*or professors*) named Taki ad-Dîn Othmân Ibn Abd ar-Rahmân, and generally known by the surname of *Ibn as-Salâh* (*see vol. II. p.* 188), spoke in the highest terms of his (*Kamâl ad-Dîn's*) extraordinary merit and declared him to be without a rival in scientific knowledge. One day, he commenced, as usual, to make his eulogy when a person present said to him: "Tell me, Sir! under whom did he study? who was his preceptor?" The other

answered: "That man was created by God as an *imâm* (*model*) and a master in all "the branches of knowledge; so, let no one ask under whom he studied and who was "his preceptor. He is too eminent to render such a question necessary." Whilst I was at Mosul, a certain jurisconsult related to me that Ibn as-Salâh obtained permission from him (*Kamâl ad-Dîn*) to read secretly under his direction a part of the Logic (*or Organum of Aristotle*). He went to him regularly for some time but was unable to understand any thing of it; so at length (*Kamâl ad-Dîn*) said to him: "My opinion is, doctor! that you had better renounce the study of "this science." The other asked him for what reason, and received this answer: "The public look upon you as a good and pious man, and consider those who apply "to this branch of knowledge as holding pernicious opinions on religious matters; "you risk, therefore, losing their esteem, without even acquiring any knowledge of "the science." The jurisconsult took his advice and gave up the study. Readers of this biographical notice may perhaps consider me as exalting too much the merits of this *shaikh*, but those of his townsmen who are capable of appreciating his talents know full well that I have not attributed to him (7) a quality (*which he did not really possess*). God preserve us from exaggerating (8), and from carelessness in transmitting historical information. Abû 'l-Barakât Ibn al-Mustaufi (*vol. II. p.* 556) speaks of him in his *Târîkh Irbil* (*History of Arbela*): "He was," says he, "a most learned man, well versed in every science and particularly distinguished "by his acquaintance with those of the Ancients (*the Greeks*), such as geometry and "logic. He got over the difficulties of Euclid and of the Almagest under the tuition "of the *shaikh* Sharaf ad-Dîn al-Muzaffar Ibn Muhammad Ibn al-Muzaffar at-Tûsi "the Koran reader, the inventor of the lineal astrolabe (*al-astarlâb al-khatti*) (9) "which is generally known by the designation of the *staff* (10)." He says, farther on: "Questions were sent to him from Baghdad on difficult points of this science "and he answered them all; he treated them as mere trifles and then gave their "solution. In jurisprudence and the sciences connected with the law of Islamism, "he stood without a rival. He professed in a number of the colleges at Mosul, and "many of his pupils attained high distinction in different branches of science." Lower down, we read this passage: "He recited to me the following verses composed "by himself and in which he made an appeal to the clemency of the lord of Arbela:

"If any land can draw lustre from him who holds it under his sway, the kingdom of the "earth will derive lustre from you. May you live till the end of time and have your orders



"always obeyed, your zeal gratefully acknowledged and your mansuetude renowned for its
"equity. You have been established to (*watch over and*) guard this extensive country, as
"Joseph was established over the cities of Pharaoh."

I may here observe that the same verses were repeated to me at Aleppo by an acquaintance of mine.—In the year 633 (A. D. 1235-1236), whilst I was at Damascus, a man of that city who possessed some skill in the mathematical sciences, met with a number of difficult problems in arithmetic, algebra, geometry and (*the treatise of*) Euclid. Being unable to solve them, he wrote them all down on a scroll of paper and sent them to him (*Kamâl ad-Dîn*), who was then at Mosul. A month afterwards he received an answer in which all the obscurities were cleared up, all the difficulties explained and many indications given which it would be impossible to recapitulate. The letter concluded by these words: "Have the kindness to "excuse the insufficiency of this answer; for my genius is frozen up and my "intelligence extinguished; my mind has fallen under the sway of forgetfulness "and is distracted by the events which time has brought about. The greater part "of what I learned from books and of what I knew (*by my own observations*) is now "as much forgotten by me as if I had never known it." The person who proposed the questions said to me (*of this passage*): "Such (*elegant*) language I never heard "before; the like of it was never uttered but by those of the ancients who where "perfectly well versed in these sciences; it is not the language of those who live in "our time."—The following anecdote was related to me by the *shaikh* Alam ad-Dîn (*the standard of the faith*) Kaisar (*Cæsar*), the son of Abû 'l-Kâsim, the son of Abd al-Ghani, the son of Musâfir, and surnamed *Taâsîf* (11). He was a native of Egypt, a jurisconsult of the hanefite sect and a mathematician (*riâdi*). In Egypt and at Damascus he was looked upon as the great master of the age in all the mathematical sciences. Here is what he said: "I felt a great desire to meet with "the *shaikh* Kamâl ad-Dîn, from having heard that he stood without a rival in "these sciences. So, I set out for Mosul with the intention of going to see him. "When I went to present him my respects, I saw that, in his looks and appearance, "he resembled those ancient sages whose history I had read and of whose aspect "I had formed some idea. After saluting him, I stated that I had come for the "purpose of studying under him, and he asked me by what science I wished to "begin. 'By (*the theory of*) music,' said I.—'That happens very well,' said ho, "'for it is a long time since any one studied it under me and I wished to converso

" 'with some person on that science so as to renew acquaintance with it.' I then
" commenced (*the theory of*) music, after which I passed successively to other
" sciences, and, in about the space of six months, I went over more than forty
" works under his tuition. I was already acquainted with music, but wished to
" be enabled to say that I had studied that science under him. The problems
" which I did not understand he explained to me; I never met with any one capable
" of filling his place as a teacher."—I have entered into long details for the purpose of making known the great extent his scientific acquirements, and yet I must declare that what I have said is still too much abridged.—On the death of his brother, the *shaikh* Imâd ad-Dîn (*vol. II. p.* 656), he replaced him as professor in the *Alâiya* college and, when the *Kâhira* college was opened, he received his nomination as director of that establishment. In the month of Zû 'l-Hijja, 620 (Dec.-Jan. A. D. 1223-1224) he became director of the *Badriya* college. His assiduity in professing and teaching was remarkable. One day, a number of other professors, all of them wearing the *tailesân* (12), were present at his lesson and a native of Bugia (*in north Africa*), the grammarian Imâd ad-Dîn Abû Ali Omar Ibn Abd an-Nûr Ibn Mâkhûkh (13) Ibn Yûsuf as-Sanhâdji al-Lezni, who happened to be there, recited extempore the following verses:

Kamâl ad-Dîn is really perfect (*kamâl*) by his learning and his high desert. Vain are the efforts of those who strive to attain the rank to which he has risen. When profound investigators meet together, their only object is to listen whilst he speaks. Think not that they put on their *tailesâns* to vex him; they wear them merely to veil their faces through modesty and (*thus*) acknowledge (*their inferiority*).

The same Imâd ad-Dîn composed on him other verses which I here give:

Mosul, training her robe in high disdain of all other cities, either inhabited or in ruins, is proud of her Tigris and of her Kamâl, both of them remedies for those who are athirst (*for water or for knowledge*), and for those whose intelligence is feeble. One is a flowing ocean, though its waters be fresh; the other is also an ocean, but one of knowledge.

The *shaikh* Kamâl ad-Dîn,—may God be indulgent towards him!—was suspected of holding loose opinions in matters of religion, because the study of the intellectual sciences was his ruling passion, and the preoccupation of his mind with these sciences hindered him sometimes from perceiving what was passing around him. To this, the same Imâd ad-Dîn made allusion in the following lines:

I tell you seriously that the gazelle (*the young beauty whom I love and*) who always used to

frown (*upon me*) has consented to meet me and become my companion. I gave her wine mixed with (*the honey of*) her lips, (*wine*) light as my verses, and light as the religious convictions of the son of Yûnus.

But we are here digressing from our subject and speaking of matters which we need not have mentioned.—He (*Kamâl ad-Dîn*) was born at Mosul on Thursday, the 5th of Safar, 551 (30th of March, A. D. 1156); he died in that city on the 14th of Shabân, 639 (17th of Feb. A. D. 1242), and was buried in the funeral-chapel which bears the name of his family (*the Bani Manâ*) and which is situated outside the Gate of Irâk, near the mausoleum of Anâz (14). We have already spoken of his son Sharaf ad-Dîn Ahmad (*vol. I. p.* 90) and of his brother Imâd ad-Dîn Muhammad (*vol. II. p.* 656); we shall also give the life of his father (*Yûnus*) under the letter Y.—Whilst I was attending his lectures (15) at Mosul, the idea came into my mind that, if ever God granted me a male child, I should give it the name of this (*professor*). In the latter part of the year above mentioned, I went to Syria where I remained ten years and then, in 632 (A. D. 1234-5), I proceeded to Egypt where, after many vicissitudes of fortune, I entered into the bonds of matrimony. My eldest son came into the world, at Cairo, on Saturday morning, the 11th of Safar, 651 (12th of April, A. D. 1253), and I gave him the name of *Mûsa*. It struck me as a singular coincidence that he was born in the same mouth as Kamâl ad-Dîn and exactly one hundred years after him. The learned *shaikh* and traditionist, Zaki ad-Dîn Abd al-Azîm (*vol. I. p.* 89), to whom I mentioned the circumstance, was as much surprised as I and expressed his astonishment by frequently exclaiming: "By Allah! it is an extraordinary thing."—The *shaikh* Rida ad-Dîn al-Kazwîni, the professor at the *Nizâmiya* college of whom we have spoken towards the beginning of this notice, died at Kazwîn on the 23rd of Muharram, 590 (18th of Jan. A. D. 1194); he was born there in the month of Ramadân, 512 (Dec.-Jan. A.D. 1118-9).—Were I not afraid of being too prolix, I should expatiate on the noble qualities and acts of Kamâl ad-Dîn.—We have already spoken of the word *Sanhâja* (*vol. I. p.* 249) (16).—*Lezni* means *belonging to the tribe of Lezna* (17), a berber people who inhabit the neighbourhood of Bugia, in the province of Ifrîkiya (18).—Alam ad-Dîn Taâsîf died at Damascus on Sunday, the 13th of Rajab, 649 (1st Oct. A. D. 1251) and was interred outside the gate called Bâb Sharki (19); his body was afterwards removed to the (*cemetery outside the gate named*) Bâb as-Saghîr (20). His birth took place in the year 574 (A. D. 1178-9), at Asfûn, a place situated to the west of the province of Saîd (*in upper Egypt*) (21).

(1) The *Djâmi 'l-Kabîr*, or *great collector*, contains all the secondary points of law as deduced by the hanefite doctors from the fundamental principles of moslim jurisprudence. The author, Abû 'l-Hasan Obaid Allah Ibn al-Husain al-Karkhi, native of al-Karkh, one of the suburbs of Baghdad, was highly respected for his learning and his piety. Born A. H. 261 (A. D. 874-5), he became so illustrious by his talents and his virtues that he was nominated chief of the hanefite sect in that city. He died in the month of Shabân, A. H. 340 (January, A. D. 952). A fuller account of him is given in the *Tabakât al-Hanefiya* of al-Kafawi, MS. of the *Bibliothèque impériale*, supplément, no. 699, fol. 120.

(2) In Arabic *meftûhat*, i. e. *apertæ*. It appears, from the great dictionary of technical terms used in the sciences of the Musulmans, published at Calcutta under the direction of Dr. Sprenger, that the science of calculation employed in the solution of problems formed three branches, geometry, algebra and *meftûha*, which, of course, must be numerical arithmetic.

(3) Two manuscripts read الاوفاق instead of الاوقات. If their reading be adopted, it must be rendered by *magic squares*.

(4) Two manuscripts read 626.

(5) Various readings : *az-Zanj*, *ad-Dabh*.

(6) The arabic words may perhaps be rendered thus : We passed some time in communicating traditions one to another.

(7) Read أعرته *I lent him*.

(8) Read الغلو.

(9) I have not been able to discover any account of this astromer, but a long technical description of the lineal astrolabe is to be found in the third part of the work in which Abû 'l-Hasan of Marocco treats of the astronomical instruments employed by the Arabs.

(10) Notwithstanding the similitude of the names, I do not think that the *staff of at-Tûsi* is the same instrument which is called *Jacob's-staff*.

(11) This word signifies *fatigues*.

(12) The *tailesân* is a light scarf of crape worn over the turban and covering the shoulders. None were entitled to wear it except persons who had taken their degrees.

(13) It appears from Ibn Khaldûn's *History of the Berbers*, that Mâkhûkh was the name of an eminent Berber family.

(14) Various readings : *Anâ*, *Ghassân*, *Ghiâth*.

(15) Literally : Whilst I was going and coming in his service.

(16) *Sanhâja* or *Sinhâja* is an Arabic corruption of the Berber name *Zenag*, which word I often heard pronounced during my long residence in North Africa. The tribe of Zenag came from the country which is still called after it *Senegal*.

(17) No Berber tribe of this name is now to be found in the province of Bugia.

(18) The kingdom of Ifrîkiya was composed of the provinces of Tunis, Tripoli, Constantina, and Bugia.

(19) *Bâb Charki* is a vulgar alteration of *al-Bâb as-Charki* (*the eastern gate*).

(20) This name, in correct Arabic, should be *al-Bâb as-Saghîr* (*the little gate*).

(21) Asfûn lies to the north of Esneh. It is built on an immense mound of rubbish, at about a mile from the river.

MUSA IBN NUSAIR (1).

Abû Abd ar-Rahmân Mûsa Ibn Nusair, the conqueror of Spain, was a member by enfranchisement of the tribe of Lakhm and one of the *Tâbis*. Some traditions, received from Tamîm ad-Dâri (*vol. II. p.* 21), were taught by him in that person's name. He was noted for prudence, generosity, bravery, and piety. No army placed under his orders ever suffered a defeat. His father, Nusair, was commander of Moawîa Ibn Abi Sofyân's body-guard and occupied a high place in the esteem of that sovereign. When Moawîa marched against Ali, the son of Abû Tâlib, Nusair abstained from going with him. Moawîa said to him (*afterwards*): "What pre-"vented you coming with me? you that are under obligations to me which you have "not requited?" Nusair answered: "It was not possible for me to acknowledge your "kindness by being ungrateful to one who had a better right to my gratitude than "you."—"Who is that?" said Moawîa.—"Almighty God," replied Nusair.—"How so? may you be bereft of your mother!" (2). Nusair replied: "How could "I inform you without being mortified and afflicted?" (3). Moawîa remained silent for some time, after which he exclaimed: "May God pardon my sins!" and forgave him.—When Abd Allah, the son of Marwân and the brother of Abd al-Malik, was governor of Egypt and North Africa (*Ifrîkiya*), he received from his nephew, the Khalif al-Walîd Ibn Abd al-Malik, a dispatch ordering him to send Mûsa Ibn Nusair to Ifrîkiya. This happened in the eighty-ninth year of the Hegira (*which began on the 1st Dec. A. D.* 707); but the *hâfiz* Abû Abd-Allah al-Humaidi (*p.* 1 *of this vol.*) says, in his *Judwa tal-Muktabis*, that Mûsa Ibn Nusair obtained the government of Ifrîkiya and Maghrib in the year 77 (A. D. 696-7). Mûsa proceeded thither with a body of the *Jund* (*vol. II. p.* 132) and, being informed that a number of rebels were assembled in the extremities of the province, he sent forth his son Abd-Allah, who brought him back one hundred thousand prisoners (4). His son Marwân, whom he then sent in another direction, brought him back one hundred thousand prisoners (5). "The fifth part (*of the captives, that which was reserved for the khalif*) "amounted," said al-Laith Ibn Saad, "to sixty thousand."—"Never," said Abû Shabîb as-Sadefi, "in moslim times, was seen such a quantity of prisoners as that



"made by Mûsa Ibn Nusair." He (*Mûsa*) found the greater part of the cities in Ifrîkiya uninhabited, because they had fallen so often into the hands of the Berbers. A great drought having prevailed in the land, he ordered the people to fast, to pray, and to forgive each other their offenses. He then went out with them into the open country, taking with him all the (*domestic*) animals, after having separated them from their young ones. Then arose outcry, lamentation, and clamour. This continued till the day was half spent, when he offered up the prayer and addressed a *khotba* (6) to the assembly. In this discourse he omitted the name of al-Walîd Ibn Abd al-Malik and, on being asked why he did not pray for the Commander of the faithful, he answered: "In the present case, prayers are for God "alone." Rain then fell in such abundance that all were enabled to quench their thirst. From that place, he proceeded against the Berbers and, in this expedition, he slew them in great numbers, took many prisoners and an immense quantity of booty. Having continued his march, he arrived in (*the province of*) Lower Sûs (7) without meeting any resistance. The rest of the Berbers, seeing what had befallen their people, asked for pardon and offered to submit. He received their proposal and, having placed a commander over them, he confided the gouvernment of the town and the province of Tangiers to his *mawla* Târik Ibn Zîâd al-Berberi (*the Berber*) who, it is said, was an (*adoptive*) member of (*the Arabic tribe of*) as-Sadif, and left him in the command of nineteen thousand Berbers, well provided with stores and arms. These men had embraced the moslim religion and were sincerely attached to it. He left with them also a few Arabs who were charged to teach them the Koran and instruct them in the duties of Islamism. He then returned to Ifrîkiya, and there did not remain in that country any Berbers or Romans capable of resisting him. Having laid the foundations of good order, he wrote to Târik, who was then at Tangiers, ordering him to make an expedition into Spain and to take with him a body of troops consisting of Berbers and a very small number of Arabs. Târik obeyed and crossed the sea, from Ceuta to Algesiras (8), a place situated in the Spanish territory, and went up to the hill which is called after him the *mountain of Târik* (*Djebel Târik, Gibraltar*). He ascended the hill on Monday, the 5th of Rajab, A. H. 93 (17th April, A. D. 712), taking with him twelve thousand horsemen, all of them Berbers, with the exception of twelve (*Arabs*). It is related that, whilst Târik was crossing the Strait in his ship, he had a dream in which he saw the Prophet and the four (*first*) khalifs walking upon the water until they passed him by, and the

Prophet said to him : "Be of good cheer! victory awaits you; treat the musulmans "with mildness and be faithful to your engagements." It is Ibn Bashkuwâl (*vol. I. p.* 491) who mentions this in his History of Spain, under the letter *Kh*. The lord of Toledo and chief sovereign of Spain was a king called *Lodrîk* (Roderic). When Târik ascended the mountain above-mentioned, he wrote (*in these terms*) to Mûsa Ibn Nusair: "I have done what you ordered and God rendered easy for me the entry "(*into this country*)." Mûsa, on receiving this letter, regretted having staid behind, for he knew well that, whatever conquests Târik might make, the honour would be for that chief and not for himself. He therefore began to assemble troops and, having confided to his son Abd-Allah the government of Kairawân, he set out to overtake him (*Târik*), but did not come up with him till the conquest had been effected. Lodrîk had marched against (*another*) adversary and left as his lieutenant in the government of the kingdom a man of the name of Todmîr (*Theodomir*), the same after whom that part of Spain called the *Province of Todmîr* was (*subsequently*) named. This province consisted of Murcia and its dependances, five places in all (9).—The Franks got possession of Murcia in the year 652 (A. D. 1254) (10).—When Târik descended from the mountain with the troops which accompanied him, Todmîr wrote to Lodrîk, saying: "A people have entered "into our land, but whether they are from heaven or from earth I know not." Lodrîk, on receiving this news, abandoned his expedition and returned, bringing with him seventy thousand horsemen, and the waggons which contained his treasures and his baggage. He himself was borne on a throne placed between two mules and surmounted by a canopy adorned with pearls, rubies and emeralds. Târik, being informed of his approach, stood up to address his companions and, after thanking God and rendering him due praise, he encouraged the Moslims to engage in a holy war and aspire to the glory of dying for the true faith (11). He then said: "My men! whither can you fly? The sea is behind you "and the enemy before you; nothing can save you but the help of God, your "bravery and your steadiness. Be it known to you that you are here as badly off "as orphans at a miser's table. The foe is coming against you with his troops, his "arms and all his forces; you have nothing to rely on but your swords, no food to "eat except what you may snatch from the hands of your enemies. If you remain "some days longer in your present state of privation, without succeeding in any "attempt, you will lose your energy; self-confidence will then replace the

"fear which fills the hearts of your adversaries and embolden them against you. "Defend yourselves like men who have no assistance to expect; the inevitable "result of your present state is that you must contend with this *tâghîa* (*king, tyrant*) "who now comes against you from his strongly fortified city. But, to triumph over "him is for you quite possible, if you are willing to expose yourselves to death. "In annoncing this danger to you, I have not the intention of keeping out of it "myself; when I engaged you in a business such as this, wherein the lives of men "are the cheapest ware, I was resolved to risk my own. Be assured that, if you "resist, even for a short time (*the attack which may be*) the rudest, you will "afterwards long enjoy the sweetest and the easiest of lives. Let not your minds "be turned against me for (*undertaking an expedition*) in which the profits falling "to your share will be much greater than mine. You know what this island (12) "produces; large-eyed maidens, daughters of the Greeks, graceful in their bearing, "covered with pearls, coral and robes interwoven with pure gold; (*maidens*) carefully "guarded in the palaces of crowned kings. Al-Walîd Ibn Abd al-Malik has chosen "you as being quite as brave as the desert Arabs (13) and has willed that you "should become by marriage brothers and sons to the princes of this island; such "is his confidence in your eagerness to charge with the spear and your readiness "to contend, sword in hand, with the brave warriors and the horsemen. Let "him obtain for his portion, by your concurrence, the recompense granted by God "to those who shall exalt his word and manifest his religion in this island. All "the booty is for you; none of it shall be reserved for him on for the other "Moslims. May the Almighty aid such heroes as you are, so that you may gain "renown in this world and in the next. Know also that I shall be the first in "doing that to which I invite you: at the joining of the two armies in battle, I "shall myself charge upon the *tâghîa* of the people of Lodrîk and slay him, if God "permit. Charge at the same time as I; if I die after killing him, I shall (*at least*) "have delivered you from the harm he might do you, and you will have no "difficulty in finding a brave and intelligent (*chief*) to be a commander over you. "If I perish before reaching Lodrîk, follow up what I commenced; charge you also "upon him and, by taking his life, effect what is most important for the conquest "of this island; your adversaries will lose all hopes in losing him." When Târik had finished exhorting his companions to fight bravely against the people of Lodrîk, and mentioned the ample recompense which awaited them, their hearts were set

at ease, their hopes revived and (*they felt already*) the breeze of victory blowing upon them. "We renonce," said they, "all thoughts of doing any thing contrary "to what you may decide; go forth against the enemy; we shall be with you and "march before you." Târik then got on horseback; his companions did the same, and they all advanced towards the spot where Lodrîk had halted, and which was situated in a wide plain. When the two armies were in presence, Târik and his men dismounted and passed the night in keeping good guard. The next morning, some delay occurred on both sides before the squadrons were placed in proper order. Lodrîk was borne on his throne, with a canopy of gold brocade over his head, to shade him from the sun. He advanced, surrounded by a forest of pennons and standards, and before him came his warriors, all in arms. Târik and his companions advanced also; on their bodies were coats of mail, on their heads turbans and helmets, in their hands Arabian bows; their swords were suspended from their shoulders and their spears placed in the rest. When Lodrîk saw them, he exclaimed: "By God! "these are the very figures we saw in the *house of Wisdom* which is in our city," and his heart was invaded by terror.—Let us now mention what this house of Wisdom was, and then we shall finish our account of the battle (14). The Greeks (*Yûnân*, *Ioniens*) (15), a people renowned for wisdom, inhabited the countries of the East before the time of Alexander. When the Persians appeared and took possession of that country, the Greeks, being forced by their encroachments to abandon their states, emigrated to the Spanish island, because it lay at one extremity of the inhabited earth. At that time, Spain had never been spoken of, nor had it ever a king worthy of note, nor a large population. The first who settled there and founded a colony was Andalos, the son of Japhet, the son of Noah, and from him the country drew its name. When the earth received a new population after the deluge, the inhabited part of it was, according to these philosophers, in the form of a bird: the East represented the head, the North and the South, the two feet, and the West, the tail. This last region was held in contempt because it corresponded to the vilest part of the bird. The Greeks did not think it right to destroy people by war, because warfare abounded in evil, and because it would have hindered them from cultivating the sciences, which for them, was the most important study of all. These reasons induced them to retire before the Persians and pass into Spain. On their arrival, they began to till the ground, to open canals (*for irrigation*), to erect castles, to plant gardens and vineyards, to build cities, to cover the land with tillage and plantations, and to pro-

pagate (*domestic animals*). The country then became so rich and so beautiful that the inhabitants, on observing how magnificent it was, would often say: "If the "West form the tail of the bird which is represented by the inhabited portion of "the earth, that bird must be a peacock; for its beauty lies in its tail." The inhabitants, being then in the enjoyment of complete welfare, took the city of Toledo for the capital of their empire and for their *House of Wisdom;* having chosen it because it was in the center of the land. It appeared to them a matter of the highest importance that their city should be well fortified, in order to preserve it from the attacks of those people who might hear of its prosperity. On looking round, they could discover no people inclined to envy their comfort except such as were living in misery and indigence, and those were the Arabs and the Berbers. Fearing lest their island, which they had so well cultivated, might be attacked by them, they decided on having a talisman formed, by means of which these two races of men might be kept away, and they caused astronomical observations to be made for that purpose. But, as the Berbers were in their neighbourhood, being separated from them only bya strait of the sea, bands of those people used to pass over into Spain. The coarseness of their manners and the singularity of their aspect served to increase the aversion in which the Greeks held them, and prevented that people from forming any connexion with them, either as allies by marriage or as neighbours. This feeling took so strong a root in their minds that hatred for the Berbers seemed to be an inherent disposition of their nature. When the Berbers were aware of this hostile feeling towards them and perceived the dislike in which they were held by the people of Spain, they began to look on them with hatred and jealousy; so that you will not now find a Spaniard who does not detest the Berbers, nor a Berber who does not hate the Spaniards. The Berbers, however, stand more in need of the Spaniards than these do of them, so many things being to be found in Spain which are not to be had in the country of the Berbers. In an island called Kâdis (*Cadiz*), and situated in the western part of the island of Spain, was a Greek king who had an extremely handsome daughter. The renown of her beauty reached the kings of Spain, for there was a great number of them in that country; every town or every two towns had a separate king, and all these sovereigns treated each other as equals. The Spanish kings asked her in marriage, and her father, fearing that, if he gave her to one, he should offend all the others, was uncertain what to do, and sent for his daughter (*in order to consult her*). Wisdom was then inherent in the character

of this people, both of the males and the females; so, for that reason it was said: "Wisdom descended from heaven upon three different members of the human "body; upon the brains of the Greeks, the hands of the Chinese and the tongues "of the Arabs." When she appeared before him, he said to her: "Daughter! "you see me in a great perplexity."—"What," said she, "is the cause of it?"—He replied: "All the kings in Spain have asked you from me in marriage and, if "I satisfy the wish of one, I shall give offense to all the others."—"Leave the "matter to me," said she, "and I shall save you from reproaches."—"How will "you do?"—"I shall myself require one thing, and whoever among them fills the "condition, him I shall marry; he that is unable to fill it will then have no right "to be displeased with you."—"What do you mean to ask for?"—"I shall "require that my suitor be not only a king but a sage."—"There indeed," said he, "you make for yourself an excellent choice." He in consequence wrote to all the royal suitors, informing them that he had referred their demands to his daughter and that she would take no king for her husband unless he was a sage. When those who were not sages read this answer, they (*kept their peace and*) spoke no more of her, but two of these princes wrote, each of them declaring that he was a sage. When the king received their letters, he said to his daughter: "Things are in the same state as before; here are two kings, both of them "sages, and, if I choose one, I shall offend the other." She replied: "I shall "require of each of them to do a thing, and him I shall marry who accomplishes "his task soonest."—"What will you ask of them?"—"In the island which "we inhabit, we require to have mills which turn; so I shall propose to one "of the kings that he make them turn by means of fresh water flowing to them "from that country (*beyond the strait*); and I shall tell the other to make a "talisman that may protect this island against the Berbers." The father approved highly of what she intended to exact, and wrote to the two kings, informing them of what his daughter had said. They both accepted the conditions; each of them chose the task which he preferred and commenced the required work. He of the mills took great blocks (16) of stone and adapted them one to the other, through the salt sea which separates the island of Spain from the main land (*Africa*). The place where he did this is known by the name of the *Straits of Ceuta*. The empty spaces left between the stones he filled up according to the dictates of his judgement and, by (*this pier of*) stones he united the (*African*)

continent to the Spanish island. The remains of this construction are still visible in the strait which separates Ceuta from Algeziras. It is generally said by the natives of Spain that these remains are the ruins of a bridge which Alexander (*the Great*) constructed in order that people might be enabled to pass from Ceuta to that island; God knows best which of these accounts is the true one. When the royal sage had finished arranging the stones, he directed towards them a stream of water from an elevated spot in the mountain of the (*African*) continent, and confined it in a channel constructed with great solidity and, in the Spanish island, he erected mills on this canal. The king who undertook to make the talisman was delayed in his work, because he had been obliged to wait till a (*favourable*) observation (*of the stars*) indicated the proper moment to begin. He succeeded, however, in accomplishing his task, and constructed a square edifice of white stone on a sandy ground, near the sea-shore and, that it might be perfectly solid, he took care that the foundations should be dug as deep as the building itself was to be elevated above the surface of the earth. When he had raised it to the requisite height, he took copper and purified iron, mixed them well together and formed with them the image of a Berber having a long beard and his head covered with locks of hair so crispy that they stood on end. Under the arm was represented a cloak, gracefully and solidly modelled, the two ends of which were held in the left hand; on the feet were sandals. This statue was placed on the summit of the edifice and stood on a narrow base, merely sufficient to receive the feet. This (*base*) rose in the air to the height of more than sixty or seventy cubits; it diminished gradually towards the top, where its breadth was not more than a cubit. The right arm of the statue grasped in its hand a key and was stretched out towards the sea as if to say: "No thoroughfare!" This talisman had such influence that the sea opposite to it was never seen to be calm and that, whenever a berber ship navigated therein, the key fell from the hand of the statue. The two kings who had undertaken to construct, one, the mills and, the other, the talisman, endeavoured, each of them, to finish his work before the other, because he who had soonest done would be entitled to marry (*the princess*). He of the mills completed his work but concealed the fact, in order that the other might not destroy the talisman; for he wished to possess it, the (*young*) woman and the mills. The morning of the day on which he learned that the talisman was completed, he let the water flow till it reached the island and turned the mills. The maker of the talisman was then on the

top of the statue, polishing the face of it; for it was gilded. When he learned that the other had finished before him, a weakness came over him and he fell dead from the summit of the edifice. He of the mills then became possessor of the princess, the mills and the talisman (17).—The ancient Greek kings feared for Spain on account of the Berbers; so they all accorded in observing (*the stars*) for the purpose of constructing talismans at propitious moments. These talismans they placed in a marble chest which they deposited in the chamber of a house (*situated*) in the city of Toledo. On this chamber they placed a door and, having locked it, they left injunctions that every king of Spain should, on the death of his predecessor, add a lock to that door, for the better conservation of what was in the chamber. This custom continued till the time arrived wherein the domination of the Greeks was to be subverted and the Arabs and Berbers were to enter into Spain. Twenty-six Greek kings had already reigned from the time of their making the talismans in the city of Toledo, when this (*fatal hour*) arrived. The above-mentioned Lodrîk was the twenty-seventh of their kings. When he was seated on the throne, he said to his vizirs and his counsellors of state: "A thought has come into my "mind touching this chamber which is closed by twenty-six locks; I wish to open it "in order to see what it contains; for it has certainly not been made in sport." They answered: "O king! you are right in saying that it was not made in sport "nor locked without a reason; but what you had best do is, to place on it another "lock in imitation of the kings your predecessors. This custom was never "neglected by your ancestors and forefathers; so, do not give it up, but follow "their exemple." He replied: "My mind impels me to open it, and it shall be "done." To this they said: "If you think it contains a treasure, estimate what "you may suppose to be its value and we shall make up that sum out of our own "money and give it to you; so, do not open the door lest you bring upon us some-"thing the consequences of which we cannot foresee." He persisted in his project and, as he was a man much feared, no one dared to reply to him. The locks, each of which had its key suspended to it, were opened by his orders. When the door was unclosed, nothing was seen in the chamber except a great table of gold and silver, set round with jewels and bearing this inscription: "Table of Solomon, the "son of David; God's blessing upon them both!" He discovered also in the chamber the chest of which we spoke; it had a lock on it to which was suspended a key. On opening it, he found nothing except a piece of parchment, and he observed on the

sides of the chest figures of horsemen painted in colours and of a good design. They represented Arabs dressed in their cloaks of camel's hair and wearing turbans from under which their hair hung in ringlets. They were riding on Arabian horses; in their hands they bore Arabian bows; from their shoulders were suspended swords richly mounted, and their spears were in the rest. He ordered the parchment to be unfolded and therein he found written: " This chamber and this chest " were locked through prudence; when they are opened, the people whose images " are on the chest will enter into the island of Spain, the empire will escape from " the hands of the Greeks and their wisdom shall be obliterated." This was the House of Wisdom above-mentioned. When Lodrîk heard the contents of the parchment, he repented of what he had done and felt convinced that the empire of the Greeks had drawn to an end. Very soon after, he learned the arrival of an army sent from the East by the king of the Arabs for the purpose of conquering the provinces of Spain. Here ends the account of the House of Wisdom.—Let us now return to our subjet and finish the history of Lodrîk and of the army commanded by Târik Ibn Zîâd. When Târik saw Lodrîk, he said to his companions: " There is the " tyrant that reigns over these people; charge!" They all charged with him and dispersed the warriors who were placed before Lodrîk. Târik then got up to him, struck him on the head with his sword and slew him upon his throne. When Lodrîk's companions saw the fall of their king, the two armies attacked each other and the Moslims remained victorious. The routing of the Greeks was not confined to that spot alone, for they abandoned town after town and fortress after fortress. When Mûsa was informed of these events, he crossed over to the island with his troops and, having overtaken his *mawla* Târik, he said to him: " O Târik, al-" Walîd Ibn Abd al-Malik cannot give you a less recompense for your bravery than " the government of Spain; so ask for it and may you well enjoy it!" Târik replied: " Emir! I declare by Allah that I shall not discontinue my march till I " arrive at the sea which surrounds (*the world*) and enter into it with my horse." He meant the Northern ocean which lies under the *Benât Nâch* (18). Târik continued his conquests and Mûsa accompanied him till they reached Galicia (*a province situated*) on the coast of the Surrounding sea; then only he turned back.—Al-Humaidi says in his *Judwa tal-Muktabis:* " Mûsa Ibn Nusair was much displeased " with Târik for having made a campaign without permission and cast him into " prison. He was even thinking of putting him to death when he received from

" al-Walîd a letter by which he was ordered to set him at liberty. He obeyed and " returned with him to Syria. It was in the ninety-fourth year of the Hejira that " Mûsa left Spain. He took with him the treasures found there and went to " inform al-Walîd of the conquest he had effected with the aid of the Almighty. " He bore off also the table of Solomon, the son of David, which, according to some " historians, had been found in Toledo." The same author says: " It was made " of gold and silver, and was encircled by a collar of pearls, a collar of rubies and " a collar of emeralds. Its size was so great that, when it was placed on the back " of a stout mule, the animal did not go far before its legs gave way." He took with him the crowns of the kings who had formerly reigned over the Greeks; each of those crowns was set with jewels; and he carried off also thirty thousand prisoners. It is related that al-Walîd had some motive for being displeased with Mûsa; so, when the latter arrived at Damascus, he let him remain exposed to the sun during a whole summer's day and kept him there till he fainted away (19).—We have made this article rather long, but one matter led to another and I could not interrupt the recital. I shall only state that I have given the essential, though many things are omitted.—Al-Walîd Ibn Abd al-Malik died after the arrival of Mûsa in Syria and was succeeded by his brother Sulaimân. In the year 97 of the Hejira (A. D. 715-6), or, by another account, in the year 99, Sulaimân set out on the pilgrimage, and Mûsa, whom he had taken with him, died on the way, at Wâdi 'l-Kura, or at Marr az-Zahrân (20), for the statements are at variance. He was born in the nineteenth year of the Hejira (A. D. 640), under the khalifat of Omar Ibn al-Khattâb (21).

(1) Ibn Asâkir says, in his *Biographical History of Damascus*, (MS. of the *Adtif Library*, at Constantinople), that the name of Mûsa's father is a diminutive and must be pronounced *Nusair*.

(2) Literally: No mother to you! a very common form of imprecation.

(3) He alluded evidently to Moawia's conduct towards Ali.

(4) Literally: Heads of prisoners. This is analogous to the English expression: So many head of oxen.

(5) To complete this account, the author should have added that Mûsa himself took also one hundred thousand prisoners. This extravagant legend is given by historians on the authority of al-Laith Ibn Saad (see vol. II. page 548), a traditionist by no means worthy of confidence, notwithstanding the favorable character given of him by our author. Indeed, most of the historical traditions for which the authority of al-Laith is adduced by Ibn Abd al-Hakam and other authors, cannot sustain a critical examination, and some of them are glaring falsehoods.

(6) See vol. I. page 174.

(7) The province of Sûs forms the southern extremity of Morocco.

(8) Literally: The green island, *al-Jazîra tal-Khadrâ*.

(9) Those five places were Murcia, Lorca, Mula, Orihuela, and Alicant.

(10) This event took place in the year 658 (A. D. 1260), according to al-Makkari. The christian historians place the occupation of Murcia in the year 1266.

(11) The discourse given here and attributed to Târik is evidently spurious.

(12) The word *jazîra* signifies "island, peninsula." I adopt the first meaning as being more consonant to the idea which the ancient Arabs had of the Spanish peninsula; they considered it as an island detached from the African continent.

(13) The fabricator of this speech was not aware that the troops of Târik were Berbers.

(14) The arabic historians, and particularly those who were natives of the East, had very meager and incorrect ideas respecting the conquest of Spain and the history of that country. During the first two centuries of the Hejira, all historical information was preserved by oral tradition, and, when the task of writing down these accounts was undertaken, the greater part of them had been forgotten. To repair this loss, musulman historians admitted into their works fables and absurd legends such as these which Ibn Khallikân is about to give. The most satisfactory account of the conquest is that given by M. Dozy in his *Histoire des Musulmans d'Espagne*, tome II, page 31.

(15) It is a needless task to point out all the absurdities of this legend.

(16) The text has خرز, which signifies *beads* and other small objects which are ranged in lines; it designates also the vertebres of the spine. This may not, perhaps, be the true reading, but the manuscripts all agree in giving it.

(17) The want of reflection evinced by our author in relating such silly fables is unpardonable.

(18) The constellation of the Greater Bear is called by the Arabs *Benât nâsh* (*the girls of a bier* or *hearse*).

(19) See Dozy's *Histoire des Musulmans d'Espagne*, tome I, page 214 *et seq.*

(20) The village of Marr az-Zahrân was situated on the border of a glen near Mekka. Wâdi 'l-Kura (*the glen of towns*) lies half-way between Mekka and Basra.

(21) Fuller and more certain information respecting Mûsa will be found in M. Dozy's work, the merit of which I gratefully acknowledge.

AL-MALIK AL-ASHRAF MUZAFFAR AD-DIN

Abû 'l-Fath Mûsa, the son of al-Malik al-Aâdil Saîf ad-Dîn Abû Bakr (*see page* 235 *of this vol.*), the son of Aiyûb, was surnamed *al-Malik al-Ashraf Muzaffar ad-Dîn* (*the most noble prince, the triumphant in religion*). The first government he obtained was that of ar-Rohâ (*Edessa*), being sent from Egypt to that city by his father



in the year 598 (A. D. 1201-2). Some time after, he received the government of Harrân in addition to what he already possessed. He was beloved by the people, fortunate (*in all his proceedings*) and victorious in his wars. He then encountered on the field of battle and defeated Nûr ad-Dîn Arslân Shâh, lord of Mosul (*vol. I. p.* 174), who was one of the greatest and most illustrious princes of the age. This took place on Saturday, the 19th of Shawwâl, A. H. 600 (21st of June, A. D. 1204). The battle was fought at a place called *Bain an-Nahrain* and situated in the province of Mosul. The history of this event is so well known that we need not enter into any details on the subject (1). After the death of his brother, al-Malik al-Auhad Nadjm ad-Dîn Aiyûb, lord of Khalât, Maiyâfârikîn and the neighbouring places, he took possession of his kingdom and united it to his own. Al-Malik al-Auhad died on the 8th of the first Rabî, 609 (8th of August, A. D. 1212), at Malâzgird, in the province of Khalât, and was there interred. He had obtained the sovereignty of Khalât in the month of the first Jumâda, 604 (Nov.-Dec. A. D. 1207). (*Al-Ashraf*), having thus enlarged his dominions, governed the people with such justice and benevolence as they had never experienced from any of his predecessors. By this conduct, he gained all hearts and acquired wide renown. In the year 606 (A. D. 1209-10), he got possession of Nasîbîn in the East (2), and, on the fourth day of the first Jumâda of the following year, he occupied the (*town of*) Sinjâr, (*the province of*) al-Khâbûr and the greater part of Mesopotamia. These places he visited from time to time and generally took up his residence at ar-Rakka, because that town was situated on the Euphrates. On the death of his paternal cousin, al-Malik az-Zâhir Ghâzi, lord of Aleppo,—for the date, see Ghâzi's life (*in vol. II. p.* 443),—the sovereign of ar-Rûm (*Asia Minor*), Izz ad-Dîn Kaikâûs, son of Ghîâth ad-Dîn Kaikhosrû and grandson of Kilij Arslân, resolved on making an expedition to Aleppo. The persons who held the command in that city sent a dispatch to al-Malik al-Ashraf, requesting him to come to them and protect the city. He accepted the invitation and, having gone to join them, he remained during three years at al-Yârûkiya (3), in the outskirts of Aleppo. There is no necessity for our entering into a detailed account of the events in which the sovereign of ar-Rûm, the prince al-Malik al-Ashraf and his cousin al-Malik al-Afdal, son of Salâh ad-Dîn and lord of Sumaisât, were all concerned (4). In the year 616 (A. D. 1219-10), when the Franks took Damietta, as we have related in the life of al-Malik al-Kâmil (*p.* 241 *of this vol.*), a number of the Syrian princes went to

Egypt for the purpose of giving their assistance to al-Malik al-Kâmil, but al-Malik al-Ashraf stood aloof, in consequence of a misunderstanding which existed between him and the sovereign of Egypt. Al-Malik al-Muazzam Isa, the prince of whom we have already given a notice (*vol. II. p.* 428), went then to see him and spared no effort till he succeeded in gaining him over and bringing him to Egypt. A few months after his arrival, the Moslims defeated the Franks, as we have already mentioned in the life of his brother al-Malik al-Kâmil, and recovered the city of Damietta. This victory was generally ascribed to the good fortune which always attended al-Ashraf. He had joined the Egyptians in the month of Muharram, 618 (February-March, A. D. 1221). His brother, al-Malik al-Muzaffar Shihâb ad-Dîn, whom he had left in Khalât as his lieutenant, revolted against him; on which, he led his army to that city and, on Monday, the 12th of the latter Jumâda, 621 (1st of July, A. D. 1224), he recovered it from the usurper. On the death of al-Malik al-Muazzam (*see vol. II. p.* 429), al-Malik an-Nâsir Salâh ad-Dîn Dâwûd assumed the supreme command at Damascus; but his uncle, al-Malik al-Kâmil, marched against him from Egypt, with the intention of taking that city. His (*other*) uncle, al-Malik al-Ashraf, who was then in the East (5) and whose assistance he had requested, joined him at Damascus, and, having gone, some time after, to have an interview with his brother, al-Malik al-Kâmil, it was agreed upon between them that Damascus should be taken from al-Malik an-Nâsir Dâwûd and given to al-Malik al-Ashraf; the former being allowed to retain al-Karak, as-Shaubek, Nablus, Bânyâs and the other places in that part of the country, whilst the latter was to give up to al-Malik al-Kâmil (*the cities of*) ar-Rohâ (*Edessa*), Harrân, Sarûj, ar-Rakka and Râs-Aîn. In consequence of this arrangement, al-Malik al-Ashraf obtained possession of Damascus towards the beginning of the month of Shabân (6), 626 (end of June A. D. 1229), and established in it his lieutenants. Al-Malik an-Nâsir Dâwûd departed on Friday, the 12th of Shabân and went to the provinces which had been left to him. Al-Malik al-Kâmil made his entry into Damascus on the 16th of that month and then returned to the place where he usually stationed, outside the city. On the 18th of Shabân, he entered into the citadel with his brother al-Malik al-Ashraf, and, towards the end of the month, he remitted the fortress to him according to agreement. He then set out for the purpose of inspecting the provinces in the East which had been ceded to him and of re-establishing order in these countries. I passed through Harrân at the time he was

there. Al-Ashraf proceeded to Damascus and fixed his residence there, in preference to all the other cities in his states. In the month of the latter Djumâda, 626 (May, A. D. 1229), Jalâl ad-Dîn Khûwârezm Shâh, who had encamped before Khalât and blockaded it closely, took it from the lieutenants of al-Malik al-Ashraf, who was then residing in Damascus, and had been prevented by reasons of a particular nature from going to deliver the place. Soon after, al-Ashraf entered into Balâd ar-Rûm (*Asia Minor*), with the consent of Alâ ad-Dîn Kaikobâd, brother of Izz ad-Dîn Kaikâûs and sultan of that country. The two sovereigns, having contracted a mutual alliance, decided on marching against Khûwârezm Shâh and giving him battle. The fact was that the lord of ar-Rûm entertained some fears for the safety of his states as long as he should have so dangerous a neighbour. A numerous army composed of Alâ ad-Dîn's troops and of those which al-Malik al-Ashraf had drawn from Syria and the East, advanced against the common enemy. On Saturday, the 18th of Ramadân, 627 (31st July, A. D. 1230), they encountered the army of Khûwârezm Shâh at a place called Beni Jumân (7) and situated between Khalât and Arzangân, and fought with him that famous battle in which they routed his army. Al-Mâlik al-Ashraf recovered Khalât, which had been completely ruined, and then returned to Syria, whence he proceeded to Egypt. After remaining there some time with his brother al-Kâmil, he marched with that sovereign and under his orders, against the city of Aamid, which they took after a short siege. This was in the year 629 (A. D. 1231-2). Al-Kâmil joined this place to the states he already possessed in the East and, having installed in it his son al-Malik as-Sâlih Najm ad-Dîn Aiyûb, the same of whom we have spoken in the life of al-Kâmil (*p.* 243 *of this vol.*), he placed in his service the eunuch Shams ad-Dîn Sawâb, who had been formerly a slave to al-Malik al-Aâdil. The two sovereigns then returned, each of them to his kingdom. Subsequently to these events and towards the end of the year 631 (Sept.-Oct. A. D. 1234), was fought the celebrated battle of ad-Derbendât (*the Passes*) (8) in the country of ar-Rûm, and (*the consequence was that*) al-Kâmil and al,Ashraf were obliged to retire with their allies and abandon their project. On their departure, the sovereign of ar-Rûm's army invaded, occupied, and devastated the provinces which al-Kâmil possessed in the East. Al-Kâmil then returned to that country with al-Ashraf and the princes who followed their fortune, and recovered it from the officers whom the lord of ar-Rûm had left there as his lieutenants. In the year 633 (A. D. 1235-6), al-Ashraf returned to Damascus. I was there at

the time and had opportunities of seeing him and al-Kâmil, for they rode out together every day and played at mall in the great Green Hippodrome. This was in the month of Ramadân, and their object was to pass away time on account of the (*irksomeness of the*) fast. I remarked that each of them shewed to the other great respect. A coolness then grew up between them, and al-Ashraf refused to acknowledge the authority of al-Kâmil any longer. His resolution being approved of by the other princes, he concerted with the lords of ar-Rûm, Aleppo, Hamât, Homs, and the eastern countries, and they decided to take up arms against al-Kâmil. The only one who remained faithful to al-Kâmil was his nephew Dâwûd, lord of al-Karak, who proceeded to Egypt and placed himself under the orders of his uncle. The other princes had concluded their alliance, sworn fidelity to each other, and decided on taking the field, when al-Ashraf was attacked by a violent illness which carried him off. He died at Damascus, on Thursday, the 4th of Muharram, 635 (27th August, A. D. 1237), and was buried in the citadel. His corpse was subsequently removed to the mausoleum which he had erected for himself at al-Kallâsa, close to the northern side of the great mosque of Damascus. He was born in the year 578 (A. D. 1182-3), at Cairo, in Egypt, or, by another account, at the castle of al-Karak. In the life of his brother, al-Malik al-Muazzam Isa (*vol. II. p.* 429), we have mentioned the dates which Sibt Ibn al-Jauzi assigned to the births of these princes.—Shihâb ad-Dîn Ghâzi, brother of al-Ashraf and lord of Maiyâfarikîn, died at that place in the month of Rajab, 645 (November, A. D. 1247).—Al-Ashraf, the principal events of whose life we have here related in a summary manner, was a generous sultan, noted for mildness, largeness of heart, and every noble quality. He was so profuse of his gifts that nothing was ever to be found in his treasury, though the kingdom he ruled over was very extensive. He was constantly in debt to merchants and other people. One day he reproached his secretary and poet, al-Kamâl (9) Abû 'l-Hasan Ali Ibn Muhammad, surnamed Ibn an-Nabîh and a native of Egypt, for having only a single pen (*calam*) in his inkhorn, on which al-Kamâl recited to him extempore the following *dûbait* (*distich*):

The noble king was right in saying: "Your pens, O Kamâl! are few in number." I answered: "The grants you make require such a quantity of writing that our pens get used, " must be mended and soon disappear."

As he was one day sitting in the room where he received his familiar society and



listening to an instrument of music, he was so much pleased with him who played on it that he said: "Ask from me what thou wilt." The other replied: "I wish to "obtain the government of Khalât." Al-Ashraf granted the request and the man set off in order to take the government of the city out of the hands ol the emir who held it, as lieutenant to the sultan. This officer, whose name was Husâm ad-Dîn Ali Ibn Hammâd, and who was generally known by the surname of al-Hâjib al-Mausili (*the chamberlain of Mosul*), made a compromise with the musician and paid him a large sum of money (*for his relinquishment*). Many anecdotes of a similar nature are related of al-Ashraf. He was favorably inclined towards men of virtue and piety, and held them in great esteem. He built at Damascus a school for traditions (*dar hadîth*) and confided the professorship to the *shaikh* Taki ad-Dîn Othmân Ibn as-Salâh, the same of whom we have already spoken (*vol. II. p.* 188). There was at a place called al-Akabiya and situated in the outskirts of Damascus a caravansary (*khân*) called the *Khân* of *Ibn az-Zanjâri*. Every sort of amusement was to be found in that establishment, and the unbounded lewdness and debauchery which prevailed there surpassed description. Al-Ashraf, being told that such doings should not be tolerated in a Moslim country, ordered the caravansary to be demolished and replaced by a mosque for the building of which he got indebted to a great amount. The people named it the *Mosque of Repentance* (*Jâmê 't-Tauba*), as if to say that the (*edifice*) had repented and turned to God. I feel inclined to relate here an amusing anecdote concerning the office of preacher (*such as it was filled*) in that mosque. An *imâm* called al-Jamâl as-Sibti (10) was attached to the college of *Sitt as-Shâm* (*vol. II. p.* 189), which is situated outside the city. I knew the man when he had grown old and good; for it is said that, in his youth, he played (*in public*) on a sort of instrument called a *Tcheghâna* (*castanets*). When he was advanced in age, he amended his life and frequented the society of the learned and the virtuous, so that he at length came to be looked on as a very holy man. A preacher being required for this mosque, a number of persons were named to al-Ashraf, and al-Jamâl, being well recommended, was chosen by him to occupy that post. When al-Jamâl died, his place was filled by al-Imâd al-Wâsiti who, though celebrated as a preacher, was suspected of drinking wine. The prince who then reigned at Damascus was (*al-Malik*) as-Sâlih Imâd ad-Dîn Ismaîl, son of al-Aâdil Ibn Aiyûb, and, to him the following verses were written by al-Jamâl Abd ar-Rahîm, surnamed Ibn Zuwaitîna ar-Rahabi :

Prince! the truth has been clearly explained to me and rendered evident by the mosque of Repentance, which has confided to me a mission. It spoke these words: "Say to al-Malik "as-Sâlih, whom God exalt! O pillar of the faith! O thou whose reign is praised by all! how "long must I remain enduring evil, annoyance, and contempt? I have a preacher from al-"Wâsit whose piety consists in the love of wine; his predecessor sung to the *Tcheghâna;* it is "as if I had never ceased to be a *khân*. Restore me to my former state and let the harm it "does continue."

This is a clever piece in its way. Ibn az-Zuwaitîna was sent to Egypt on a mission by the governor of Emessa, and he then repeated to me these verses and explained to me why he composed them. This occurred in one of the months of the year 647 (A. D. 1249-50).—The most distinguished poets of the age celebrated the praises of al-Ashraf and immortalised his glory by inserting these eulogies in their collected poetical works. Amongst them were: Sharaf ad-Dîn Muhammad Ibn Onain (*page* 176 *of this vol.*), al-Bahâ Asaad as-Sinjâri (*vol. I. p.* 196), Râjih al-Hilli, of whom mention has been made in the life of al-Malik az-Zâhir (*vol. II. p.* 443), Kamâl ad-Dîn Ibn an-Nabîh, who died in Nasîbîn of the East, A. H. 619 (A. D. 1222-3) (11), at the age of about sixty years, as I have been informed at Cairo by his son-in-law, and Muhaddab ad-Dîn Muhammad Ibn al-Hasan (12) Ibn Yumn Ibn Ali Ibn Ahmad Ibn Muhammad Ibn Othmân Ibn Abd al-Hamîd al-Ansâri, a celebrated poet, generally known by the surname of Ibn Azdahal (13) al-Mausili. He (*Azdahal*) was born at Mosul in the year 577 (A. D. 1181-2) and died at Maiya-fârikîn in the month of Ramadân, 628 (July, A. D. 1231).

(1) See, for these events, the annals of Abû 'l-Feda and of Ibn al-Athîr.

(2) The city of Nasîbîn, in Mesopotamia, was sometimes called *Nasîbîn of the East;* probably to distinguish it from a village of the same name which lay in the neighbourhood of Aleppo.

(3) The name of al-Yârûkiya was given to an extensive tract of ground in the neighbourhood of Aleppo, where Yârûk (see vol. IV, p. 1), a Turkoman chief, had fixed his residence.

(4) See Ibn al-Athîr and Abû 'l-Feda. I may here be allowed to observe that the latter name should be pronounced *Abû 'l-Fida.*

(5) The term *East* (*as-Shark*) is employed in this article to designate Mesopotamia.

(6) Two manuscripts read *Rajab,* the name of the month which precedes Shabân.

(7) The orthography of this name is doubtful: all the manuscripts differ, both those of Ibn Khallikân and those of Ibn al-Athîr. The name, without being pointed, seems to have been written باسى حمار, but, how this group is to be pronounced, I cannot say.

(8) These are the defiles through which travellers from Syria must pass before they enter into Asia Minor.



(9) I may observe here that titles such as *al-Kamâl, al-Imâd, al-Bahâ*, etc., are the equivalents of *Kamâl ad-Dîn, Imâd ad-Dîn, Bahâ ad-Dîn*, etc.

(10) Some of the manuscripts read *al-Basti* (البستى) in place of *as-Sibti* (السبتى). *Bast* is the name of a village in Adarbijân; *Sibti* means *native of Sibta*, or Ceuta, a town in north Africa, near the straits of Gibraltar.

(11) The poet Ibn an-Nabîh died in the year 621 (A. D. 1224).—(Suyûtî, in his *Husn al-Muhâdera.*)

(12) *Ibn Abi 'l-Husain*, according to two manuscripts.

(13) *Ardahal*, according to another reading.

MUSA IBN ABD AL-MALIK.

Abû Imrân Mûsa Ibn Abd al-Malik Ibn Hishâm al-Ispahâni, chief of the land-tax office (*diwân al-Kharâj*), was a *râîs* (1) and a *kâtib* (2) of superior merit. He was employed in the (*civil*) service under a number of khalifs and mounted gradually to a high rank in that department. During the reign of al-Mutawakkil he directed the office instituted for administrating the province of as-Sawâd (*Babylonia*) and held also other (*eminent posts*). As a writer of (*official*) dispatches he shewed great talent and became president of the board of correspondence. We have spoken of him in the life of Abû 'l-Ainâ (*p.* 59 *of this vol.*) and mentioned the conversation which passed between them relative to the affair of Najâh Ibn Salama. He composed some fine verses in the sentimental style. One of these pieces we give here :

> When we arrived at al-Kâdisiya, the muster-place of the caravan, and when I smelt (*a perfume*) from the land of Hijâz (*like*) the odour of the zephyr breathing from Irâk, I felt assured that I and those I loved would soon be joined again and be united, and I thought with joy on that meeting as I had wept (*in sorrow*) at our separation. All I have now to do is to support the seven (*days*) which remain (*for me to pass*) before we can hold a long discourse and relate what we have suffered.

Some persons, in repeating these verses, substitute *ath-Thâlabiya* for *al-Kâdisiya.* Both are halting-places in the province of Hijâz and on the road leading to Irâk. " *Ath-Thâlabiya* was so named after Thâlaba Ibn Dûdân Ibn Asad Ibn Khuzaima



"Ibn Mudrika Ibn al-Yas Ibn Modar Ibn Nizâr Ibn Maad Ibn Adnân." Such are the words of Ibn al-Kalbi (3) in his *Djamhara tan-Nisab*.—Respecting these verses an anecdote is related, so interesting that I cannot avoid giving it here. The *hâfiz* Abû Abd Allah al-Humaidi (*p. I. of this vol.*) has inserted it in his *Judwa tal-Muktabis*, and other historians of the western nations (*Africa and Spain*) have given it in their works. Here it is: Abû Ali al-Hasan Ibn al-Askari, a native of Egypt, relates as follows: "I was one of those whom the emir Tamîm, the son of Abû "Tamîm, admitted into his social parties and whom he treated with the utmost "familiarity." This Tamîm was the son of al-Moizz Ibn Bâdîs (*see page* 337 *of this vol.*) and the same of whom we have spoken under the letter T (*vol. I. p.* 281). "He sent me to Baghdad and I purchased for him a charming slave-girl, "an excellent songstress. When I returned to him, he invited his familiars to a "party, and I was one of the number. A curtain was then drawn (*so as to conceal* "*the girl*), and he told her to sing. She (*obeyed and*) sang as follows:

"When the wounds of love were healed, a lightning-flash glimmered feebly before his eyes; "it seemed like the fringe of a curtain extended before rugged summits and precipitous sides "(*of a mountain*). He went to see how it appeared, but could not; being prevented by his "jailor. (*The only flashes he perceived were from*) the fire (*of passion*) contained within his "bosom, and the only rain was that which fell from his eyes."

The author of the *Kitâb al-Aghâni* (*vol. II. p.* 249) attributes these verses to the *charîf* Abû Abd Allah Muhammad Ibn Sâlih al-Hasani.—"The girl sang them so well," said al-Askari, "that Tamîm and all the company gesticulated with admi-"ration. She then sang the words:

"You will be consoled for your loss in (*meeting*) a bounteous prince whose reign, from the "beginning to the end, shall be praised (*by all men*). God hath directed his steps and framed "his character (4) for deeds of generosity, (*and that*) from the time he was first arrayed in "(*infants'*) clothes.

"The emir Tamîm and all present here gave signs of the greatest delight. She "next sung these lines:

"To God's protection I confide a full moon (*a person with a handsome face*) whom I pos-"sess at Baghdad; it rises at al-Karkh (5) (*and appears*) in a sphere formed by the veils which "surround it."

This verse is taken from a long *kasîda* the author of which was Muhammad Ibn Zarîk (6), a *kâtib* of Baghdad.—The narrator continues: "The delight of the emir "Tamîm was now carried to the highest pitch and he said to her: 'Ask what you "'will.' She replied: 'I desire for the emir good health and (*God's*) protection.' "—'Nay,' said he, 'make a wish for yourself.'—'Emir!' said she, 'do you intend "'that my wish shall be fulfilled?'—'I do,' said he.—'Then,' replied the girl,' I "'wish to sing that air in Baghdad.' (*At these words*) Tamîm changed colour, the "expression of his face altered and the minds of all the company were troubled. "He stood up, so did we (*and the assembly separated*). One of his servants then "came to me and said: 'Go back! the emir is calling for you!' I returned and, "finding him sitting and waiting for me, I saluted and stood up before him. "'Woe betide you!' said he, 'do you see into what a difficulty we are brought?' "—'I do, emir!' said I.—'We cannot avoid keeping our promise,' said he, "'and, in this business, I can trust to no one but you. So, get ready to take her "'to Baghdad and, when she has sung there, bring her back.'—'Your orders are "'heard,' said I, 'and shall be obeyed.' I then went out, made my preparations "for departure and bade her to do the same. I assigned to her as a servant and "travelling companion (7) a young negress belonging to Tamîm. A female camel, "bearing a palanquin, was brought by the emir's orders. He made me get up "into the palanquin and placed the girl under my direction (8). We then "departed for Mekka with the caravan, and when we had accomplished the duty of "pilgrimage, we joined the Irâk caravan and set out with it. On arriving at al-"Kâdisiya, the negress came to me and said: 'My mistress told me to ask you "'where we are.' I replied: 'We are about to halt at al-Kâdisiya;' and she "returned to inform her mistress. Immediately after, I heard her raise her "voice and sing these verses. From all parts of the caravan issued a general "cry of: 'Repeat it again, for the love of God!' but she did not utter another "word. Some time after, we reached al-Yâsiriya, which station lies at about "five miles from Baghdad, in the midst of one continuous forest of gardens. "The travellers got down to pass the night in that place, with the intention "of entering into Baghdad the next morning. When daylight appeared, lo and "behold! the negress came to me quite dismayed. I asked her what was the "matter? and she answered that her mistress had disappeared. 'Woe betide "thee!' said I, 'where is she gone?' 'By Allah!' said the negress, 'I know not.'

"From that moment I was unable to discover the least trace of the fugitive (9).
"I then proceeded to Baghdad and, after doing some business which I had there, I
"returned to the emir Tamîm and informed him of what had happened (10). He
"was much shocked at the news; his sorrow was extreme and, in his profound
"affliction, he ceased not to speak of her and to lament her loss."—*Al-Kâdisiya* is a village situated higher up (*the country*) than Kûfa; near it was fought a celebrated battle, under the khalifat of Omar Ibn al-Khattâb.—*Al-Yâsiriya:* we have just mentioned where this place is and need not repeat our observations.—Ishâk Ibn Ibrâhîm, the brother of Zaid Ibn Ibrâhîm (11), related that when he was appointed to the government of as-Sîrawân, in the place of this Mûsa Ibn Abd al-Malik, Ibrâhîm Ibn al-Abbâs as-Sûli, the poet of whom we have spoken (*vol. I. p.* 22), passed through that town and went to see him. He was on his way to Khorâsân where (*the abbaside khalif*) al-Mâmûn was staying after having solemnly designated Ali Ibn Mûsa ar-Rida (*vol. II. p.* 212) as his successor in the khalifat. The history of this event is well known. Ibrâhim (*as-Sûli*) had just composed a poem in which he praised ar-Rida, extolled the merits of the posterity of Ali (*Muhammad's son-in-law*), and declared that Ali's descendants had a better right to the khalifat than any others. "I found the poem so fine", said Ishâk (*Ibn-Ibrâhîm*), "that I asked Ibrâhîm Ibn al-Abbâs (*as-Sûli*) to write me out a copy
"of it. He did so, and I made him a present of one thousand dirhems (12),
"mounted him on a (*mule*) and let him proceed to Khorâsân. Time passed on;
"al-Mutawakkil became khalif and Ibrâhîm (*as-Sûli*) was appointed to the place
"which had been filled by Mûsa Ibn Abd al-Malik. (*As-Sûli*), wishing to discover
"the means employed by Mûsa (*to acquire wealth in defrauding the state*),
"dismissed me from office and ordered an injunction to be served upon me (13).
"I appeared in order to repel the charges, and produced arguments not to
"be refuted, but he would not hearken to them; he did not even pay atten-
"tion to the opinions enounced by the *kâtibs*, although he had asked their
"advice. During all that time, he addressed me in the most insulting language.
"The *kâtibs* decided that, on one of the points in question, I should disculpate
"myself by oath; but I had no sooner sworn than he exclaimed: 'An oath
"'made to the sultan (*or to his officers*) must appear of no value to you who
"'are a Rafidite.' On this I said to him: 'Will you allow me to approach you?'
"Having received his permission, I went up to him and addressed him thus:

" 'Your endeavours to bring about the shedding of my blood are really intolerable!
" 'I cannot be sure of my life if you write to that man, al-Mutawakkil, what I
" 'have just heard you say. I can endure all except the imputation of Rafidism:
" 'the Rafidite is he who pretends that Ali, the son of Abû Tâlib, surpassed al-
" 'Abbâs in excellence, and that his posterity have a better right to the khalifat
" 'than the descendants of al-Abbâs.' On this, he said: 'Whom do you mean?'
" and I answered: 'You! I have the proof of what I say in your own handwriting.'
" I then spoke to him of the poem which he had composed on al-Mâmûn and in
" which he made mention of Ali Ibn Mûsa (*ar-Rida*); and, by Allah! as soon as I
" told him of it, he remained quite confounded (14). 'Bring me,' said he, 'the
" 'album in which I wrote.' 'By Allah!' said I, 'that I shall by no means do
" 'unless you give me the positive assurance that you will not prosecute me for
" 'any of my acts, that you will burn this injunction and not examine any of my
" 'accounts.' He swore to me by an oath such as I could count on, that he would
" do what I asked. So the list which he had drawn up (15) was burned, and I
" handed to him the album. He placed it in his writing-desk (16), the proceedings
" against me were quashed and I withdrew."—Numerous anecdotes are told of Mûsa, the subject of this notice, but I abstain from repeating them, in order to avoid prolixity. He died in the month of Shawwâl, 246 (December-January, A. D. 860-1).—*As-Sîrawân* is a dependency of *al-Masabadân* (with a point on the *dal*), which is a government in the province of al-Jabal. This town was the residence of al-Mahdi, the son of Abû Jaafar (*al-Mansûr*), and the father of Hârûn ar-Rashîd; there also he died. Marwân Ibn Abi Hafsa, the poet of whom we have already spoken (*page* 343 *of this vol.*) alludes to this circumstance in the following lines:

The noblest tomb after that of Muhammad, the prophet of the true direction, is a tomb at Masabadân. I wonder how the hands which, in the morning, filled it with earth, did not lose their fingers (*as a punishment*).

—*As-Sîrawân* is a name common to four places, one of which is that we speak of. The term *al-Jabal* (الجبل, *the mountain*), or *al-Jibâl* (الجبال, *the mountains*), serves to designate Persian Irâk, a country situated between Arabian Irâk and Khorâsân. Its principal cities are Ispahân, Hamadân, ar-Rai, and Zenjân.

(1) The title of *râis* was given to the directors of the government-offices.

(2) See vol. I. introduction, page XXXII, and page 26.

(3) The life of Hishâm Ibn al-Kalbi will be given in this work.

(4) Literally: Has inflected his sides and formed his person.

(5) Karkh is a suburb of Baghdad, from which it is separated by the Tigris.

(6) Various readings: رزيق, زرق.

(7) Literally: To be her counter-poise. The common mode of female travelling in the East is well known: two covered seats in wicker-work and more or less ornamented are tied together and suspended one on each side of a stout camel. The woman that sits in one counter-poises her that is in the other, and if there be only one woman, some baggage, or even a large stone, is put into the opposite seat to balance her.

(8) Literally: With me.

(9) She had no doubt given a rendezvous to her lover, before departing for the court of Tamîm.

(10) This does not seem probable. An Arab, in such a case, would never appear again before his master.

(11) I can discover no information respecting Zaid Ibn Ibrâhîm, though he appears to be indicated here as a well known person. His brother Ishâk Ibn Ibrâhîm Ibn Mosâb is, on the contrary, an historical personage: in the year 206 (A. D. 821-2) he was appointed governor of Baghdad; he was still holding that place in the year 217 (A. D. 832), when he marched against the partisans of Bâbek al-Khurremi and defeated them. He died in the year 235 (A. D. 849-50).—(*Nujûm. Oyûn at-Tawârikh.*)

(12) About twenty-five or thirty pounds sterling.

(13) This sort of document is here called a *muwâmera* (موامرة). It seems to have been a summons to pay certain sums therein specified.

(14) Literally: He fell upon his hand. This is equivalent to the French expression: Les bras lui tombèrent.

(15) The expression here made use of is العمل المعمول. The word عمل, in the language of the administration, designated a list or inventory. Ibn Khaldûn has employed it in this sense and Abû 'l-Faraj Codâmâ also.

(16) The Arabic word signifies literally a small box.

IBN AL-JAWALIKI.

Abû Mansûr Mauhûb Ibn Abi Tâhir Ahmad Ibn Muhammad Ibn al-Khidr al-Jawâlîki, a great literary scholar, a learned philologist, and a master of all the branches of literature, was one of the honours of Baghdad, his native place. He learned philology from the *khatîb* Abû Zakariya at-Tibrîzi, whose life shall be given in the letter Y, having studied under him with great assiduity till he became highly

proficient in that science. He was pious, veracious, gifted with eminent talents and a clear intellect; his handwriting was beautiful and his orthography remarkably correct. A number of instructive works were composed by him and got into wide circulation; such, for instance, as the Commentary on the *Adab al-Kâtib* (*see vol. II. p.* 22), the *Muarrab* (*or Arabicised*) (1) which is the most extensive work ever composed on the subject, and the supplement to the *Durratal-Ghauwâs* of al-Harîri, the author of the *Makamât* (*vol. II. p.* 492). To this treatise he gave the title of *at-Takmila fi ma yalhano fîhi 'l-aamma* (*the Completion, treating of the incorrect expressions made use of by the vulgar*). In resolving grammatical difficulties, he gave the preference to certain rules of a very singular character. He was better skilled in philology than in grammar. Pieces in his handwriting were much sought after, and people vied in outbidding each other to obtain them. He served as an *imâm* (*chaplain*) to the *imâm* (*khalif*) al-Muktafi Billah, and directed the five daily prayers at which that prince attended. He composed for him a short treatise on prosody. We shall here relate a scene which he had, in the presence of al-Muktafi, with Hibat Allah Ibn Sâêd, surnamed Ibn at-Talmîd, a Christian physician whose life shall be given in this work. The first time he appeared before the khalif, for the purpose of directing the prayer, he said nothing more to him, on entering, than these words: "To the Commander of the faithful salutation and the mercy of " God!" On this, Ibn at-Talmîd, who was then standing before the khalif and who, from his long services and his intimacy with the prince, was entitled to act very familiarly, said to him (*Ibn al-Jawâlîki*): "Shaikh! that is not the proper " manner of saluting the Commander of the faithful." The other did not seem to mind him, but turned towards the khalif and said: "The salutation I made is " founded on the *sunna* (*or sacred traditions*) relative to the Prophet;" he then repeated to him a tradition concerning the form of saluting which ought to be employed and finished by saying: "Commander of the faithful! if any one swears " that no sort of science can enter as it should do (2), into the heart of a " Christian or a Jew, he will not be obliged to make an expiation for the sin " of perjury; God himself having put a seal upon their hearts (3), and such a seal " cannot be broken but by faith." The khalif answered: "You say true and you " have done rightly." Ibn at-Talmîd, with all his talent and his copious erudition in philology (*remained silent*), as if a stone had been forced into his month (4). Ibn al-Jawâlîki obtained (*traditional*) information from the lips of all the principal

shaikhs of the age, and acquired thus a vast fund of knowledge which (*in his turn*), he communicated to others. A few pieces of verse have been attributed to him, and the following, which I met with in a compilation (*of poems*), is given as his, but that is a point which I have not been able to verify:

> All mankind went to quench their thirst at the sweet waters of thy liberality, but I remained behind the crowd, as a thirsty bird hovers around a source and hesitates (*to alight*). I waited till one of the drinkers should forget to go down to the watering-place, but the number of those who arrived increased more and more.

I since found these two verses in a collection of pieces which goes under the name of Ibn-al-Khashshâb (*see vol. II. p.* 66).—Abû Muhammad Ismaîl, who was the cleverest of his sons, related as follows: "I was in the Mosque of the Castle (*Jâmê* " *'l-Casr*), after the prayer, and (*sitting*) in the circle of (*students who surrounded*) " my father and who were reading (*philological works*) under his direction, when a " young boy stood up before him and said: 'Sir! two verses have been recited to " 'me and, as I do not understand them, I come to recite them to you, in order " 'that you may explain to me their meaning.' My father told him to repeat " them, and the other spoke as follows:

> " When the beloved arrived, (*I felt as if*) I was dwelling in the garden of Paradise; her " absence was (*for me*) the fire of Hell, and scorched me with its flames. The sun is in Sagit-" tarius and going down when she visits me not; he is in the Twins when she comes to me.

" My father, on hearing these two verses, said to the boy: 'That, my son! is a " 'matter belonging to astronomy and the determination of the planetary move-" 'ments; it does not appertain to the art cultivated by literary men.' The lad " went away without obtaining the information he sought for, and my father felt " quite abashed at being unable to answer a (*scientific*) question when it was pro-" posed to him. He stood up and made internally a vow that he would never hold " his class again till he had looked into astronomy and become acquainted with the " movements of the sun and the moon. He then turned his mind to that subject " and, when he understood it, he resumed his lessons (5)." The idea contained in the verse was this: When the sun is in the last (*degree*) of Sagittarius, the nights have attained their greatest length, for the autumn has then come to its end, and when he is in the last (*degree*) of the Twins, the nights are shortened to their utmost

point, and this takes place when the season of spring is just over. Therefore, the poet meant to say: When the beloved did not visit me, the night seemed to me very long, and when she came to see me, the night was very short. God knows best (*if this explanation be right*)!—The following verses were composed by a contemporary poet on Ibn al-Jawâlîki and al-Maghribi, the commentator of the *Manâmât* (6). In the *Kharîda* (*page* 302 *of this vol.*), they are attributed to Hais Bais (*vol. I. p.* 559) and, in the abridgment of that work, to our *hâfiz :*

> I can pass over all the faults of my native place except two grievous ones which cannot be pardoned. First, al-Jawâliki is there and gives lectures on literature; then, al-Maghribi is there and explains dreams. The one is embarrassed (7) by an impediment in his speech and fatigues (*us*) with his detestable pronounciation (8); the other, though wide-awake, is inattentive and explains (*dreams*) as if he were asleep.

Numerous anecdotes are told of Ibn al-Jawâlîki. He was born in the year 466 (A. D. 1073-4); he died at Baghdad on Sunday, the 15th of Muharram, 529 (5th Nov. A. D. 1134) and was interred outside the (*city-gate called*) Bab Harb. The funeral service was said over him previously in the Mosque of the Castle, by az-Zainabi (*vol. I. p.* 661), the cadi in chief.—*Jawâlîki* signifies *a maker and seller of sacks* (*juâlik*). Relative adjectives of this form are exceptions to the general rule, being derived from the plural of the noun and not from the singular. Those exceptions, when once heard, are easily remembered. Such is the adjective *Ansâri*, applied to a man who was one of the *Ansars* (9). The form *jawâlîk*, employed as the plural of *juwâlik*, is also an exception to rules, because the long *î* in the plural has nothing to represent it in the singular. This word, in the singular, is *juâlik*, with an *u*, and, in the plural, *jawâlîk*, with an *a*, which is in conformity with the general rule. Thus *hulâhil* (حلاحل), *grave, dignified*, has for plural *halâhil*; *odâmil* (عدامل), *ancient*, in speaking of renown, takes *adâmil* in the plural; *orâir* (عراعر), *chief*, takes *arâir; olâkid* (علاكد), *strong*, in speaking of a man, has *alâkid*. Many similar examples might be given. *Juwâlîk* is an arabicised word of foreign origin; (*that is evident*) because the letters *j* (ج) and *k* (ق) are never to be found together in the same arabic word.

(1) This work treated, probably, of some foreign words introduced into Arabic.

(2) The expression على الوجه seems to be the equivalent of على الوجه اللايق or على الوجه المرضى.

(3) Koran, sûrat 2, verse 6.

(4) Literally: As if he had bridled (*or bitted*) with a stone.

(5) Literally: He sat; that is: He held his sittings.

(6) The *Manâmât* was a work in which Ali al-Kûshi as-Shâdili related the edifying dreams of certain devout sûfis. Who al-Maghribi was cannot be determined with certainty.

(7) Literally: Is a prisoner of.

(8) I read يمل فصاحة with two manuscripts.

(9) See vol. I. page 137.

AL-MUWAIYAD AT-TUSI

The Traditionist Abû 'l-Hasan al-Muwaiyad Ibn Muhammad Ibn Ali at-Tûsi, surnamed Rida 'd-Dîn (*of approved religion*) belonged to family which inhabited Tûs but, having fixed his residence in Naisâpûr, he was considered as as native of that city. No person in modern times possessed traditions of which the *isnads* (*vol. I. p.* XXII) mounted up so high as his. He met with a number of eminent doctors and received from them (*traditional information*). He heard the *Sahîh* of Muslim (*p.* 348 *of this vol.*) taught by the jurisconsult Abû Abd Allah Muhammad Ibn al-Fadl al-Furâwi (*see page* 8 *of this vol.*), and was the last surviving pupil of that master; the *Sahîh* of al-Bukhâri (*vol. II. p.* 594) he heard taught by Abû Bakr Wajîh Ibn Tâhir Ibn Muhammad as-Shahhâmi and by Abû 'l-Fatûh Abd al-Wahhâb Ibn Shâh Ibn Ahmad as-Shâdyâkhi (1); he heard also the text of the *Muwatta* (*vol. II. p.* 549) such as had been taught orally by Abû Musâb (2), with the exception of certain passages (3); the professor who read it to him was Abû Muhammad Hibat Allah Ibn Sahl Ibn Omar al-Bastâmi, generally known by the surname of as-Suddi. The commentary on the noble Koran, composed by Abû Ishâk ath-Thalabi (*vol. I. p.* 60) he heard taught by Abû 'l-Abbâs Muhammad Ibn Muhammad at-Tûsi, generally known by the surname of Abbâsa (4). He received lessons also from a number of the doctors who taught at Naisâpûr, and, amongst others, the jurisconsult Abû Muhammad Abd al-Jabbâr Ibn Muhammad al-Khuwâri. Some (*traditional*) information was also obtained by him from Omm al-Khair Fâtima, the daughter of Abû

'l-Hasan Ali Ibn Muzaffar Ibn Zâbal (5). He taught a great quantity of traditions, and students came to him from all quarters. I possess an *ijâza* (*see vol. I. p.* 252) which he wrote (*and sent to me*) from Khorâsân, at the request of my father, who is now deceased. (*It was drawn up*) in the month of the latter Jumâda, 610 (Oct.-Nov. A. D. 1213). I give a notice of this doctor merely on account of his great reputation and because, in his latter days, he had none to equal him (*in learning*). His birth took place in the year 524 (A. D. 1130); he died at Naisâpûr on the eve of the twentieth day of Shawwâl, 617 (17th Dec. A. D. 1120), and was interred the next morning.—The preceding article, in its present form, had been drawn up for some years, when I met with an *ijâza* written by the *shaikh* al-Muwaiyad himself, in which he thus traces up his genealogy: "Written by al-Muwaiyad, the son of " Muhammad, the son of Ali, the son of al-Hasan, the son of Muhammad, the son " of Sâlih, the native of Tûs."

(1) In the first volume, page 551, this name is transcribed incorrectly.

(2) Abû Musâb Ahmad Ibn Abi Bakr al-Kâsim az-Zuhri (az-Zuhairi?), an eminent jurisconsult of the Malikite sect and *kâdi* of Medina, died in the month of Ramadân, A. H. 242 (January, A. D. 857).

(3) Literally: To the exclusion of what was excepted in it. The precise meaning of this expression I am unable to determine.

(4) In all the manuscripts, this name is written عباسه.

(5) The orthography of this name is fixed by the *Kâmûs*.

AL-MUWAIYAD AL-ULUSI.

Abû Saîd al-Muwaiyad Ibn Muhammad Ibn Ali Ibn Muhammad al-Ulûsi was one of the great poets of his time. He composed a quantity of amatory and satirical pieces, eulogised in his verses a number of persons who held high offices in Irâk and left a *diwân* (*or collection*) of poems. Entirely devoted to the vizir Aûn ad-Dîn Yahya Ibn Hubaira (1), he extolled his merits in some very fine eulogiums.

[Muhibb ad-Dîn Ibn an-Najjâr (*vol. I. p.* 11) gives the following account of him in the History of Baghdad : "This poet, whose name was Attâf, the son of Muhammad, " the son of Ali, the son of Saîd, was generally known by appellation of *al-* " *Muwaiyad* (*fortified by divine grace*). He was born at Ulûs, a village in the " neighbourhood of al-Hadîtha (*vol. II. p.* 35), was brought up at Dujail and then " went to Baghdad and filled the duties of a *tchâush* (2) under the reign of the " *imâm* (*khalif*) al-Mustarshid Billah. He was satirized by the poet Abû 'l-Fadl (3); " but afterwards began to make verses himself and composed so great a quantity of " them that he became generally known as a poet. Eulogium and satire he much " indulged in, after taking refuge in the service of the sultan Masûd Ibn Muhammad " Ibn Malik Shâh,"—of whom mention has been already made (*p.* 355 *of this vol.*) —" Having spoken too much and in a very improper manner of the *imâm* al- " Muktafi and the companions of that khalif, he was arrested and put in prison."]

The *Kâtib* Imâd ad-Dîn al-Ispahâni (*p.* 300 *of this vol.*) says of him, in the *Kharîda:* " His importance was exalted, his situation opulent, his poetry in high request and " obtaining great success. He acquired properties and estates, enjoyed abundant " wealth and lived in the best manner. But then his good fortune stumbled under " him and made a fall such as could be recovered from with difficulty. He re- " mained in the prison of the *imâm* al-Muktafi upwards of ten years and did not get " out of it till the year 555 (A. D. 1160), on the accession of the imâm al-Mus- " tanjid to the khalifat. I met with him at that time and observed that his sight " had been dimmed by the darkness of the dungeon in which they detained him. " He usually were the military dress. He (*then*) travelled to Mosul. He is the " author of some good poetry in the amatory style, offering charming turns of " thought and admirable specimens of versification. He often hit on the rarest " of those ideas which are most original. He says, for instance, in describing the " pen (*kalam*) :

> " A (*reed*) well-straightened can enrich and can destroy, in case it makes a promise and " in case of threats. A *kalam* suffices to diminish a numerous army, even before the swords " are drawn from the scabbards. It received from the thicket in which it grew the beneficent " quality that place communicated to its streamlets and the dreadfulness it gave to its lions."

I may here observe that I found these verses ascribed to another author, and God knows best by whom they were composed. Never was a finer idea uttered

on such a subject as the pen. The thought expressed in the third (*and last*) verse is borrowed from the following description of a *tanbûr* (4):

> That *tanbûr*, handsome in shape, imitates, by its clear notes, (*the song of*) the nightingale. When it sounds, it utters loud tones, such as it had learned (*from the birds*) when it waved in the form of a branch. Thus it is that he who frequents the learned in his youth becomes, when he grows up, a well-informed doctor.

This is now a very trite idea, having been often employed by poets. It is thus that one of them has said:

> She came with a lute (5) which imitated and aided her (*voice*); see what strange things happen to a tree! For a time, birds of various sorts sing and coo upon its branches; then, when it is dried up, human beings sing to it. For it, time has never ceased to be noisy (6): birds and strings, two classes of irrational beings, have always kept it in excitation.

The same idea is thus expressed by another poet:

> The lute has enjoyed two kinds of desirable pleasure; blessings be on the man who cut it from the tree and on him by whom it was planted! Whilst it was green and flourishing, turtle-doves cooed upon it and, when dry, a female musician sang to it.

Did I not fear being led away from my subject and falling into prolixity, I should give here many other detached passages in which the same idea is expressed. Bahâ ad-Dîn Zuhair, a person of whom we have already spoken (*vol. I. p.* 542), said, in a *kasîda* containing an eulogy on Aksîs, the son of al-Malik al-Kâmil (*see page* 240 *of this vol.*):

> The boards of the pulpit thrilled with pleasure at his name; they perhaps recollected the time when they were (*living*) branches.

Let us now give the rest of the article drawn up by Imâd ad-Dîn: " His son " Muhammad was (*remarkably*) intelligent and composed some good poetry. In " the year 564 (A. D. 1168-9), he fled (*for protection*) to al-Malik al-Aâdil Nûr " ad-Dîn Mahmûd (*see page* 338 *of this vol.*), sovereign of Syria, who was then at " Sarkhad (7); but he fell sick there and, being sent off to Damascus by that sultan, " he died on the way, at a village called Raschîda."—End of the extract.—We give here a specimen of al-Muwaiyad's poetry:

> O, how the zephyr breathing from Hâjir (8) was cool to that bosom (*of mine*) in which the

ardent heats (*of love*) were not to be extinguished! O, how beautiful the image (*of my beloved, seen by me in a dream*)! by the brightness of its face it betrayed the presence of my own image (*in that dream*) and then concealed me with its coal-black hair. Its double belt encircled (*a waist like*) a pliant branch, which had been watered by showers, so that its tender (*wood*) was verdant and waved (*with pleasure*). When morning lanced the dart of separation against our union and left no sign of our interview, except a recollection which I shall retain for ever, I stopped at Huzwa (9), where the marks of the (*beloved's presence, though still existing*), had nearly disappeared, whilst every sign of my body's existence (*in this world*) was completely effaced. There I remained fixed (*as firmly*) as my fingers are fixed to my right hand, but my stopping was not like that of a miser who has lost his ring in the sand. Her disdain (*wore me away and*) did not leave the slightest trace of my body, not even so much ruins as might be swept away (قسى) by the torrent of my tears. She (*made me weep till I lost my sight and*) did not leave me a single eye to see with; yet the person who destroys a thing is bound to replace it. O, how I longed to see her caravan and its weary camels whilst they groaned during their nocturnal march (*and followed each other closely*), like my tears. The crescent of the night was then held forth in the hand of the Pleiades (*and permitted me to see her*); so, I embraced her till her necklaces burst asunder and fell to the ground.

This passage is taken from a long *kasîda* in which the author displayed great talent and imitated both in rhyme and measure a poem composed by al-Mutanabbi for Saif ad-Dawlat Ibn Hamdân and commencing thus:

(*The non-fulfilment of*) your promise, my two friends! (*afflicts me*) as much as (*the aspect of*) this (*abandoned*) abode, no part of which is more painful (*to contemplate*) than its ruins; (*you*) both (*promised to*) second me (*in weeping*), and the readiest cure (*for the pains of the heart*) are tears shed in abundance.

In the *kasîda* above-mentioned, al-Ulûsi has inserted hemistiches taken from the poems of al-Mutanabbi, and employed them in the manner (*designated by the technical term*) *tadmîn* (10). The greater part of his poetry is good. His birth took place at Ulûs, in the year 494 (A. D. 1100-1); he passed there his early youth and died at Mosul on Thursday, the 24th of Ramadân, 557 (6th Sept. A. D. 1162). Among the numerous verses composed by him in prison, we may notice the following:

My tears were parched up by the burning (*ardor which consumed my heart*), when my friends departed, and I marvelled to find myself left here alone. But you know that wood, placed on the fire, lets its sap fall in drops, (*weeping through sorrow*) for having been separated from its leaves. I pass my nights in prison, and the pleasure I feel in thinking on you (*my friends!*) is equal to the joy which liberty could give me. Let the fortune which afflicts me not be shocked at the blackness of my hair; the flames which torment my heart only serve to consolidate their colour (11).

He left Baghdad in the year 456 (A. D. 1064).—The mention I made of the date



on which al-Mustanjid was raised to the throne reminds me of a curious fact which I cannot abstain from mentioning: an eminent *shaikh* of Irâk informed me that al-Mustanjid had a dream, whilst his father al-Muktafi was still alive, and in it he saw a figure like an angel come down from heaven and write upon his sleeve the letter *kha* four times. When he awoke, he sent for an interpreter of dreams, related to him what he had seen and obtained this answer: "You will be raised "to the khalifat in the year 555" (12), and that was really the case. He had this dream a good while before his father's death.—"*Ulûsi* means *belonging to Ulûs* "which is a place situated on the Euphrates, in the neighbourhood of the Hadîtha "of Aâna." Such is the observation made by Izz ad-Dîn Ibn al-Athîr (*vol. II. p.* 288), in correcting the mistakes of the *hâfiz* Ibn as-Samâni (*vol. II. p.* 156). The latter had said that Ulûs was a place on the sea-coast of Syria, near Tarsûs. Al-Ulûsi, having gone to Baghdad in his youth and fixed his residence there, might be considered as native of that city. Ibn an-Najjâr says that we should pronounce *Alûs* with a long A (*instead of Ulûs.*)

(1) The life of Ibn Hubaira will be found in this work.

(2) A door-keeper, a sergeant of police.

(3) Perhaps Abû 'l-Fadl Ahmad Ibn al-Khâzin (see vol. I. page 131).

(4) The *tanbûr* is a sort of lute.

(5) The *lute* is named *al-aûd* in Arabic, and the same word signifies also *a piece of wood*. This double signification is often played upon by poets.

(6) I read مصطخبا.

(7) Sarkhad was a strong castle in the province of Haurân.

(8) This place was situated in *Najd*, the Arabian Arcadia.

(9) Huzwa also was situated in Najd.

(10) By the word *tadmîn* is designated the introduction of a verse or a hemistich of one poet into a piece composed by another. The passage thus quoted undergoes a change of signification which is effected by the words that precede or follow it.

(11) The translator thinks he has here indicated clearly the idea which the poet meant to express. The hemistich, rendered literally, signifies: "Burning makes solid the work of the burner (*al-harrâki*)."

(12) The four *khas* are the initials of the words *khilâfa, khams, khamsîn, khamsmia,* which signify: *khalifat, five, fifty, five-hundred.*

AL-MUHALLAB IBN ABI SUFRA.

Abû Saîd al-Muhallab was the son of Abû Sufra Zâlim Ibn Sarrâk Ibn Subh Ibn Kindi Ibn Amr Ibn Adi Ibn Wâil Ibn al-Hârith Ibn al-Atîk Ibn al-Azd—or al-Asd—Ibn Imrân Ibn Amr Muzaikiya Ibn Aâmir Mâ as-Samâ Ibn Hâritha Ibn Amr al-Kais Ibn Thâlaba Ibn Mâzin Ibn al-Azd. His surnames al-Azdi, al-Ataki, al-Basri indicate that he descended from al-Atîk, member of the tribe of al-Azd, and that he was a native of Basra. His father received the surname of Abû Sufra (*the father of Sufra*) because he had a daughter called Sufra. " His family," says al-Wâkidi (*p.* 61 *of this vol.*), " inhabited Dabâ (1). They embraced Islamism in the life-" time of God's apostle (*Muhammad*), but relapsed after his death and refused to pay " the legal alms. (*The khalif*) Abû Bakr as-Siddîk sent against them Ikrima Ibn " Abi Jahl al-Makhzûmi. This (*general*) attacked them, put them to rout and slew " a great number. The remainder shut themselves up in a castle which belonged " to them and were there blockaded by the Musulmans. They at length surren-" dered to Hudaifa Ibn al Yamân and submitted their fate to his decision. He put " to death one hundred members of their noblest families, reduced their children " into captivity and sent them to Abû Bakr. Among them was Abû Sufra, who was " then a mere boy and had not attained the age of puberty. Abû Bakr granted them " their liberty and told them to go wherever they pleased; on which they dispersed " (*in various directions*) and Abû Sufra was one of those who settled at Basra."—Ibn Kutaiba notices this account in his *Kitâb al-Maârif* and says (2): " That story " is false and al-Wâkidi was mistaken when he related it: Abû Sufra was not " one of those (*captives*) and was never seen by Abû Bakr. It was Omar Ibn al-" Khattâb whom he went to see, and he was then an elderly man, with a grey head " and a grey beard; and Omar told him to dye them, which he did. How then " could he have been a boy when Abû Bakr was reigning? moreover, al-Muhallab, " the youngest of his sons, was born two years before the Prophet's death, and some " of the other sons were born more that thirty years before that event."—Al-Muhallab was the bravest of men: he defended (*the city of*) Basra against the Khârijites and had many famous encounters with them in al-Ahwâz. Abû 'l-Abbâs

al-Mubarrad (*p. 31 of this vol.*) has given an account of most of them in his ***Kâmil***, and, if his narration had not been so long and the events so unconnected, I should have given an extract from it here (3). The defense of Basra by al-Muhallab procured for that city the name of *the Basra of al-Muhallab*. This chief was distinguished for his noble caracter and his generosity. The following anecdote is told of him: He once went to Mekka for the purpose of conversing with Abd Allah Ibn az-Zubair who was then ruling over Hijâz, Irâk and the neighbouring countries under the title of khalif. Abd Allah took him apart in order to consult with him and (*some time after*,) came in Abd Allah Ibn Safwân, the grandson of Omaiya Ibn Khalaf Ibn Wahb and a member of the Koraishide family called the Jumah. On entering he exclaimed: "Commander of the faithful! who is this "man that has been taking up your time all day?"—"Do you not know him?" said Abd Allah.—"No," replied the other.—"Well!" said Abd Allah, "he is "the lord of the people of Irâk."—"Can it be al-Muhallab Ibn Abi Sufra?"— "It is he." Al-Muhallab then said: "Commander of the faithful! who is this "man?"—"The lord of the Koraish," said Ibn az-Zubair.—"Can it be Abd Allah "Ibn Safwân?"—"Just so." Ibn Kutaiba says, in his *Kitâb al-Maârif*, that no reproach was ever made against al-Muhallab except for lying, and that it was he whom people designated by the words: *Rah yekdeb* (*he set out for the purpose of lying*). Ibn Kutaiba then adds these words: "As for me, I shall say that, of all "men, al-Muhallab was he who feared God the most, and that he was too noble, "too generous to tell lies; but he was (*always*) engaged in war and the Prophet has "said: 'War consists in (*stratagems and*) deceit.' He used to address the Khari- "jites in (*equivocal*) terms, saying one thing and meaning another, so as to keep "them in dread, and that was why they called him the liar and said that he went "about telling falsehoods. When the Prophet intended to engage in a war, he "concealed his real project by giving out another."—Al-Mubarrad explains, in his *Kâmil*, some verses in which al-Muhallab was accused of lying and what he writes is to his effect: "The poet employed the word *liar*, because al-Muhallab was versed "in the law and acquainted with the tradition according to which the Prophet "said: ***Every lie shall be written down as a lie*** (by the recording angels), ***with the "exception of three; a lie told in order to reconcile two men, a lying promise made "by a man to his wife, and a lie in which a man, when engaged in war, makes a "promise or a threat.***" Al-Muhallab sometimes forged traditions for the purpose

of strengthening the Moslim cause and weakening that of the Kharijites. There was an Azdite tribe called the Nadab, and the people of it used to say, when they saw al-Muhallab coming to them: *Al-Muhallab has set out for the purpose of lying.* It was of him that one of them said:

> You would be a man perfect in every way, did you only speak the truth.

Al-Mubarrad says, towards the end of his *Kâmil,* in that chapter wherein he relates the war with the Kharijites and gives an account of what passed between al-Muhallab and the Azarekites (4): "In old times stirrups were made of wood and were liable to " break when the rider knocked them (*against any thing*); and, in that case, if he " tried to strike an adversary with the sword or with the spear, he had nothing to " bear upon or to support him. Al-Muhallab therefore gave orders that they should " be made of iron, and he was the first who caused iron stirrups to be forged."— The anecdotes told of al-Muhallab are very numerous. He passed through many vicissitudes of fortune. The last post he held was the government of Khorâsân, which province he administered in the name of al-Hajjâj Ibn Yûsuf ath-Thakefi (*vol. I. p.* 356) who, at that time, ruled over the two Irâks and had moreover received from Abd al-Malik Ibn Marwân the governments of Khorâsân and Sijistân. Khorâsân he gave to al-Muhallab and Sijistân to Obaid Allah Ibn Abi Bakra (5). Al-Muhallab went to Khorâsân and took possession of his government in the seventy-ninth year of the Hejira (A. D. 698-9). He had then lost one of his eyes, in consequence of a wound he received at Samarkand when Saîd, the son of (*the khalif*) Othmân Ibn Affân, effected the conquest of that city. This happened under the khalifat of Moawîa, the son of Abû Sofyân. Al-Muhallab had accompanied Saîd in that expedition. Another person who then lost his eye was Talha Ibn Abd Allah Ibn Khalaf al-Khozâi, surnamed *the Talha of Talhas* (*Talhat at-Talhât*) and renowned for his noble caracter and his generosity. It was in allusion to this accident that al-Muhallab said:

> Though I lost my eye, I have preserved my life, and that, thanks be to God! will contribute to make me forget my mishap. When the cause of God is to be defended, our cavalry must endure fatigue; and when missiles are thrown about, some eyes must be blinded.

According to another account, his eye was knocked out of its socket at the siege of Tâlakân. Al-Muhallab held the government of Khorâsân till the day of his death.



When his last hour drew near, he chose for successor his son Yazîd, whose life we shall give later, and, in his dying injunctions, he told him how he should act and indicated the measures he should employ. He said to him, amongst other things: "My son! choose your *hâjib* (*chamberlain, prime-minister*) for his prudence, and "your *kâtib* (*secretary*) for the elegance of his style; a man's *hâjib* is his face and a man's *kâtib* his tongue." He died in the month of Zû 'l-Hijja, A. H. 83 (Dec.-Jan. A. D. 702-3), at Zâghûl, a village situated in the district of Marw ar-Rûd, and in the province of Khorâsân. At-Tabari (*vol. II. page* 597) states, in his History, that al-Muhallab died in the year 72; God knows if he be right. We shall dicuss this point more fully in the life of his son Yazîd, and, to that article we refer the reader. The fine sayings and elegant allusions which are attributed to him indicate the nobleness of his sentiments and show his desire to obtain an honorable reputation and merit praise. One of these sayings was: "Life is better than death, "and good renown is better than life. Were I to obtain a gift (*which God*) never "yet granted to any man, I should wish to become an ear, so that I might hear "what people said of me, the day after my death." These words, according to another account, were uttered by his son Yazîd; God knows best! Al-Muhallab used to say to his sons: "My dear boys! the fairest raiment you can have is that "which other people (*received from you and*) wear." The poet Abû Tammâm at-Tâi (*vol. I. p.* 348) alludes to this saying in a letter written to a person from whom he wished to obtain the gift of a cloak and in which he said:

> Thou art he who can well understand what al-Muhallab meant when he gave recommendations about raiment.

A great number of elegies were composed on the death of al-Muhallab. In one of these pieces, the poet Nahâr Ibn Tausîa (6) said:

> Alas! that glory is departed which placed wealth within our reach. Generosity and beneficence have disappeared since we lost al-Muhallab. These two (*virtues*) resided constantly at Marw ar-Rûd, but now they are not to be found either in the East or in the West.

Al-Muhallab left a great number of sons, all of them generous, noble-minded, beneficent and illustrious. Ibn Kutaiba says, in his *Kitâb al-Maârif:* "It is stated "that three hundred sons came upon earth from the loins of al-Muhallab." We have already mentioned (*vol. I. p.* 529) two of his (*great-*) grand-sons, Rûh (*Rauh*) and



Yazîd, the sons of Hâtim Ibn Kabîsa Ibn al-Muhallab, and we shall give the life of Yazîd under the letter Y. One of his most distinguished sons, Abû Fawâris al-Mughîra, was generally entrusted by him with the command of the troops sent against the Kharijites and had with them several famous engagements, accounts of which are contained in books of history. In these expeditions he displayed great bravery, intelligence and resolution. He accompanied his father to Khorâsân, acted as his lieutenant at Marw as-Shâhjân and there he died in the year 82 (A. D. 701-2), whilst his father was yet alive. An elegy was composed on his death by Abû Amâma Zîâd al-Aajam, otherwise called Ziâd Ibn Sulaimân (7). This popular poem, which rhimes in *h* and begins thus, is attributed by some to the celebrated poet Ibn Jâbir, a member of the tribe of Abd Kais:

Say to the caravans and to the warriors setting out for battle, (*say to*) those who depart in the morning and those who, in the evening, hasten to arrive: Generosity and manliness are now shut up in a tomb at Marw, near the high road. On passing by, sacrifice (*to its inmate*) a camel of noble race and many a rapid steed. Sprinkle the blood on the sides of his tomb, for he was a shedder of blood and a slayer of victims. After the hour of noon, draw near unto his tomb and the flag of commandement (*which waves over it*) and invite (*those who pass by*,) as hunters do when roasting venison (8). In pursuing (*the foe*) and in returning (*from battle*) he was a father to his troops, but now, he lies (*engaged as*) a pledge, in a grave among the tombs. On the day his bier was borne away, I saw that noble acts were disappearing with the superiority of his merits and praise-worthy deeds. All the land was shaken by his fall, so that our very hearts remained not unscathed. (*They suffer even*) now, for he was the noblest man that ever walked (*on earth*); he smiled at the arrows shot (*against him*) by the bowmen. In him every noble quality arrived at perfection, and to that he lent his aid by many a virtuous act. It is grief enough for us to see the dwelling in which he is now lodged, never to quit it till the end of time. The pulpits are empty in which he presided at the prayer; his saddles have been removed from (*the backs of*) all his spirited mares and high-mettled steeds. Let it be known that, when any man's death is to be lamented, no lamentations could equal al-Mughîra's merit. Our horses and our lances weep for al-Mughîra, and the female mourners bewail him with cries and lamentations. Al-Mughîra is dead, after having so often affronted swords and spears. When affairs were embroiled for (*the rest of*) men and led to struggles and conflicts (9), he alone, that skilful (*chief*), unravelled the cord (10) by his superior intelligence. I see the destitute weeping for al-Mughîra the beneficent, whose hands bestowed so freely. For them he was a verdant meadow, when they went forth to seek the pasture-ground of beneficence, when the flashes of every lightning-cloud (*but his*) had ceased to gleam. Al-Muhallab, aided by al-Mughîra, was like him who lowered buckets into a well which was thought to be nearly dry, and having found there water in plenty, filled up the cistern with the aid of camels and machines (11). If he halted in the midst of a desert, the place where his thirsty camels stationed would overflow, that day, with running water. Warfare will never have an abler man than al-Muhallab : he makes it produce its effects (12) by means of chosen horses, thin in the flanks, rapid in crossing plains and deserts. In the hour of grief, his cavalry rallies around him, and the sides of the horses are white with

copious sweat. To this mighty prince, bearer of a diadem, his friends look up with joy, whilst the eyes of the envious are cast down before him. True standard-bearer of war! when he marches against the foe, good omens are for him and bad ones (*for his enemies*).

This is one of the finest and most brilliant *kasîdas* ever composed. It contains upwards of fifty verses and, were I not apprehensive of lengthening this article too much, I should insert the whole of it. Abû Ali 'l-Kâli (*vol. I. p.* 210) speaks of it in the work which he designed as a supplement to his *Amâli* and examines some of the verses: "This poem," says he, "has been attributed to as-Salatân al-"Abdi (13), the famous poet, but, in reality, it was composed by Zîâd al-Aajam." The second verse of it is often quoted in grammatical works, to prove that feminine nouns may be considered as masculine when they do not designate beings possessing female sexual organs (14). This verse, having been cited so often, is the best known of those which form the poem. The idea expressed in the third and fourth verses was borrowed by another poet and rendered in these terms:

Bear me, both of you, to the side of his tomb and sacrifice me there, if you have no other victim. Sprinkle my blood upon his grave; for know this well, that I owe all my blood (*my life*) to his beneficence.

These two verses were composed by the *sharîf* Abû Muhammad al-Hasan Ibn Muhammad Ibn Ali Ibn Abi 'd-Daû, a descendant of al-Husain, the son of Ali, and the rector (*nakîb*) of the funeral chapel which is situated near that gate of Baghdad which is called *Bâb at-Tîn*. They form part of a *kasîda* in which he lamented the death of the *nakîb* at-Tâhir, the father of Obaid Allah. Such is the statement made by al-Imâd al-Kâtib (*p.* 300 *of this vol.*), in his *Kharîda*. He mentions also that the *sharîf* Abû Muhammad died at Baghdad in the year 537 (A. D. 1142-3). After reading this passage in the *Kharîda*, I found the same verses in the *Mojam as-Shuarâ* (*Dictionary of poets*), a work drawn up by al-Marzubâni (*p.* 67 *of this vol.*) for Ahmad Ibn Muhammad al-Khaithâmi, surnamed Abû Abd Allah, or, by other accounts, Abû 'l-Abbâs, or Abû 'l-Hasan. The author had a leaning towards the Shîite doctrines and wrote satires against al-Bohtori (15).—Al-Mughîra, the son of al-Muhallab, tore a brocade cloak which Zîâd al-Aajam was wearing, and this circumstance induced the latter to compose the following verse:

I declare that, in tearing the brocade, you have torn to pieces the renown of al-Muhallab.

When al-Muhallab heard of this, he tried to propitiate the poet and succeeded in pacifying him.—Abû 'l-Husain Ali Ibn Ahmad as-Salâmi relates, in his History of the governors of Khorâsân, that a person who heard this *kasîda* recited by Zîâd al-Aajam, before al-Muhallab had got any knowledge of it, went to that emir and, having repeated it to him, obtained from him a gift of one hundred thousand pieces of silver. Zîâd al-Aajam came afterwards and recited to him the same poem, on which al-Muhallab said: "I have already heard it from another person."—"That "person," said the poet, "(*did not compose it, he*) only heard me recite it." Al-Muhallab gave him also one hundred thousand pieces of silver.—This emir left a numerous family in Khorâsân, and his posterity were designated by the name of *al-Mahâliba* (*the Muhallabs*). Al-Akhnas at-Tâi, a poet cited in the *Hamâsa*, speaks of them in a poem composed by him in honour of al-Muhallab. Here are his words:

> In a year of scarcity, as I was far from my native country, I stopped to pass the winter with the family of al-Muhallab. Their benevolence, their kind enquiries, and their generosity towards me were unceasing; so it seemed to me as if they were members of my own family.

The vizir Abû Muhammad al-Muhallabi, of whom we have already spoken (*vol. I. p.* 410), was descended from al-Muhallab. At the commencement of this article, some names are mentioned which require to be explained and the orthography of which we must indicate. *Muzaikiyâ*, with a long final *a*, was the surname of the Amr whose name occurs (*in the genealogy*). He was a Yemenite king and received this appellation because he put on, every day, two robes of cloth interwoven with gold, and tore them to pieces when he took them off, in the evening (16). He did so because he disdained to put them on again and was unwilling that any other person should wear them. It was he who emigrated from Yemen to Syria for a motive which it would take us too long to explain (17). The *Ansars*, that is, the tribes of al-Aûs and al-Khazraj, were his descendants. Abû Omar Ibn Abd al-Barr (18), the author of the *Kitâb al-Istîâb*, says, in the little book to which he gave the title of *al-Kasd wa 'l-Amam*, and which treats of Arabian and Persian genealogies: "The Kurds are descended from Amr Muzaikiyâ. They settled in the country of "the Persians and there propagated their race. Their offspring was very numerous "and received the name of *Kurds*." A certain poet mentions this (*tradition*) in the following verse and he expresses the same opinion as Ibn Abd al-Barr:

I assure you that the Kurds are not the children of the Persians; their ancestor was Kurd, the son of Amr, the son of Aâmir.

Aâmir, the father of Amr (*Muzaikiyâ*) obtained the surname of *Mâ as-Samâ* (*the water of heaven*) on account of his beneficence and the great services which he rendered. For this reason, he was compared to rain. Al-Mundir al-Lakhmi, one of the kings of al-Hîra, was the son of a Mâ as-Samâ. His father's name was Amr al-Kais, the son of Amr, the son of Adi; his mother, Mâ as-Samâ, was the daughter of Aûf, the son of Josham, the son of an-Namir, the son of Kâsit. She was called *Mâ as-Samâ* on account of her beauty and loveliness.—*Daba*, with a short final *a*, is the name of a place situated between Omân and al-Bahrain. A band of Azdites, having settled there, was called the *Azd* (of) *Daba*. After the dispersion of the Azdites in the manner we have related at the commencement of this article (19), each of their fractions received an additional name, in order to distinguish it from the others. So, people spoke of the Azd of Daba, the Azd of Shanûa, the Azd of Omân and the Azd of as-Sarât, though they were all sprung from the same stock. Let no one suppose that the differences indicated by these additional names implied a difference of origin. The poet surnamed an-Najâshi, and whose names were Kais Ibn Amr Ibn Mâlik Ibn Hazn Ibn al-Harith Ibn Kaab Ibn al-Harith al-Hârithi, has said:

I was like a man one of whose legs was sound whilst the other was suffering from an accident of fortune. The sound leg was (*the tribe of*) Azd Shanûa, and the lame one, (*the tribe of*) Azd Omân.

When al-Muhallab routed the troops of Katari Ibn al-Fujâa (*vol. II. p.* 522), he sent for Mâlik Ibn Bashîr and said to him: "I am going to sent you on a mission "to al-Hajjâj; so, set off, for he is a man like yourself (*in turn of mind*)." He then sent a present after him, but it was returned with this answer: "Presents "should not be given till they are deserved." Mâlik pursued his journey and entered into al-Hajjâj's presence. "What is your name?" said al-Hajjâj. The other answered: "Mâlik Ibn Bashîr (20)." *Al-Hajjâj:* "Possessor and good news! "how did you leave al-Muhallab?" *Mâlik:* "He has obtained what he hoped for "and is safe from what he feared." *Al-Hajjâj:* "How is he for his troops?" *Mâlik:* "Like a kind father." *Al-Hajjâj:* "And how are they pleased with "him?" *Mâlik:* "He has loaded them with kindness and sated them with jus-

"tice." *Al-Hajjâj:* "How do you behave when you meet the enemy?" *Mâlik:* "We attack with all our might, hoping to prevail over them, and they do the "same with us." *Al-Hajjâj:* "What is Katari Ibn al-Fujâa doing?" *Mâlik:* "He employs against us the same stratagems as we do against him." *Al-Hajjâj:* "What prevented you from pursuing him?" *Mâlik:* "We thought it better to "take a position in his rear than to pursue him." *Al-Hajjâj:* "Speak to me of "al-Muhallab's sons." *Mâlik:* "They stay, as shepherds, in the pasture ground "(*nabât?*), till nothing more is to be feared there, and they protect their flock till "they bring it back." *Al-Hajjâj:* "Which of them is the worthiest?" *Mâlik:* "Let their father be asked." *Al-Hajjâj:* "I insist on your answering." *Mâlik:* "They are like a solid ring the two ends of which cannot be distinguished." *Al-Hajjâj:* "Tell me, I adjure you! did you ever take lessons in that style of speaking?" *Mâlik:* "God makes no one acquainted with his secrets." Al-Hajjâj then said to those who were sitting with him: "By Allah! that is the style of pure nature and "has nothing artificial."—I may here observe that these paragraphs ought to have been placed at the beginning of the article; but I gave them as they came to my mind.

(1) See our author's observations towards the end of the article.

(2) This passage is not to be found in Mr. Wüstenfeld's edition of the *Kitâb al-Maârif.*

(3) A very satisfactory account of the war with the Kharijites (*dissenters or non-conformists*) is given by M. Dozy in his *Histoire des Musulmans d'Espagne,* tome I, page 155.

(4) See Dozy's *Histoire des Musulmans d'Espagne,* tome I, page 149.

(5) Abû Hâtim Obaid Allah Ibn Abi Bakra, a member of the tribe of Thakîf, the same to which al-Hajjâj belonged, was appointed governor of Sijistân, A. H. 50 (A. D. 670), and removed from office three years afterwards. He was again nominated to that post by al-Hajjâj in the year 78 (A. D. 697-8). He died A. H. 80 (A. D. 699-700), whilst he was on an expedition into the enemy's country; provisions failed; the greater part of his troops died of hunger, and he expired in that disastrous campaign. He had acted for some time as a *kâdi* at Basra, and was the person who introduced the custom of chanting the Koran.—(*Nujûm, Maârif.*)

(6) See vol. II. page 515. According to the baron de Hammer, Nahâr Ibn Tausla died A. H. 103 (A. D. 721-2).—(*Literaturgeschichte der Araber,* vol. II. page 500.)

(7) See vol. I. page 631, and replace *Sulaim,* the incorrect reading of Soyûti's *Shawâhid,* by *Sulaimân,* which is that of our MSS. and of the *Kitâb al-Aghâni.*

(8) The true reading of the last words in this verse is doubtful.

(9) Literally: And were struggled for by him who wished to open and him who wished to shut.

(10) Literally: The cord was twirled by a twister.

(11) The text and the meaning of these two verses is uncertain.

(12) Literally: He milked its fore-teats.

(13) According to Ibn Duraid, in his *Kitâb al-Ishtikâk*, this poet, whose name is written الصَّلَتان, composed satires on Jarîr (see vol. I. page 294). De Hammer states that he attacked the poet al-Farazdak also and that his names were Kassâm Ibn Khabiya.—(*Literaturgeschichte*, vol. II. page 341.)

(14) The verb ضمّنا is the masculine of the duel; to make it agree with the words *generosity* and *manliness*, which, in Arabic, are of the feminine gender, it should be written ضمّنتا.

(15) The life of the poet al-Bohtori will be found in this volume.

(16) The verb *mazak*, whence the name of Muzaikiyâ is derived, signifies *to tear in pieces*.

(17) For the history of Muzaikiyâ see M. Caussin de Perceval's *Essai*, etc., tome I, page 83 *et seq*.

(18) His life will be found in the fourth volume.

(19) This is an oversight of the author: he probably spoke of the dispersion of the Azdites in the rough copy of his work and suppressed that account afterwards, but forgot to strike out the present passage.

(20) These names signify, in Arabic, *possessor, son of the bearer of good news*.

MIHYAR AD-DAILAMI.

Abû 'l-Hasan Mihyâr Ibn Mirzawaih, a native of Dailam and secretary for the Persian language, gained high reputation as a poet. He had been a fire-worshipper but afterwards adopted the Moslim faith. It is said that he made his profession of Islamism to the *sharîf* ar-Rida, Abû 'l-Hasan Muhammad al-Mûsawi (1), who was his professor and under whom he made his poetical studies. He had already composed a number of *kasîdas* on the same model and rhythm as those of his master. My professor (*Izz ad-Dîn*) Ibn al-Athîr al-Jazari (*see vol. II. p.* 288) states, in his Annals, that Mihyâr's conversion to the true faith took place in the year 394 (A. D. 1003-4), and that al-Kâsim Ibn Burhân said to him: "Mihyâr! "by becoming a musulman you have (*merely*) passed from one corner of hell to "another."—"How so?" said Mihyâr. Al-Kâsim replied: "Because you were "formerly a fire-worshipper and now you revile the companions of our blessed "Prophet in your verses (2)." As a poet he surpassed all his contemporaries by the copiousness of his style. The collection of his poetical works is so ample that it fills four volumes. In his poetry he displayed great delicacy of thought and a

remarkable loftiness of mind. The *hâfiz* Abû Bakr al-Khatîb (*vol. I. p.* 75) speaks of him in his *History of Baghdad* and commends him highly: "I used to "see him," says he, "go regularly, every Friday, to the great mosque called *Jâmê* "*'l-Mansûr*,"—this was in Baghdad,—"and there students read his collected "poetical works under his direction; but I had no opportunity of hearing his les- "sons."—Abû 'l-Hasan al-Bâkharzi (*vol. II. page* 323) mentions him in the *Dumya-tal-Kasr* and speaks of him in these terms: "As a poet he well fulfilled "the sacred rites which excellence requires; from beneath each of his words was "displayed a maiden (*thought*),— and there was not in any of his *kasîdas* a single "verse on which critics, in pronouncing judgement, might say: *If it been so and* "*so! O, that it had been so and so!* The human heart was the mould in which "his verses were cast, and time, harmful as it is, was incapable of harming them." He then gives some pieces composed by him and some verses extracted from his *kasîdas*. Abû 'l-Hasan Ali Ibn Bassâm (3) speaks of him with high commendation in the *Dakhîra* or *Treasure*, (*a work*) treating of the noble qualities by which the people of the (*Spanish*) peninsula were distinguished; he gives also some specimens of his poetry and metrical compositions. One of Mihyâr's best-known *kasîdas* is that which begins thus:

May a persisting rain-cloud, whose waters bear the sand even into people's dwellings, refresh and reanimate with its contents the abode which my mistress occupied at Rakmatain (4). How can I renew my intercourse with Omm Mâlik, now that the places in which we reside are separated by (*the country of*) Zarûd (5) and its two mountains? My heart, though far from her, sees her with the eye of desire and is happy; but who will enable my eyes to see her in reality? How pure, good God! and yet how troubled is our mutual love! how far is she from me every morning and yet how near (6)! When my eyes are saddened (*by her absence*), I am consoled by images and likenesses (*seen in my dreams and*) which augment the love I bear her. I embrace each pliant branch, as if it was her waist, and I sip from the mouth of the wine-cup, as if it was her lips. (*I cannot forget*) the day in which that charming gazelle appeared to me; she was standing on a sand-hill and looked dismayed, like a doe which had lost its fawn in the desert, and was alarmed to the heart's core through dread of being bereaved (*for ever. In that state,*) its eyes acquire more beauty and the inflections of its neck more grace. The resemblance was so great that my sight, O Omm Mâlik, doubted not of your being that gazelle. If you were not like her in the cheeks and in the forehead, you resembled her in (*the graceful turn of*) your neck; nay more! its eyes were yours. O women! you who condemn the fondness shown for the abode of a person dearly beloved, (*for a spot which is so*) difficult to reach by the random efforts even of our wishes, leave the lover to (*his attachment for the land of*) Najd, the sole occupation of his heart. Were even Najd a valley, that heart would never go beyond it. Suppose you hinder him from seeing the beloved with his eyes, can you

hinder his heart from longing to possess her? O for the night I passed at Zât el-Athel (*the tamarisk grove*), when her image came (*to visit me in a dream*) and rendered that night so short! O, how dear that remembrance! O how dear! Fear (*of discovery*,) treading in the foot-steps of love, approached (7) me in all its terrors; may God not diminish the length of their road! They had nearly gone astray, in the darkness of the night, but they were directed (*towards us*) by the brilliant lustre of the beloved's teeth.

A well-known pieces of his is the following :

The heavy rain-cloud, driven forward by the south wind, appeared in the morning and watered thee copiously, abode of Umâma; and my heart remained at the sand-hill, in the reserved grounds of the tribe. Turn, (*my friend!*) towards those grounds and say to my heart: "Fare-" well!" Then pursue your journey and relate a wondrous tale; say that a heart went away and left the body standing up. Say to neighbours who dwell at al-Ghada: "How sweet would " be the life one leads at al-Ghada, were it to endure! A year has passed without the lover's " having forgotten you; yet a lover's passion ceases, once he has passed a year. Loaden the " zephyr with the sweet perfumes you exhale, before it receives its load from the *shîh* and the " *thumâma* (8), and send your images to visit me in my dreams, if you mean to permit my eye-" lids to taste of sleep."

These verses are taken from a long *kasîda* which contains many fine passages; but I shall confine myself to this extract for the sake of brevity. One of his pieces remarkable for the delicacy of its ideas is the *kasîda* in which are found the following verses :

I passed a sleepless night; does she who enjoys repose at Sala (9) possess a heart capable of pitying those who sleep not? I implore you, by our mutual affection, you whom I love as my son! for you are dearer to me than the son of my father (10); shed tears through affliction; for my eyes, when I ask them to pour forth (*istabraztuha*) tears, refuse to obey. Though weeping be difficult for one who is unscathed (*by sorrow*), yet I have never asked you to do what was not difficult.

The same poet is the author of this fine passage on contentedness :

You blame the miser who is sparing of his wealth; why not be more parsimonious than he by sparing your self-respect? Disgrace not your hand by asking; life itself is of too little value to be asked for. I wrap myself up in the skirts of my contentedness, and pass the night thus covered and envelopped. Notwithstanding my poverty, I appear before my enemies in such attire as denotes a man of wealth and thus make them think that I am rich. When a man passes his nights in sighing, and all his hopes prove vain, let him count only on himself.

One of his *kasîdas* contains an original thought which is thus expressed :

When your foes see you, their souls fly from them with affright. One would think their



souls were aware of your presence sooner than their eyes. When you meet a hostile squadron and wish to disperse it, you have only to declare aloud your name and surname.

The *diwân* (*or collected works*) of this poet is so well known that we need not lengthen our article by the insertion of other fine passages. There is, however, in one of his *kasîdas*, a verse which pleases me so much that I shall give it here :

The travellers who have just set out, and from whom you are now separated, have left behind them hearts which shall ever refuse to admit of consolation for their loss.

Mihyâr died on Sunday, the 5th of the latter Jumâda, 428 (26th March, A.D. 1037), in the same year as the celebrated physician, the *râis* Ibn Sîna (*Avicena, see vol. I. p.* 444). I read, however, in a book of annals, that his death took place in the year 426; but the first date is the true one. Al-Bâkharzi speaks of his son, Abû 'l-Hasan, in the *Dumya tal-Kasr*, and states him to be the author of the *kasîda* which rhymes in *h* (ح) and in which is found this verse :

O zephyr which breathest from Kâzima ! (11) seldom didst thou excite weeping or affliction.

But this poem, which is of considerable length, is well known to have been composed by Mihyâr himself. I know not what made al-Bâkharzi fall into this mistake. —مهيار and مرزويه must be pronounced *Mihyâr* and *Marzawaih*. They are both persian names and their signification is unknown to me.

(1) The life of Muhammad ar-Rida is given in this volume, page 118.

(2) Mihyâr had probably embraced the Shîite doctrine with the intention of pleasing his patron, who was descended from Ali.

(3) See vol. II. page 304, and the *Journal Asiatique* for Feb.-March, 1861.

(4) *Ar-Rakmatain* was the name of a place situated on the border of a glen in the Arabian desert, on the road leading to Basra.—(*Marâsid.*) In the text of this verse we must read ملث يحيل.

(5) *Zarûd* is the name of a place on the road leading to Mekka.—(*Marâsid.*)

(6) The poet says she was near him because he saw her in his dreams.

(7) Read تخطت.—The text of this piece is corrupt and the translation often conjectural.

(8) The *shih* is the plant called by botanists *artemisia odoratissima* or *absinthium*. The *thumâma* (*panicum*) is a sort of grass. Both those plants are common in the dry soils of Arabia and north Africa.

(9) *Sala* was the name of a place near Medîna.—(*Marâsid.*)

(10) *The son of my father*, that is: *myself*.

(11) *Kâzima*, a well-known place on the road leading from Basra to Mekka.

NAFÊ, *THE MAWLA* OF IBN OMAR.

Abû Abd Allah Nâfê (1), the *mawla* (*or freedman*) of Ibn Omar (*vol. I. p.* 567), was a native of Dailam. He (*was taken prisoner and*) came into the possession of Ibn Omar in one of the latter's campaigns. As a *Tâbî* he held the first rank, and, as a traditionist, he had for teachers his patron (*Ibn Omar*), and Abû Saîd al-Khudri (*vol. II. p.* 208). Traditions were delivered on his authority (*by his disciples*) az-Zuhri (*see page* 3 *of this vol.*), Aiyûb as-Sakhtiâni (*vol. II. p.* 588) and Mâlik Ibn Anas (*vol. II. p.* 545). He had a high reputation as an exact traditionist and ranked among those trustworthy narrators whose accounts were eagerly listened to, carefully collected and taken as rules of conduct. The greater part of the Traditions delivered by Ibn Omar repose on the authority of Nâfê's statements. Mâlik said: "When I heard Nâfê deliver a Tradition on the authority of Ibn Omar, I had not the "least wish of hearing the same Tradition from any one else." A saying current among the learned in the science of Traditions is: *A relation made by as-Shâfi on the authority of Mâlik, and by him on the authority of Nâfê, and by him on the authority of Ibn Omar,* (such a series) *is really the golden chain;* so exalted is the merit of each of these narrators. The *shaïkh* Abû Ishak as-Shîrâzi (*vol. I. p.* 9) relates the following anecdote in that chapter of his *Muhaddab* which treats of marriage feats and scrambling for sweetmeats; he gives it in the words of Nâfê himself: "I was walking with Abd Allah Ibn Omar, and he heard the sound "of a shepherd's pipe. On this, he stopped his ears with his fingers and went off "the high-road. Every now and then, he would say to me: 'Do you hear it still, "'Nâfê?' and when I at length answered that I did not, he removed his fingers "from his ears and returned to the high-road. He then said to me: 'It was thus "'I saw the Prophet act (*on a similar occasion*)." This tradition presents a difficulty which gave rise to a discussion among the doctors of the law; it is this: "Why did Ibn Omar stop his ears so as not to hear the sound of the pipe and yet, "instead of ordering his client Nâfê to do the same, he authorised him to listen, "in as much as he asked him, every moment, if the sound had ceased or not?" The solution given of this difficulty was that Nâfê, being at that time a mere boy,

and not responsable (*for a breach of the law*), it was not necessary to forbid him to listen. This answer gave rise to another question, namely: "It is perfectly certain "that a declaration made by a boy is not receivable (*in law*); why then did Ibn "Omar put his trust in Nâfê's declaration touching the cessation of the sound?" This Tradition, as handed down to us, serves to strengthen the argument of those who assert that traditional information delivered by a boy is receivable. This matter formed the subject of a famous controversy, an account of which would be misplaced here. Numerous anecdotes are told concerning Nâfê. He died in the year 117 (A. D. 735-6); or, according to some, in the year 120.

(1) His father's name is not well ascertained; it was either *Hormuz* or *Kâûs*.—(An-Nawâwi, in his *Tahdîb*.)

NAFÊ, *THE KORAN-READER*.

Abû Ruwaim Nâfê, the son of Abd ar-Rahmân Ibn Abi Nuaim and a *mawla* of Jawana Ibn Shaûb as-Shijâi, was a native of Medina and one of the seven principal *Koran-readers*. He was the *imâm* (1) of the people of Medina; they conformed to his manner of reading and adopted the readings he preferred. He belonged to the third class (*or generation*) after the Companions (*of Muhammad*) and filled the office of *muhtasib* (*vol. I. p.* 375). His humour was facetious (2) and his complexion dark, extremely dark. Ibn Abi Uwais stated as follows: "Mâlik (*vol. II. p.* 545) "told me that he read (*the Koran*) under Nâfê's tuition." Al-Asmâi (*vol. II. p.* 123) relates that Nâfê said to him: "I drew my origin from (*a family of*) Ispahân." It is thus that al-Asmâi's statement is reproduced by Abû Noaim (*vol. I. p.* 74) in the *History of Ispahân*. He (*Nâfê*) had read (*the Koran*) under the direction of Abû Maimûna, a *mawla* of Omm Salama, one of the Prophet's wives. He had two pupils who transmitted to posterity his method of Koran-reading; one of them was Warsh (*see page* 434 *of this vol.*) and the other Kumbul (*vol. II. p.* 21). We have already

mentioned them both under the letter *aïn* (3). Nâfê died at Medîna in the year 169 (A. D. 785-6). This event has been placed under the year 159 and other dates, but the first mentioned is the true one. There are doubts about his surname whether it was Abû 'l-Hasan, or Abû Abd Allah, or Abd ar-Rahmân, or Abû Noaim — The word جعونة (*jawana*) served originally to designate a little, short man; it was afterwards employed as a proper name for men, whether they were short or not. The Jawana here spoken of was a confederate ally of Hamza, the son of Abd al-Muttalib, or, by another account, of al-Abbâs, the son of Abd al-Muttalib. A third statement represents him as a confederate of the Hâshimide family. — The word شعوب (*shaûb*) was employed primitively to express the idea of death. — شجعى (*Shijâi*) signifies *belonging to the tribe of Shijâ*, which is a branch of the Banû Aâmir Ibn Laith. As-Samâni (*vol. II. p.* 156) has neglected mentioning this patronymic (*in his* Ansâb).

(1) The word *imâm* designates the person who presides at the public prayer; but, in the present case, it appears to signify *oracle, a person whose opinions were of the highest authority*. See the *Annals* of Abû 'l-Feda, vol. II, page 58.

(2) The true reading is فيه دعابة; see Abû 'l-Feda's *Annals*, vol. II, p. 58, and *Tabakât al-Korrâ*, MS. of the *Bibliothèque impériale*, ancien fonds, No. 642, fol. 25 *verso*. We read there وكان صاحب دعابة وطيب اخلاق "He (Nâfê) was full of gaiety and good humour."

(3) The author is here mistaken: the article to which he alludes (vol. II. page 21) contains a short passage on Kunbul, but does not make any mention of Warsh.

AL-MUTARRIZI, *THE PHILOLOGER*.

Abû 'l-Fath Nâsir Ibn Abi 'l-Makârim Abd as-Saiyid Ibn Ali al-Mutarrizi was a native of Khowârezm, a legist of the sect (*or school*) of Abû Hanîfa (*see page* 555 *of this vol.*), a grammarian and a philologer. He possessed a perfect knowledge of grammar, philology, poetry and all the branches of literature. He studied in his native town under his father and Abû 'l-Muwaiyad al-Muwaffak Ibn Ahmad Ibn Muhammad al-Makki (, *a native of Mekka and*) the (*ablest*) preacher in Khowârezm.

He had, besides, other preceptors. Traditions were taught to him by a number of masters, one of whom was Abu Abd Allah Muhammad Ibn Ali Ibn Abi Saad at-Tâjir (*the merchant*). He gained a perfect acquaintance with that science, became a head-man among the Motazelites (1) and preached openly the doctrines of that sect. In the secondary points of Moslim law, he followed the system of Abû Hanîfa. He expressed his thoughts with elegance and displayed great talent as a jurisconsult. We owe to him a number of instructive works such as the *Commentary on the Stations* (Makâmât) of *al-Harîri*, a treatise which, notwithstanding its concision, affords all the information that can be desired. In his *Kitâb al-Mughrib* (*the furnisher of curious information*) he treats of the strange and uncommon terms employed in the language of the jurisconsults. This work is for the Hanefites what the work of al-Azhari (*see page* 48 *of this vol.*) is for the Shafites. In it the author shewed that he was not unequal to his task, having assembled there every information that could be wished for. His *Môrib* (*exact indicator*) was intended as a commentary on the *Mughrib;* it is a large work, but rarely to be found. He drew up also a philological treatise entitled the *Iktinâ* (*sufficiency*), and made an abridgment of the same work. His other productions were an abridgment of the *Islâh al-Mantik* (2), the *Misbâh* (*flambeau*) treating of grammar, the well-known *Mukaddima* (*introduction*) to the study of grammar, *etc*. Students derived great profit from his oral instruction and from his works. In the year 601 (A. D. 1204-5) he entered Baghdad, as a Mekka pilgrim and, as he held the opinions of the Motazelites, he had frequent controversies with the doctors of that city. He gave there lessons in philology and acquired a great reputation, extended fame and wide renown. He composed some poetry, such as the following verses, in which assonances are introduced with great art (3) :

> (*He is*) a fire-box of beneficence, the abundant sparks of which never fail, and a laurel of the hills possessing noble qualities which are never blighted. Precious is the pearl of his glory, copious the flow of his gifts.

In another piece he says:

> I should blush to acquire fame were I only to be considered as a frequenter of damsels and an amateur of songs.

He said also :

> Fortune was blind to my just rights, and that was really as bad as if az-Zarkâ simulated



blindness (4). If you refuse to acknowledge my merit, its voice is sufficiently loud to advertise those who have ears to hear.

He composed a great deal of poetry and in it he made frequent use of assonances. His birth took place in Khowârezm, in the month of Rajab, 538 (Jan.-Feb. A. D. 1144); so he was really, as has been remarked, the successor of az-Zamakhshari, who died in that year and in the same place (*see page* 327 *of this vol.*). Al-Mutarrizi died on Tuesday, the 21st of the first Jumâda, 610 (8th Oct. A. D. 1213), in Khowârezm. More than three hundred elegies, some in Arabic and some in Persian, were composed on his death.—*Mutarrizi* means a person who embroiders stuffs and ornaments them with stripes. I do not know whether this surname was given to him because he himself was an embroiderer or because one of his ancestors had practised that art.—His professor, al-Muwaffak Ibn Ahmad, the preacher above-mentioned, died in Khowârezm on the 11th of Safar, 568 (2nd October A. D. 1172).

(1) The Motazelites endeavoured to conciliate faith with reason, religion with philosophy.

(2) The *Islâh al-Mantik* (*corrector of discourse*) is a philological work composed by Ibn as-Sikkit, a celebrated grammarian whose life will be found among the *Yâkubs*.

(3) Those assonances disappear, of course, in the translation.

(4) This must refer to Zarka al-Yemâma (*the blue-eyed maid of al-Yemâma*), who was celebrated for her piercing sight and of whom many fables are related. See the *Essai, etc.*, of M. Caussin de Perceval, tom. I, p. 100.

AL-AZIZ AL-OBAIDI.

Abû 'l-Mansûr Nizâr al-Obaidi (*the Fâtimide*), entitled al-Azîz billah (*august by the grace of God*), was the son of al-Moizz, son of al-Mansûr, son of al-Kaîm, son of al-Mahdi, and sovereign of Egypt and Maghrib. We have already spoken of his father (*p.* 377 *of this vol.*), his ancestors, his son and his grandchildren. He was

publicly declared successor to the throne on Thursday, the 4th of the latter Rabî, 365 (11th Dec. A. D. 975), and he assumed the supreme authority on the death of his father, which event took place on Friday, the 11th of the same month. A different date has been given, as we have remarked in the article on al-Moizz. When al-Moizz breathed his last, his death was kept secret, till his son, al-Azîz, was proclaimed khalif. The new sovereign was generous, brave and inclined to forgiveness, even with the power of punishing. His conduct towards Iftikîn at-Turki (*vol. II. p.* 483), the mamlûk of Moizz ad-Dawla, is well known : when he got him into his power, he pardoned him and, though the war he had to wage against him cost a heavy sum, he abstained from chastising him. As we have already given a short account of Iftikîn's proceedings in the life of Adud ad-Dawla Ibn Buwaih, we need not repeat it here. The anecdote (*as we have said,*) is well known and proves the mildness and clemency of al-Azîz. The emir al-Mukhtâr al-Musabbihi (*p.* 87 *of this vol.*) states, in his History, that al-Azîz was he who founded the *jâmî* (*great mosque*) situated near the gate of Cairo called Bâb al-Futûh. The foundations were dug and the building was commenced in the month of Ramadân, 380 (Nov.-Dec., A. D. 990). Farther on, he says: "The Kasr al-Bahr (*the palace on the river-side*), "an edifice the like of which had never been raised either in the East or in the "West, was built at Cairo in his reign, as also the Kasr ad-Dahab (*the golden* "*palace*), the great mosque in (*the cemetery of*) al-Karâfa and the castles (*or palaces*) "at Aîn Shams (1). He had reddish hair, his eyes were large and dark blue, his "shoulders broad. Kind in disposition and condescending, he disliked to shed "blood. Being a good judge of horses and falcons, he was passionately found "of the chase and particularly of lion-hunting; he was, besides, a *connaisseur* in "jewellery and furniture; to this we may add that he was a man of talent, and "skilled in literature."—Abû Mansûr ath-Thaâlibi (*vol. II. p.* 129) mentions him in the *Yatîma* and gives a piece of verse which he composed on a day of public festivity in which he had put all his family into mourning on account of the death of one his children. Here is the passage :

We, the descendants of al-Mustafa (*the chosen one, Muhammad,*) undergo afflictions which none among us can survive except those who are able to master their grief. Strange that we, of all mankind, must suffer from misfortune! the first of our family had his trials and so also has the last! The people here before us are all rejoicing at their festival; but festivals, for us, are days of mourning.

Here, the same author introduces a long paragraph after which he adds these words: "I heard the *shaikh* Abû 't-Taiyib relate as follows: 'The Merwanide " '(*Omaiyide*) who reigned in Spain received from Nizâr, the sovereign of Egypt, " 'an insulting and satirical letter to which he replied in these terms: *You satirize* " '*us because you have heard of us; had we ever heard of you, we should make you* " '*a reply.*' Nizâr felt the severity of this retort and abstained from answering." Abû 'l-Hasan ar-Rauhi says, in his work entitled *Tuhfa taz-Zurafâ fi Tarîkh il-Khulafâ* (*gift for the ingenious, being a history of the Khalifs*) (2), that this correspondence passed between al-Azîz and al-Hâkim al-Mustansir, the son of Abd ar-Rahmân an-Nâsir and Merwanide sovereign of Spain. According to him, al-Mustansir was the author of the insulting letter and al-Azîz replied to it in the terms above mentioned; God knows best! In our article on al-Mahdi, Nizâr's grandfather (*vol. II. p.* 77) we have spoken of the genealogy which this family gave for theirs and of the attacks directed against it. The great majority of those who are versed in that branch of study do not consider this genealogy to be true, and we have related, in the life of Ibn Tabâtabâ (*vol. II. p.* 47), the conversation which passed, on the subject, between that *sharîf* and al-Moizz, the father of al-Azîz. The belief in its falsity spread among the public and was generally adopted. Al-Azîz, in the commencement of his reign, went up into the pulpit, one friday (*to pronounce the usual* Khotba *or* invocation), and found in it a leaf of paper on which were inscribed these lines:

> We have heard a doubtful genealogy proclaimed from the pulpit of the mosque; if what you say be true, name your ancestors up to the fifth degree. Il you wish to prove your assertion, give us, for your genealogy, one which may be as certain as that of at-Tâï. If not, leave your pedigree in the shade and enter with us into the great family which includes all mankind. The most ambitious vainly desire to have a genealogy like that of the sons of Hâshim (*the Abbâsides*).

The author of these verses said: *Give us, for your genealogy*, etc., because the occurrence took place in the reign of at-Tâï lillah, the khalif of Baghdad. Another day, al-Azîz mounted into the pulpit and found there a piece of paper on which was written:

> We have borne with oppression and with tyranny, but not with infidelity nor folly. If you have the gift of knowing what is hidden, tell us the name of him who wrote this note.



He who composed these lines was led to do so because they (*the Fâtimide sovereigns*) pretended to possess the knowledge of every thing hidden from man; the anecdotes told of them, on this subject, are well known. Abû 'r-Rakâmak Ahmad Ibn Muhammad al-Antâki (*vol. I. p.* 116) composed, in praise of al-Azîz, a *kasîda* of which the eulogistic part is remarkably well turned. The kingdom of this sovereign surpassed in extent that of his father; (*his generals*) conquered for him Emessa, Hamât, Aleppo, Shaizar and, in the month of Muharram, 382 (March-April, A. D. 992), the *khotba* was pronounced for him, at Mosul, by Abû Duwâd Muhammad Ibn al-Musaiyab al-Okaili, the brother of al-Mukallad Ibn al-Musaiyab (*p.* 415 *of this vol.*) and the sovereign of that city and its territory. The name of al-Azîz was there inscribed on the coinage and the standards; the *khotba* was said for him (*even*) in Yemen. He continued to enjoy his greatness till the year 386; having then set out for Syria, he was taken ill at Bilbais, in one of the last ten days of the month of Rajab (August, A. D. 996). His indisposition sometimes augmented and sometimes diminished; on Sunday, the 25th of Ramadân, he got on horseback, at Bilbais, and rode to the bath, from which he proceeded to the lodgings occupied by the *ustâd* Abû 'l-Futûh Barjawân (*vol. I. p.* 253), the same who was the keeper of his treasury at al-Kasr (*the citadel of Cairo*). He stopped there and, on the next morning, Monday, he felt his sufferings increase, and their violence continued till Tuesday morning. His disorder was the stone accompanied with pains in the bowels. He then sent for the *kâdi*, Muhammad Ibn an-Nomân (3) and Abû Muhammad al-Hasan Ibn Ammâr the Ketamian, surnamed Amîn ad-Dawla (*the warden of the empire*). This officer was the first native of Maghrib who bore an honorary title (4). He was the *shaikh* and commander of the Ketamian troops. Al-Azîz, having recommended to the care of these officers the interests of his son al-Hâkim (*p.* 449 *of this vol.*), sent for the latter and conversed with him on the same subject. Though his illness continued to increase, he remained in the bath and, on quitting it, he expired. This took place on Tuesday, the 28th of Ramadân, 386 (14th Oct. A. D. 996), in the interval between the two after-noon prayers. Such is the account given by al-Musabbihi. According to the author of the history of Kairawân, the physician prescribed to al-Azîz a potion, to be taken on entering into the bath, but it was wrongly made up and the prince died on drinking it. His death was not kept secret, even for single hour, and his son, al-Hâkim, was immediately established in his place. On the morning of Wednesday, when the inhabitants of Cairo heard of this event, they

went forth from the city to meet the new sovereign. He made his entry with standards and banners waving before him, whilst the umbrella (*of state*) was borne over his head by Raidân as-Saklabi, the same who is mentioned in our article on Barjawân. El-Hàkim entered the Kasr a little before sunset, preceded by a litter in which was borne the body of his father and out of which the two feet of the corpse protruded. When the litter was taken into the Kasr, the body was washed by the *kâdi* Ibn an-Nomân and then buried in a chamber of the Kasr, near the tomb of al-Moizz, the father of the deceased. The interment took place towards nightfull. On Thursday morning, the last of the month, perfect order reigned every where and proclamations were made throughout the country to the effect that no new charges or obligations should be imposed upon the people, that their lives and fortunes were under the protection of God and that whoever attempted to deprive them of either, might be lawfully slain and his property given up to pillage. The birth of al-Azîz took place on Thursday, the 14th of Muharram, 344 (11th May, A. D. 995), at al-Mahdiya, in the province of Ifrîkiya. Al-Farghâni (*vol. I. p.* 155) states, in his lesser historical work, that al-Azîz billah was born on the eve of Sunday, the 11th of Muharram of that year. Al-Mukhtâr al-Musabbihi relates as follows: "In " a conversation which I had with al-Hâkim, we happened to speak of the death of " al-Azîz, on which he said to me: 'O Mukhtâr! my father sent for me before he " 'breathed his last, and I found him with nothing on his body but rags and ban- " 'dages. I kissed him, and he pressed me to his bosom, exclaiming: 'How I " 'grieve for thee, beloved of my heart!' and tears flowed from his eyes. He " 'then said: 'Gŏ, my master! and play, for I am very well.' I obeyed and began " 'to amuse myself with such sports as are usual with boys, and soon after, God " 'took him to himself. Barjawân then hastened to me and, seeing me on the top " 'of a sycamore tree, he exclaimed: Come down, my boy! may God protect you " 'and us all!' When I descended, he placed on my head the turban adorned " 'with jewels, kissed the ground before me and said: 'Hail to the Commander " 'of the faithful, with the mercy of God and His blessing!' He then led me out " 'in that attire and shewed me to the people, who all kissed the ground before me " 'and saluted me with the title of khalif!". The history of al-Azîz offers abundance of matter, but we aim at concision.

(1) The ruins of Aîn Shams (*Heliopolis*) lie at half a day's journey N. E. of Cairo.

(2) This work is not noticed by Hajji Khalifa.

(3) Muhammad Ibn an-Nomân was born at Kairawân, A. H. 345 (A. D. 956), and was taken to Cairo by his father, who accompanied al-Moizz to Egypt. Al-Azîz appointed him chief *kâdi* of all Egypt, of Mekka and Medina and of the military colonies (*jund*) in Syria. He chose him also to preside at the public prayer, and nominated him director of the mint and intendant of weights and measures. Ibn an-Nomân filled those offices during fourteen years and died on the fourth of Safar A. H. 389 (January, A. D. 999). Many members of his family occupied high judicial situations.—(*Hist. of the Kâdis of Cairo*, MS. of the *Bibl. imp.*, nº 691. This manuscrit was written for the use of the author and bears his corrections.)

(4) This is an error: Bolukkîn the Ziride received from al-Moizz, the father of al-Azîz, the title of Saif ad-Dawla (*sword of the empire*).

NASR AL-KHUBZARUZZI.

Abû 'l-Kâsim Nasr Ibn Ahmad Ibn Nasr Ibn Mâmûn, generally known by the surname of Khubzâruzzi (*the rice-bread baker*), was a native of Basra. This distinguished poet had never received any education and could neither read nor write. He baked rice-bread in a shop situated at the *Mirbad* of Basra, and he used to recite (*there*) verses of his own composition, all of them amatory. People crowded about him for the pleasure of hearing his poems and admiring the talent of one whose state was so humble. The poet Abû l'-Husain Muhammad Ibn Muhammad Ibn Jaafar, surnamed Ibn Lenkek al-Basri, (1) was then in the highest reputation, and yet he often visited Nasr's shop for the purpose of hearing him, and took such an interest in him that he made a collection (*diwân*) of his poetical works. Nasr had already been to Baghdad and resided there a long time. The Khatîb (*vol. I.* p. 75) speaks of him in his historical work and informs us that people went to read (*and study*) this diwân under the author's tuition and that several pieces of verse were learned from him and given as his by al-Moâfa Ibn Zakariya al-Jarîri (*see p. 374 of this vol.*), Ahmad Ibn Mansûr Ibn Muhammad Ibn Hâtim an-Nûshari and a number of others whose names he mentions. Ath-Thaâlibi (*vol. II. p.* 129) speaks of him in the *Yatîma* and cites a number of pieces composed by him, such as the following :

My two friends ! did you ever see or hear of any one more generous than a sovereign who

went to visit his slave! (*Yet 'twas thus my beloved*) came, without having promised, and said to me: I esteem you too much to let your heart remain in suspense, awaiting the fulfilment of a promise. Then, between me and her, the star of union revolved in the sphere of happy omen and felicity; now, it presided over the kissing of the narcissus of the eye (2), and then, over the biting of the apple of the cheek.

Has not the love I bear you caused me sufficient pain without your beginning to sport (*with my feelings*) and to laugh? Your mockery is more galling to me than what I have already suffered! I should not care being sent to hell, were it not for the taunts (طنز) of Mâlik (*the angel who guards it*).

Many were those who, though absent, kept their promises towards us; but there were some who, though present, disdained (*to fulfil their engagements*). They turned away and then turned towards (*us*); they shewed an inclination for us, and then repelled us; they first acted as friends and then as foes. But blame them not for transgressing (*against us*); did they not transgress, they would have no reason to ask pardon.

Here is another of his pieces:

A friend begins by visiting another, either to drink wine (*with him*) or to hear the lute touched (عزف) by a female musician. Then he visits his friend, either to confide to him his sorrows or to complain of the rigours of Fortune.

In another piece he says:

How much have I suffered from thy saying this and that; from thy wavering promises and long delays. A week passes over and a month, whilst I expect thee, morning and evening. If I miss obtaining kind treatment from you, I shall act with exemplary patience. Love increases by regular gradation, but thus also does it disappear. Take care! think not thyself safe from the vicissitudes of Fortune; she attacks the powerful and leaves them abased. Methinks I see the beauty of thy face receive from (*approaching*) wrinkles the order to depart (3), and that, in thy fickleness, thou exchangest light for darkness; a very bad exchange! (*People, then, on seeing thy figure, would never*) think it had once been as slender as a wand and (*that thy swelling forms had been like*) rounded sand-hills. When that happens, he whom thou hast not favoured will rejoice in thy misfortune, but he who obtained thy favours will still be for thee a friend.

By the same:

I looked at the moon and the face of my beloved; and, to my sight, they seemed two moons. Such was my embarrassment that I could not distinguish the human moon from the moon of night. Were it not for the two cheeks which I kissed and the blackness of the hair which charmed me, I should have taken the moon for the beloved and the beloved for the moon. But one sometimes disappears and the other remains always (*with us*); and what disappears cannot be compared to what remains.



Ahmad Ibn Mansûr an-Nûshari states that al-Khubzâruzzi recited to him the following lines, as being of his own composition:

> The beloved passed the night with me as a boon compagnon; ebriety had tinged her cheeks and, when the morning appeared, languor (4) began to tinge her eyes. My eyes then lent their sleep to hers and obtained, in return, the pleasure of gazing on her charms. Thanks be to fortune; how well it favours me (*in my plans*) against her!

The Khatîb states, in his history of Baghdad, that Abû Muhammad Abd Allah Ibn Muhammad al-Akfâni of Basra made the following relation: "I went out, one holyday "vacation, with my uncle Abû Abd Allah al-Akfâni the poet, and we had with us "Abû 'l-Husain Ibn Lenkek, Abû Abd Allah al-Mufajjâ and Abû 'l-Hasan as-Sabbâk. "I, though a boy, accompanied them. They walked on till they came to the place "where Nasr al-Khubzâruzzi was and found him making bread for a set (*of people "who were waiting*). We sat down in his (*shop*), wished him a happy holyday and "asked him how he was getting on. He had just lighted some dry palm-leaves "under the oven and had put on so much fuel that (*my companions*) were inconve-"nienced by the smoke. As we found the smoke to augment, we all rose up (*to "depart*), on which Nasr said to Ibn Lenkek: 'When shall I see you again? Abû "'l-Husain!' The other replied: 'When my clothes are soiled.' He had put on "that day new clothes, as white and as clean as could possibly be, because he wished "to appear well dressed during the festival. We then went to the street of the Bani "Samura and, when we reached the house of Ahmad Ibn al-Muthanna, Ibn Lenkek "sat down there and said: 'My friends! the station we made at Nasr's cannot fail "'offering him a subject on which he will have something to say; I wish to anti-"'cipate him; bring me an inkhorn.' He then wrote these lines:

> "I have in my heart so great a love for Nasr that I surpass therein all my companions. "When we went to him, he fumigated us, in guise of incense, with dry leaves which tinged "our clothes with smoke. I rose in haste, thinking he meant, by that, to drive us away; and "he said: 'When shall I see you again? Abû 'l-Husain!' to which I answered: 'When my "'clothes are soiled."

"These lines he sent to Nasr, who immediately dictated an answer to them. "We read his reply, which was expressed in these terms:

> "On Abû 'l-Husain I bestowed my sincerest love, and he mocked me with sweet words. "When he came, his clothes were as (*white as*) the hair of old age, but (*with me*,) they

"became dark like the hair of a youth. I thought that, when he sat down with me, he was
"going to a wedding, and I therefore generously perfumed his garments, saying: 'When shall
"'I see you again? Abû 'l-Husain!' He replied: 'When my clothes are soiled.' If the
"dislike of dirtiness (5) be meritorious, why did the Legatee receive the surname of *dusty-*
"*face* (6)?"

The Khâlidites, Abû Bakr Muhammad and Abû Othmân Saîd (*vol. II. p.* 337), relate, in the work called *al-Hadayâ wa 't-Tuhaf* (*offerings and gifts*), that al-Khubzâruzzi sent to Ibn Yazdâd, the governor of Basra, a signet-stone and, with it, the following note:

Were many times the double of what I sent you laid at your feet, it would make as little appearance as the presents offered by Balkîs (*the queen of Sabâ*) to Solomon. But I do it only to try you: if you are pleased with it, we shall know evidently that you are pleased with me.

Mentioning one thing brings on another: I found in the same work an amusing anecdote which I am induced to insert here. There was at Ispahân a man remarkable for his wealth, his munificence and the nobleness of his character. His name was Simâk Ibn an-Nomân. A female musician of that city, whose name was Omm Amr and who was distinguished for her talent and her merit, inspired him with a violent passion; and his infatuation for her became so great that he bestowed on her a number of farms and sent her a mule loaded with the deeds by which he transferred to her these estates. This gave rise to much talk among the public and excited great astonishment. There was then in Ispahân a man of heavy apprehension and remarkable for dulness, who was in love with another female musician. When he heard of what had passed, he imagined, through his ignorance and his feeble intelligence, that Simâk had merely given to Omm Amr a quantity of (*parchment*) skins with nothing written on them and that presents of such a kind were always well received and had a great effect on the person to whom they were sent. He therefore purchased enough of skins to load two mules, so that his gift might be doubly as great as Simâk's, and sent them to her he loved. When she received them and learned what it meant, she was filled with anger against her admirer and wrote him a severe letter in which she declared that she would never speak to him again. In this missive she inserted the following lines which she had got a poet to compose for her:

The person who revolts against you will never submit to you again. I declare that your



wish to gain my affection shall always be vain. You have brought disgrace on the whole class of lovers by the vileness of your act. Tell me! who would be capable of sending skins to his mistress except you? I suppose that, in doing so, you meant to imitate Simâk. But he sent to Omm Amr farms with their title-deeds, and you sent me things which stunk as if you had made use of them to wipe your mouth. Why should I consent to have you near me? blockhead that you are! I have no wish to see you except I were to cut up those skins (*into straps and wear them out*) upon your shoulders.

I transcribe here another anecdote which I found in the same work: Al-Labbâdi the poet set out from one of the towns of Adarbaijân for another. He was mounted on an excellent colt belonging to himself. A great sterility had prevailed in the country during that year. On the road, he met with a young man, riding on an ass. Let us give the remainder of the story in al-Labbâdi's own words: "I found that he had received a good education and could recite poems; he was, besides, light-hearted, prompt at repartee and skilled in argument. We travelled together the rest of the day and, in the evening, we arrived at a khân (*caravanserail*) situated on the road. I asked from the master of it if he could give us anything to eat, and he declared that he had nothing remaining in his establishment. I talked with him for some time and cajoled him so well that he at length brought me two cakes of bread, one of which I reserved for myself, and the other I gave to my fellow-traveller. The uneasiness I felt for my colt, lest it should pass the night without feeding, was greater than what I felt for myself; so I asked the master of the khân if he had any barley. He replied that he had not a single grain. I told him to go and look for some and that I should pay him for his trouble. He went out and, after remaining a long time absent, he returned and informed me that he had discovered two *makkûk's* (*quarts*) of it, but that the owner had sworn, under the penalty of divorcing his wife, that he would not let them go for less than a hundred dirhems (*fifty shillings*). On this I said: "Since there is an oath made to divorce, discussion is useless; here are fifty " dirhems; go and bring me one *makkûk*." He did so, and I gave it to my colt, after which, I resumed my conversation with the young man, whose ass was standing (*in the court*), with nothing to eat. My companion remained some time with downcast eyes and then said: "Listen, may God favour you! to some verses which " have just come to my mind. "Let us have them," said I, and he recited as " follows:

My verses, Sir! are much inferior to yours, for my poetic talent does not come up even to



your skill in prose. In what I have recited, I merely displayed before you what was, in reality, a single drop compared to your ocean. You conversed with me familiarly, raised my spirits and treated me kindly; you paid attention to my state before thinking of your own. I now wish to ask a favour which, if you grant it, will render me your encomiast and your grateful servant for ever: I have partaken of your hospitality; let my ass share in that of your colt.

I laughed and excused myself for having neglected the animal; so, I purchased for it the other *makkûk*, at the price of fifty dirhems."—But, after all, we have digressed from our subject. The anecdotes and stories related of Nasr are very numerous. He died, A. H. 317 (A. D. 929-30), but this date is suspicious, for the Khatîb states, in his History, that Ahmad Ibn Mansûr an Nûshari, the same of whom we have already spoken, learned from him (*some pieces of verse*) in the year 325. —The word *âruzzi*, forming the latter part of the surname *Khubzâruzzi*, varies in its pronunciation, because it comes from a root which has six different forms, namely: *uruzz* (*rice*), *aruzz*, *urz*, *uruz*, *ruzz* and *runz*. Nasr received this surname because he practised the trade of a rice-bread baker, as we have already stated towards the commencement of this notice. — *Lenkek* is a Persian word and the diminutive of the adjective *lenk* (*lame*). The Persians form their diminutives by adding the letter *k* to the end of the word. — *Mirbad* is the name of a well-known public place in Basra. The word itself signified any place where camels and other animals are shut up, but it became a proper name, applied to the place in Basra.

(1) Ath-Thaâlibi, in his *Yatîma*, gives some passages from Ibn Lenkek's poems and praises the author highly for his talent. He informs us that Ibn Lenkek was considered as the most accomplished literary scholar of Basra.

(2) See vol. I. Introduction, page XXXVI.

(3) For obvious reasons I give the signification of *wrinkles* to the word لحية. The expression *ar-rahîla! ar-rahîla!* means: get ready to start!

(4) I read, with one of the MSS. الخمار. For the signification of this word see De Sacy's *Harîri*, p. ٥٣٧, l. 20.

(5) The true reading is التقزز.

(6) According to the Shîites, Muhammad appointed Ali Ibn Abi Tâlib to be his successor; whence they gave to the latter the surname of *al-Wasî* (*the legatee*). *Abû Turâb* (*the father of dust, dusty face*) was the nickname by which Muhammad designated Ali on account of his piety and frequent prostrations.

NASR AN-NUMAIRI

Abû 'l-Murhaf Nasr, a celebrated blind poet, was the son of Mansûr Ibn al-Hasan Ibn Jaushan Ibn Mansûr Ibn Humaid Ibn Ithâl Ibn Wazar Ibn Attâf Ibn Bishr Ibn Jandal Ibn Obaid ar-Râî Ibn Hussain Ibn Moawîa Ibn Jandal Ibn Katan Ibn Rabîa Ibn Abd Allah Ibn al-Hârith Ibn Numair Ibn Aâmir Ibn Sâsâ Ibn Moawîa Ibn Bakr Ibn Hawâzin Ibn Mansûr Ibn Ikrima Ibn Khasafa Ibn Kais Ailân Ibn Modar Ibn Nizâr Ibn Maadd Ibn Adnân. When a boy, he went (*from ar-Rakka*) to Baghdad and there he continued to reside up to the day of his death. He learned the Koran by heart, studied the system of jurisprudence drawn up by Ahmad Ibn Hanbal (*vol. I. p.* 44) and heard traditions delivered by the *kâdi* Abû Bakr Muhammad Ibn Abd al-Bâki al-Ansâri, Abû 'l-Barakât Abd al-Wahhâb Ibn al-Mubârak al-Anmâti (1), Abû 'l-Fadl Muhammad Ibn Nâsir (2) and other masters. His literary studies were made under Abû Mansûr al-Jawâlîki (*p.* 498 *of this vol.*). He (*composed and*) recited poems in which he eulogized the khalifs, the vizirs and the grandees; he taught traditions and lead a life of devotion and self-mortification. His poetry, of which there exists a collection, has all a good tendency. The *kâtib* Imâd ad-dîn (*p.* 300 *of this vol.*) cites some of his verses in the *Kharîda* and assigns to him the genealogy which we have given above. "It was from his lips," said he, "that I learned it." The Obaid ar-Râî (3) who is mentioned in that list was the celebrated poet whose *diwân* we possess and who waged such a war of satires against Jarîr (*vol. I. p.* 294). Abû Murhaf (*Nasr*) los his sight from the small-pox, at the age of fourteen years. Imâd ad-dîn cites the following extract from one of his poems :

> Think you that, after our union, now dissolved, we shall ever meet again, and that I shall no longer have to apprehend the fearful vicissitudes of Fortune? (*Think you*) that, after our mutual estrangement, (*the aspect of*) our camping-spots and pasture-grounds in Najd will again assuage (*my grief*)? I well remember the time, now past and gone, when we were all closely united at Aîman al-Alamain! I have been unable to suppress the flow of my tears; tears obey not the (*lover's*) will when he suffers from passionate desire. My heart impels me towards (*the beloved*) Khansâ, but, between us, a vast extent (*of desert*) intervenes. Of things which I dread, that which my heart fears the most is the sight of the lightning when it flashes over the land of Najd (4). Long separation from my friends has loaded me with a burden which I am unable to support.

His poetry is remarkable for delicacy of thought and elegance of style. When at Baghdad he remained exclusively attached to Aûn ad-dîn Yahya Ibn Hubaira, a vizir whose life we shall give, and composed poems in his praise. He was born at ar-Rakka, on Tuesday evening, the 13th of the latter Jumâda, 501 (29th Jan. A. D. 1108); he died at Baghdad on Tuesday, the 28th of the latter Rabî, 588 (13th May, A. D. 1192), and was interred (*outside*) the gate called Bâb Harb.—*Numairi* is a patronymic referring to the Numair Ibn Aâmir whose name is mentioned towards the beginning of this article. The other names are sufficiently known (*to dispense us from indicating their orthography*).

(1) The *hâfiz* Abû 'l-Barakât Abd al-Wahhâb al-Anmâti was a native of Baghdad. He died in the month of Muharram, 538 (July-August, A. D. 1143).

(2) The *hâfiz* Abû 'l-Fadl Muhammad Ibn Nâsir as-Salâmi, an inhabitant of Bagdad and one of the greatest traditionists of Irâk, died in the month of Shaabân, 550 (Oct. A. D. 1155).

(3) For this poet see de Sacy's *Anthologie grammaticale*, pages 134, 452.

(4) This perhaps means: because it draws my attention towards that country and awakens painful recollections.

IBN KALAKIS.

Abû 'l-Futûh Nasr Allah Ibn Abd Allah Ibn Makhlûf Ibn Ali Ibn Abd al-Kâwi Ibn Kalâkis al-Lakhmi al-Azhari al-Iskanderâni (*an Arab of the tribe of Lakhm, a descendant of al-Azhar and a native of Alexandria*), bore the title of al-Kâdi 'l-Aazz (*the worshipful kadi*) and was noted as a poet. In that art, he displayed great ability, talent and genius. He had so little beard that his face was quite bare and, for that reason, verses were composed against him, which I abstain from mentioning on account of their indelicacy. He was a constant companion of the *shaikh* Abû Tâhir as-Silafi (*vol. I. p. 86*) and profited greatly by his intercourse with that eminent *hâfiz*. The collection of his poetical works contains some pieces in which he makes

brilliant eulogiums of his friend, Abû Tâhir who, on his side, spoke of him frequently in the highest terms and emulated with him in the career of mutual praise. Ibn Kalâkis went to pay his court to al-Kâdi 'l-Fâdil Abd ar-Rahîm (*vol. II. p.* 111), taking with him a *kasîda* in which the name of that vizir was introduced so as to form the rhyme of one of the verses. The piece is of the highest beauty and begins thus (1):

What harm would it do that gazelle (*nymph, maiden*), were she not to leave (*us*), and were (*she to hear*) one wounded (*lover*) condole with another? (*What harm*) to one whose society is a paradise, were she not to see him whom she rejected suffering from (*torments like those of*) hell? As long as I courted her, (*that slender waist, like to*) a pliant branch in a garden, enfeebled my body (*by the passion it inspired me*), so that I became (*a mere breath, like*) the zephyr (*of that garden*). She, with the beauty-spot (*rakim*) on her cheek, slumbers, neglectful of (*her*) sleepless (*lover*); but sleep was always most suitable for those who had *Rakîm* (2). Why should a gazelle (*maiden*) not remain (*saram*) (*with us*)? Have I not heard (*grammarians say,*) as (*an exemple of*) relation: "The gazelle of the desert (*sarîm*) (3). How often did a censor continue (*her reproaches*) as long as night endured; a being (*bahîma*) with whom I passed in conviviality many a gloomy (*bahîm*) night! I allowed her to anger me uncontrolled, for a man should be mild when angered by his fellow-creature. I said to her, when she passed all bounds and whilst my heart was in grievous torture: "Excuse a heart which, through an effect of love, wanders, like a poet, in every valley (4). How often (*did I long for*) that wine of which her mouth was the cup and of which the smell could not suffice me but the taste! I tried to absorb it from her lips and said: "This is really the liquor of Paradise (5)!" She opened her mouth, in smiling, and disclosed (*teeth like*) the white flowers of the hill, or like pearls ranged on a necklace; or (*as if*) she had received with approbation the (*poem now*) received by al-Fâdil Abd ar-Rahîm.

Ibn Kalâkis frequently removed from one country to another and, alluding to his fondness for travelling, he used to say:

Men are numerous (اكثر لكن), but I am destined to keep company with sailors only and with camel-drivers.

Towards the close of his life, he went to the city of Aden, in Yemen, and sung the praises of Abû 'l-Faraj Yâsir, the son of Abû 'n-Nada Bilâl Ibn Jarîr al-Muhammadi and vizir to Muhammad and Abû 's-Saûd, the sons of Amrân Ibn Muhammad Ibn ad-Dâî Sabâ Ibn Abi 's-Saûd Ibn Zuraiâ Ibn al-Abbâs al-Yâmi, sovereigns of that country (6). He was generously treated by Yâsir and, having obtained from him gifts sufficiently ample to make him a rich man, he took ship and departed. The vessel was wrecked on the island of an-Nâmûs, near Dahlak, and every thing he had

with him went to the bottom. This occurred on Friday, the 5th of Zû 'l-Kaada, 563 (11th August, A. D. 1168). He returned to his patron in a state of nudity and recited to him the poem which begins thus:

When we departed, generosity called us back, and we returned to thy residence; returning (*from evil ways*) is highly meritorious.

This is an excellent *kasîda,* as that single verse is sufficient to prove. He then recited to him another poem in which he spoke of his shipwreck; it begins by these lines :

Travel, if you wish to acquire real worth; it is by travelling that the crescent becomes a full-moon. Water, whilst it runs, acquires good qualities; when it settles, it becomes corrupt. It is by removing (*from their place*) that precious pearls pass from the sea to the necks (*of the fair*). You who relate the history of Yâsir, without knowing by experience his real merit! read, if you know how, in the nobleness of his visage, the (*open*) volume of expectations (*fulfilled*). Kiss the fingers of his right hand and say: "Hail to thee who art an ocean (*of generosity*)!" But I mistake, God pardon me! in comparing him to the ocean; he enriched me and it reduced me to indigence. I have found that the one always flows, and that the other (*flows and*) ebbs.

It is a long *kasîda* and displays all the excellence of the author's talent. The idea in the second verse is borrowed from an expression employed by Badîa az-Zamân, the author of the *makâmât;* who inserted it in the beginning of an epistle of which we have spoken in his life (*vol. I. p.* 113) and in which he says: "When water has "long remained at rest, its noxious qualities appear." The idea of the third verse is borrowed from a piece composed by Surr Durr (*vol. II. p.* 321), in which the author says:

Let your stirrups rattle across the deserts, and leave to maidens the shelter of their curtains. Those who always remain at home are like the inhabitants of the tomb. Did not pearls quit their dwelling-place, they had never mounted from the sea to the necks (*of the fair*).

The following verses, composed by him on a black slave-girl, offer a very original idea:

I know a negress who is really (*worth*) a white; near her, the (*white*) camphor is jealous of the (*black*) musk. She is like the pupil of the eye: people think it black, but it is all (*pure*) light.

The good (*pieces composed by*) Ibn Kalâkis are very numerous. He was born in



the frontier-city of Alexandria, on Wednesday, the 4th of the latter Rabî, 532 (20th Dec. A. D. 1137), and died at Aidâb on the 3rd of Shauwâl, 567 (29th May, A. D. 1172). In the month of Shaabân, 563 (May-June, A. D. 1168), he arrived in Sicily and, two years later, he visited Yemen. When in Sicily, he got acquainted with a chief (*kâid*) named Abû 'l-Kâsim Ibn al-Hajar (7), by whom he was generously treated and for whom he composed a very good work entitled: *Az-Zahr al-Bâsim fi ausâf Abi 'l-Kâsim* (*the smiling flower, treating of the qualities of Abû 'l-Kâsim*). When he left Sicily, with the intention of returning to Egypt, the winter season had set in and the winds drove his ship back to that island. He then wrote to Abû 'l-Kâsim a letter in which he said:

> The winter weather hindered me from arriving at my native place with the ambassador. The winds, which drove me back, came just as I should have wished, although I did not desire them. The ass sometimes stumbles, but that is often through the will of him who hired it out.

There was then in Sicily an ambassador sent there by the sovereign of Egypt. When he took ship to return, Ibn Kalâkis accompanied him, and they were driven back by a storm to the place they sailed from. Ibn Kalâkis then composed the verses here mentioned. The *kâtib* Imâd ad-Dîn mentions, in his *kharîda*, under the article entitled Ibn Kalakis, the treatise of which we have spoken above, and gives there some good extracts from that poet's works.—*Kalâkis* is the pluriel of *kolkâs* (*colocasia*), a word of which the meaning is well known.—*Aidâb* is a small town situated on the (*western*) shore of the sea of Jidda (*the Red sea*). The vessels of Egypt sail from thence for Hijâz (*with the travellers who arrive at Aidâb*) by the road of Kûs. The passage across the sea generally takes a (*day an a*) night. From Jidda (or *Judda*) to Mekka there is one day's journey. At Jidda is still to be seen the tomb of Eve, our first mother, which is an object of pilgrimage.—Yâsir was put to death by Shams ad-Dawlat Turân Shâh (*vol. I. p.* 284) when that prince invaded Yemen (8).

(1) These verses are so intricate in their construction, so full of verbal quibbles and obscure allusions, that it is hardly possible to make them perfectly intelligible in another language.

(2) According to some commentators, the *Rakîm* of the Koran is the name given to the dog of the Seven Sleepers. See *Koran*, sûrat 18, verse 8.

(3) It is very possible that the translator has missed the meaning of this verse.

(4) *Korân*, sûrat 26, verse 225.

(5) Literally: Zemzem and al-Hatîm; that is, the sacred well and the enclosure of the Temple, at Mekka.



(6) That is, of Aden and its territory.

(7) This shows that, in Sicily, under William II, the third Norman king, some Moslim chiefs still held a high position.

(8) In the year 569 (A. D. 1173-4), when Shams ad-Dawlat Tûrân Shâh took the city of Aden, the vizir Yâsir was the governor of the place. The historians who speak of this event make no mention of the two princes in whose name he governed.

DIA AD-DIN IBN AL-ATHIR.

Abû 'l-Fath Nasr Allah Ibn Abi 'l-Karam Muhammad Ibn Muhammad Ibn Abd al-Karîm Ibn Abd al-Wâhid as-Shaibâni, generally known by the surname of Ibn al-Athîr al-Jazari and the title of Dîâ 'd-Dîn (*the light of religion*), was born at Jazîra 't-Ibn Omar (1) and passed there his early youth. In the month of Rajab, 579 (Oct.-Nov. A. D. 1183) he accompanied his father to Mosul and there he made his studies. Having then mastered the sciences (*connected with law and religion*), learned by heart the Koran, picked up a great quantity of traditions concerning the Prophet and acquired a fair knowledge of grammar, philology and rhetoric, he learned also such a number of poems that he said, towards the beginning of his work entitled *Al-Washi 'l-Markûm* (*the flowered silken tissue*): "I learned by heart an "immense quantity of ancient and modern poetry, but, afterwards, I limited my "studies to the poems of the two members of the tribe of Tâî, Habîb Ibn Aûs," —he means Abû Tammâm (*vol. I. p.* 348),—"and Abû Obâda al-Bohtori (2), as "also to those composed by Abû 't-Taiyib al-Mutanabbi (*vol. I. p.* 102). I com- "mitted to memory all the poetical work sof these three authors and often stu- "died them through during a number of years, till I obtained the faculty of ex- "pressing correctly my ideas and succeeded in acquiring such habits of application "as became for me a (*second*) nature." My sole motive in giving this passage is to shew how essential it is for a scribe who is engaged to draw up epistles (*official dispatches*) that he should closely apply to the decomposing of poetry (*into prose*) and make that practise the main basis of his art. Dîâ ad-Dîn, having thus obtained possession of all the qualifications (*requisite for a secretary of state*), proceeded to the court

of Salâh ad-Dîn (*Saladin*), in the month of the first Rabî, 587 (April, A. D. 1191) and, in the month of the latter Jumâda of the same year (June-July,) he was attached to the service of that sultan by al-Kâdi 'l-Fâdil (*vol. II. p.* 111). He continued with Salâh ad-Dîn till the month of Shauwâl of that year (Oct.-Nov.), when al-Malik al-Afdal Nûr ad-Dîn Ali (*vol. II. p.* 353), the son of Salâh ad-Dîn, asked permission from his father to take him (*Diâ ad-Dîn*) into his service. The sultan gave the latter his choice of remaining where he was or of passing into the service of the prince, and told him, at the same time, that the pension (*mâlûm*) already granted to him should be (*in each case regularly*) continued. Dîa ad-Dîn decided on going with al-Afdal, who was then a young man, and was appointed by that prince to the post of vizir. Under such a patron, his circumstances became greatly improved. Al-Malik al-Afdal, having obtained for himself the kingdom of Damascus, on the death of his father, Salâh ad-Dîn, chose Diâ ad-Dîn for his grand-vizir. All public affairs were then referred to the latter's direction and, in every circumstance, the highest confidence was placed in his ability. When Damascus was taken from al-Afdal, that prince removed to Sarkhad, as we have already stated in his life, and, as Diâ ad-Dîn had been on bad terms with the inhabitants of the former place, they now resolved on putting him to death; but the chamberlain, Mahâsin Ibn Ajam, got him out of danger by locking him up a trunk and carrying him secretly out of the city. Dîâ ad-Dîn then went to join his master and afterwards accompanied him to Egypt, whither that prince had been called in order to act as the *nâib* (*lieutenant*) of his nephew, al-Malik al-Mansûr. We have spoken of these events in our article on al-Afdal, and that dispenses us from repeating our account of them here. Al-Malik al-Aâdil having proceeded to Egypt (*see vol. II. p.* 354), took that country from his nephew al-Afdal, who received in exchange the government of as-Sharkiya (*Irâk and Mesopotamia*) and set out for that province. Dîâ ad-Dîn did not follow in the train of attendants, because he was afraid of being assassinated by a band of fellows whe were waiting for him. He afterwards succeeded in leaving the city under a disguise, and he has given an account of his evasion in a long letter the text of which may be found in the work (*diwân*) which contains his epistolary correspondance. He staid away for some time from his master al-Malik al-Afdal and did not return to his service till that prince had established his authority in Sumaisât. He then remained with him till the month of Zû 'l-Kaada, 607 (April-May, A. D. 1211), when he passed into the service of al-Malik az-Zâhir Ghâzi (*vol. II. p.* 443), sovereign of Aleppo and al-Afdal's

brother. Soon after, he left his new master, in a moment of anger, and returned to Mosul, but, being unable to make his way there, he proceeded to Arbela, where he was equally unsuccessful. From that he went to Sinjâr and then, again, to Mosul. Having decided on fixing his residence there, he got employed by the governor of that city as a writer of dispatches. This prince, whose names were Nasr ad-Dîn Mahmûd, and who was the son of al-Malik al-Kâhir Izz ad-Dîn Masûd, the son of Nûr ad-Dîn Arslân Shâh (*vol. I. p.* 174), had then for *atâbek* (*guardian*) the emir Abû 'l-Fadâil an-Nûri. This took place in the year 618 (A. D. 1221). I went more than ten times from Arbela to Mosul, where Dîâ ad-Dîn was residing, and tried to get introduced to him; because I knew that he had been the intimate friend of my father and I wished to study something under his tuition. I did not, however, succeed in my project. I subsequently left as-Sharkiya and went to Syria, where I resided about ten years, and then proceeded to Egypt. Dîâ ad-Dîn was still living at that time. I afterwards received at Cairo the news of his death. He composed a number of works which prove the eminence of his talent. That which bears the title of *Al-Mathal as-Sâir fi âdâb al-Kâtib wa'sh-Shâir* (*the Current Proverb, treating of the literary information requisite for prose-writers and poets*) forms two volumes and attests the great abilities of the author. In it, he enters into full details and omits nothing which a writer of epistles should know. When he finished it, he read it in public, and allowed it to be written down under his dictation. A copy of it having reached Baghdad, the jurisconsult Izz ad-Dîn, who was also a man of letters, undertook to criticise it, to refute the author and to point out his errors. The names of this doctor were Abû Hâmid Abd al-Hamîd Ibn Hibat Allah Ibn Muhammad Ibn al-Husain Ibn Abî 'l-Hadîd al-Madâini. He collected his strictures into a volume to which he gave the title of *Al-Falak ad-Dâir ala 'l-Mathal as-Sâir* (*the Revolving Sphere, directed against the Current Proverb*). When the work was finished, he sent it to his brother, Muwaffak ad-Dîn Abû 'l-Maâli Ahmad,—called also al-Kâsim,—and received from him a written answer containing these lines:

Sir! you have made on the Current Proverb (*a book called*) the Revolving Sphere. It is really a revolving sphere which will render your name as well known as a current proverb.

Izz ad-Dîn (*the author of that refutation*) was born at al-Madâin on Saturday, the 1st of Zû 'l-Hijja, 586 (30th December, A. D. 1190), and died at Baghdad in the year

655 (A. D. 1257). His brother, Muwaffak ad-Dîn, died at Baghdad in 656 (A. D. 1258), very soon after the taking of that city by the Tartars. Both of them were jurisconsults, men of letters and of talent. They left some good poetry. Muwaffak ad-Dîn was born in the latter Jumâda (May-June,) or, according to another statement, in the first Rabî (Feb.-March), A. H. 590 (A. D. 1194), at al-Madâin. —(*Diâ ad-Dîn, the subjet of this notice,*) is the author of the book entitled *Al-Washi 'l-Markûm fi hall al-Manzûm* (*the flowered silken tissue, treating of* (the advantage resulting from) *the decomposing of poetry* (into prose). This treatise, though concise, is very fine and instructive. He composed also the *Kitâb al-Maâni 'l-Mukhtarâa* (*the book of original ideas*), in which he treats of the art of prose composition. This is also an excellent work. Another production of his is a selection of poems from the works of Abû Tammâm, Abû Obâda 'l-Bohtori, Dîk al-Jinn (*vol. II. p.* 133) and Abû 't-Taiyib al-Mutanabbi. It forms one large volume and may be learned by heart with great advantage (*to the student*). Abû 'l-Barakât Ibn al-Mustaufi (*vol. II. p.* 556) says, in his (*biographical*) History of Arbela: "I found the following verses inscribed, in the hand-writing of Diâ ad-Dîn, at the end of the book which contains his selection (*of poetry*):

> Employ this treasure really precious; for it is a selection made by a man of prudence and of judgment, to whom all elegancies of style were obedient and who took, at an early age, the right road to poetry."

He left also a *diwân* of epistles, filling a number of volumes, and out of which a choice of letters has been made, forming one volume. An epistle, which he addressed to his sovereign, after having made a journey in the rainy season and during an intense cold, announces to him that the writer had left his service and contains the following passage: "The rain-cloud pitched its tent over the (*land*) and let its skirts "fall down upon it; making every halting-place detestable and changing every "hill into a pond. It trenched the soil with furrows, and converted every (*valley-*) "side into the bank of a river. Methought it wished to rival in copiousness with "the bountiful hand of our sovereign and to excel it in the persistance of the tor- "rents which it poured forth. But your humble servant prays God to pardon him "for making a comparaison so totally devoid of appropriateness; he well knows the "difference between that (*cloud*) which fills the vallies with its waters and that (*hand*) "which over-whelms the assembly with its beneficence. The plant producing

" flowers which the (*ardent heats of*) summer may cause to disappear, or fruit which " is consumed by autumn, must not be compared to a prince (*whose hand*) pro- " duces riches sufficient to second (نفوث) his generous intentions and enables the " flocks to graze during spring and summer in a fertile pasture-ground. Then " (*your servant*) pursued his journey, suffering from the land and its mud, from " the sky and its rain. It (*the sky*) was (*like thy hand*) liberal to excess; it con- " tinued its donations unremittingly till it fatigued (*those who received them*); it " was so prodigal that its bounty became irksome; and your humble servant now " dreads the glittering of swords much less that the flashes of the lighning. Dur- " ing the fall of these showers, he continued battling (*against them*), and suffered " affliction from the intensity of their chillness. Receive my salutation!" When my friend Husâm ad-Dîn Isa 'l-Hâjiri (*vol. II. p.* 434) heard the passage in which the writer speaks of suffering affliction from the intensity of cold, he greatly admired the thought and expressed it again in the following terms:

How painfully cool the water of her lips! I shall complain of its poignancy (*even*) to those who blame me (*for loving her*).

The person who casts his eyes on this verse may probably desire to know rest of the poem, and, as the piece is short, I think there will be no harm in giving it. Here it is:

Between the sands of al-Jaza and the river of al-Akîk dwells a person whose (*charms*) her lover can never forget. He gathered the plunder of the bee (*honey*) off the lips of (*that maiden*) whose motions are so graceful and whose teeth so bright. If her forehead were not a paradise, it would not have produced those charming curls (3). How painfully cool the water of her lips! I shall complain of its poignancy (*even*) to those who censure me. Strange that in (*our mutual*) love, she who is my friend should act towards me like an enemy! Let my life be the ransom of that gazelle whose slender waist works the same effect as the pliant lance (4).

In our article on an-Nafîs al-Kutrusi (*vol. I. p.* 147) we have inserted a piece rhyming in *k* and containing a verse which offers a similar thought. It is this:

O mouth of the beloved! thou didst consume my heart when I tasted of thy coolness.

But the idea itself originated with Ibn at-Taâwîzi (*p.* 162 *of this vol.*), who said, in the well-known *kasîda* which rhymes in *n*:

A (*liquor*) cool and chill from her lips, lights up the ardour (*of love*), and her languishing eyes kindle desire.



One of Dîâ ad-Dîn's dispatches, written in the name of his sovereign to the *Grand Dîwân* (*ad-Dîwân al-Azîz, the court of the khalif of Baghdad*), contains the following passage : " His (*the khalif's*) dynasty smiles sweetly, though it derives its " name from *al-Abbâs* (*the frowner*). It is the best dynasty which was ever pro- " duced unto (*the eye of*) time, and thus also its subjects are the best people ever " produced unto mortels. For its livery was chosen the colour of youth (5), which " augured that the dynasty would never fall into decrepitude and that it would " always continue to enjoy the purest gifts of Fortune, the never-fading love (*of the " people*) and their unceasing affection. The thought here expressed for the first " time has for its author the humble servant of the dynasty, one always devoted " to its colours; never, till now, was it traced on paper by a pen, and never yet did " it revolve with other original ideas in the human mind."—I must, however, declare that Dîâ ad-Dîn was wrong in attributing to himself the discovery of this idea, for Ibn at-Taâwîzi had already expressed it in a poem rhyming in *s* and containing the praises of the *imâm* (*khalif*) an-Nâsir li-Dîn Illah Abû 'l-Abbâs Ahmad. He recited it to that prince on the 1st of Zû 'l-Kaada, 575 (29th March, A. D. 1180), the day of his instalment on the throne of the khalifate. It begins thus :

(*The wine*) was carried round the company by a cup-bearer (*graceful and slender*) as the pliant branch of the Arâk tree.

That part of it where the poet brings on the transition offers the passage to which we allude and which we give here :

Alas! the day has brightened up my night (i. e. *hoariness has rendered white my black hair*); never again shall I enjoy the gloomy night of youth! A time came which changed the tint of my hair and interposed between me and joyful sports. The young girls, on seeing my white hair, turn away and say: " Black is best of raiments; why should it not have the prefe- " rence, since it is the livery of the sons of al-Abbâs?"

Dîâ ad-Dîn certainly added to the idea, but it was Ibn at-Taâwîzi who opened the gate and cleared the way; so the other had no difficulty in following the road. A letter in which Dîâ ad-Dîn announces the defeat of the infidels (*the crusaders?*) contains the following description of those who were stripped (*by the victors*) : " They " were stripped and, in exchange for their garments, they obtained a raiment of " blood. They appeared in the form of naked men, yet their attire was that of " people who are dressed. How quickly was sewn for them scarlet clothing; and

"yet it made no folds upon them and had no need of buttons! (6). They received "not this dress till Islamism had put on the livery of victory always to endure. "(*Their dress*) was woven by the cutting blades of lances, not by the skill of the "artisan; and those who were to wear it had only to wait till the swords entered "into the heads and the necks, and till the spear, straight as the letter *alif*, en-"countered the coats of mail (7)." The idea expressed in the beginning of the passage just mentioned is borrowed from this verse of al-Bohtori:

> They were stripped but the blood, shining on their bodies with a scarlet hue, made them appear as if they were clothed.

Diâ ad-Dîn has given a description of Egypt in a long epistle which contains a passage on the swelling of the Nile. The idea which he there enounces and the terms in which he expresses it are quite novel, having never occurred to any other person. Here is what he says: "Sweet in its waters, like the gatherings of the bee; "red in its face, so I knew it had slain sterility." I have since discovered that this highly beautiful thought was borrowed from an Arab (*of the desert*) who composed a piece of verse which I here give:

> Pity a heart ever appalled by the lightnings of the cloud, as that cloud passes towards the mountain or over the valley. When its uncovered face appeared red through the murky night, (*I knew full well*) that it had murdered sleep.

Diâ ad-Dîn was quite right in taking this idea for himself; having employed it very skilfully in the passage before us. The same thought is found in a verse composed by Abd Allah Ibn al-Motazz (*vol. II. p.* 41) on a maiden who had sore eyes:

> People said: Her eyes complain (*of what they suffer*), and I replied: That ailment comes from having slain so many (*lovers*); their redness is the blood of her victims, and blood on the edge of a weapon is an excellent witness (*against one who is accused*).

The epistles of Diâ ad-Dîn abound in beauties. He used to contend with al-Kâdi 'l-Fâdil in this species of composition: when the latter drew up an epistle, he indited another on the same subject. They kept up a correspondence, one with the other, and had frequent conferences (*on literary matters*). He had no great talent for poetry, and, a proof, I may cite the following verse:

> Three things give joy: a cup, a bowl and a goblet. When the wine-skin is pierced for them, it is pierced for (*the dispelling of*) care.



He often recited the following verses of Omâra tal-Yamani :

This heart (*of mine*) was sufficiently enamoured to obey the call of those (*friends*) who were setting out for a distant land, and not call (*on me to detain it*). It was certainly a false idea of mine to suppose that, after their departure, it would still remain within my ribs.

His productions abound in beauties, but we have spoken long enough on the subject. Ibn al-Mustaufi mentions him, with high commendation, in the History of Arbela. " He arrived at Arbela," says this author, "in the month of the first " Rabî, 611 (July-August, A. D. 1214). He was born in al-Jazîra (*upper Mesopota-* " *mia*) in the mouth of Shaabân, 558 (July-August, A. D. 1163), and he died in one " of the two months of Jumâda, 637 (Dec.-Jan. A. D. 1239-40) at Baghdad, whither " he had been sent on a mission by the sovereign of Mosul. The funeral service " was said over him the next morning, in the mosque of the citadel (*Jâmê 'l-Kasr*) " and he was buried near the mausoleum of Mûsa Ibn Jaafar (*see page* 463 *of* " *this vol.*), which monument is situated in the Kuraish cemetery, on the west bank " (*of the Tigris*)." Abû Abd Allah Muhammad Ibn an-Najjâr (*vol. I. p.* 11) states, in his History of Baghdad, that Dîâ ad-Dîn's death took place on Monday, the 29th of the latter Rabî (28th November), of the above mentioned year (1239); and this writer must have known the fact better than any other person, because he cultivated specially this branch of knowledge (*biography*) and because he (*Dîâ ad-Dîn*) died among them (*the inhabitants of Baghdad*). We have already spoken of his two brothers Majd ad-Dîn Abû 's-Saâdât al-Mubârak (*vol. II. p.* 551), and Izz ad-Dîn Abû 'l-Hasan Ali (*vol. II. p.* 288). All three were men of talent, merit and eminence, and each of them composed some instructive works. — Dîâ ad-Dîn had a son of great abilities, who wrote very well both in prose and in verse, and composed a number of works, such as compilations, *etc.* I met with one of these treatises; the author had drawn it up for al-Malik al-Ashraf (*p.* 486 *of this vol.*), the son of al-Malik al-Aâdil Ibn Aiyûb, and, in it, he displayed the highest talent. It contained a great quantity of pieces in prose and verse, composed by himself, and a number of his father's epistles. He was born at Mosul in the month of Ramadân, 585 (Oct.-Nov. A. D. 1189), and he died there on Monday morning, the 8th of the first Jumâda, 622 (18th May, A. D. 1225). His name was Muhammad and his title as-Sharaf (*i. e. Sharaf ad-Dîn, nobleness of religion*).

(1) See vol. II, pages 289, 553.

(2) His life will be found in this volume.

(3) The translator has purposely avoided given the literal meaning of this verse. In all the piece he has substituted the feminine pronoun for the masculine.

(4) The effect which the poet means is *wounding the heart*.

(5) *Black* is the colour of youth, because, at that age, the hair is dark.

(6) The true reading is ولم يزرر.

(7) Literally: till the stroke of the spear joined the letter *alif* to the *lâm*. The group *lam-alif* (لا) is well known to Arabic students. But here the *alif* means a spear as straight as an *alif*, and the word *lâm* means: coats of mail.

AN-NADR IBN SHUMAIL.

Abû 'l-Hasan an-Nadr, the son of Shumail, the son of Kharasha, the son of Yazîd, the son of Kulthûm, the son of Abda, the son of Zuhair as-Sakb, the poet, the son of Orwa, the son of Halîma, the son of Hujr, the son of Khuzâi, the son of Mâzin, the son of Mâlik, the son of Amr, the son of Tamîm, was surnamed at-Tamîmi al-Mâzeni. This grammarian, who was a native of Basra, possessed extensive information in various branches of knowledge. He was veracious and trustworthy (*as a traditionist*), a perfect master of Arabic jurisprudence and poetry, well acquainted with (*the accounts handed down concerning*) the battle-days of the (*ancient*) Arabs, and a relator of traditions (*respecting Muhammad*). He was one of al-Khalîl Ibn Ahmad's pupils (*vol. I. p.* 493). Abû Obaida (*page* 388 *of this vol.*) mentions him in the *Kitâb mathâlib ahl il-Basra* (*treatise on the ignoble acts of the people of Basra*) and relates as follows: "An-Nadr Ibn Shumail, when at Basra, fell into straitened circumstances "and left the place, with the intention of going to Khorâsân. The people of Basra, "to the number of about three thousand persons, escorted him out of the city; and "not a man of them but was either a traditionist, or a grammarian, or a philologer, "or a prosodian, or a historian. When he reached the Mirbad (*see p.* 535 *of this* "*vol.*), he sat down and said: 'People of Basra! it is painful for me to quit you, "'and, by Allah! if I could have found there every day a handful (1) of potherbs, "'I would not have left you.' Not one of the assembly offered to provide him



"with the pittance he required. Having arrived in Khorâsân, he settled at Marw "and acquired great wealth."—In our article on Abd al-Wahhâb al-Mâliki (*vol. II. p.* 165) will be found a similar discourse, pronounced by that *kâdi* on leaving Baghdad.—An-Nadr heard traditions from (*the lips of*) Hichâm Ibn Orwa (2), Ismaîl Ibn Abi Khâlid (3), Hamîd at-Tawil (*vol. I. p.* 176), Abd Allah Ibn Aûn (4), Hichâm Ibn Hassân (5) and other *Tâbîs* (*disciples of Muhammad's companions*). Traditions were given on his authority by Yahya Ibn Maîn (6), Ali Ibn al-Madîni (7) and other *imâms* who had an opportunity of meeting him. He visited Naisâpûr more than once, resided there for some time and taught (*traditions*) to the inhabitants. Some curious stories and anecdotes are related of what passed between him and al-Mamûn, the son of Hârûn ar-Rashîd, to whose social parties, at Marw, he was frequently admitted. Al-Harîri (*vol. II. p.* 490) has inserted one of them in his *Durra tal-Ghawwâs*, where he says: "Some people employ the expression: (*such a thing is*) a plug "(*sadâd*) to keep out poverty, but they make a mistake, because the correct pronun-"ciation is *sidâd*. It is stated in the histories of (*celebrated*) grammarians, that an-"Nadr Ibn Shumail gained eighty thousand dirhems (*two thousand pounds sterling*) "by teaching the right pronunciation of the word."—He then gives the anecdote and commences by an *isnâd* (8) which reaches up to Muhammad Ibn Fâdih al-Ahwâzi who related as follows: "An-Nadr Ibn Shumail said to me: I used to attend al-Mâ-"mûn's conversation parties and, one evening, I went there in a patched cloak. "He (*remarked this and*) said: 'What is the meaning of such slovenliness? how "'dare you appear before the Commander of the faithful in so shabby a dress?' "I answered: 'Commander of the faithful!' I am a feeble old man, and the heat "in Marw is very great; so I wear this dress to keep myself cool!—'Not so!' replied "the khalif, 'you are really a sloven.' We then got up a conversation (9) in which "he brought on the subject of women and said: Hushaim (10) informed me that "Mujâlid (11) had mentioned to him that as-Shâbi (*vol. II. p.* 4) had told him that "he heard Ibn Abbâs (*vol. I. p.* 89) relate as follows: The Apostle of God said: "'*When a man marries a woman for her piety and beauty, that is a stopper* (sdâd) "'*to keep out poverty.*' In relating this tradition, the khalif gave to the word "*sdâd* the pronunciation of *sadâd*. On this I said: 'Commander of the faithful!' "Hushaim would have spoken truly, had he said: 'It was related to me by Aûf "'Ibn Abi Jamîla (12), on the authority of al-Hasan, the son of Ali Ibn Abi Tâlib, "'that the Apostle of God had spoken thus: *When a man marries a woman for her*

" '*piety and beauty, she is a stopper* (sidâd) *to keep out poverty*. Al-Mâmûn was then
" 'reclining on a sofa, but, on hearing my words, he sat up and asked me why I
" 'said *sidâd*.' I replied: 'Because *sadâd*, in this tradition, is a fault.—' Do you
" 'mean to say,' said he, 'that I have made the fault?' I answered: 'I do not; but
" 'Hushaim made it, for he was a very incorrect speaker (*lahhâna*), and the Com-
" 'mander of the faithful followed what he said.' He then asked me what was the
" difference between the two words, and I answered: *Sadâd* means *the good direction*
" *and the right road*, in speaking of religion, but *sidâd* means *whatever suffices to*
" *support life*, and every thing which serves as a *stoppage* to another. 'Do the
" 'Arabs (*of the desert*) know this distinction?' said he. 'They do,' said I; 'here,
" for instance, is a verse by al-Arji (*vol. I. p.* 267):

> "They allowed me to perish and what a man have they left to perish! (*one who could have*
> " *served them well*) in a day of terror or in the defense (*sidâd*) of a breach."

" On this al-Mâmûn exclaimed: 'God's curse on fellows who have no educa-
" 'tion!' He then remained with down-cast eyes, till at length he said: 'What
" 'property (*mal*) do you possess?' I replied: 'I have, at Marw, a little piece of
" 'land, and its feeble drainings (*produce*) I drink (*atasabbûha*) and suck up.'
" 'Shall I add,' said he, 'to what you have.' I answered: 'Of that I stand
" 'greatly in need.' He then took a piece of paper and wrote on it I knew not what.
" Where he had done, he said: When you make use of the verb *atraba* (*to cover*
" *with earth or with wealth*), how do you say? I replied: *Otribhu* (*cover him*
" *with earth*).' 'Then' said he, 'how do you designate the person so covered?' I
" answered: 'He is *mutrab*.' 'And,' continued he, 'if you made use of (*the verb*
" *derived from*) *tîn* (*clay*) how would you say in the imperative? 'To this I answered:
" *tinhu* (*lute or cement him*).' 'And' said he, 'the person thus cemented, how
" 'would you designate him?' I should employ (*the participle*) *matîn*. On this,
" he said: 'Better and better! page! earth him and cement him.' He then recited
" the evening prayer at the head of the assembly and, when he had finished, he
" said to his attendant: 'Take (*this letter*) and conduct him to al-Fadl Ibn Sahl
" '(*vol. II. p.* 472).' When al-Fadl read the paper, he said to me: 'Tell me,
" 'Nadr! why has the Commander of the faithful ordered you fifty thousand
" 'dirhems?' I informed him of what had passed and disguised nothing. 'Then,'
" said he, 'you reproved the Commander of the faithful for making a fault of pro-

" 'nunciation.—'Not so,' said I, 'the fault was made by Hushaim, who was noted
" 'for his incorrect pronunciation, and the Commander of the faithful repeated his
" 'saying exactly, so as is always practised with the sayings of legists and relators
" 'of historical facts.'. Al-Fadl then ordered me thirty thousand dirhems, so that I
" gained eighty thousand by teaching the right pronunciation of a single syllable."
—The verse given as an example in the preceding recital was composed by Abd Allah, the son of Amr and the grand-son of (*the khalif*) Othmân Ibn Affân. He was celebrated as a poet and had received the surname of al-Arji. Here is the piece to which it belongs:

> They have allowed me perish, and what a man have they left to perish! (*one who could have served them well*) in a day of terror or in the defense of a breach! (*one so*) firm in desperate conflicts when the lance of death was levelled at his throat! I am dragged every day through assembled multitudes; o God! what oppression and violence I undergo! (*Now I am*) as if I had never been the noblest pearl of their assemblies and as if I did not belong to the family of Amr. Perhaps the sovereign Lord, who hearkens to the prayers of his petitioners, may deliver me from bondage; then people shall know my gratitude; those who loved me I shall requite with honours, and those who hated me shall feel my indignation.

The reason of his composing these verses was, that when Muhammad Ibn Hishâm Ibn Ismaîl al-Makhzûmi, (*the khalif*) Hishâm Ibn Abd al-Malik's maternal uncle, was governor of Mekka, he cast al-Arji into prison; (*meaning thus*) to avenge the honour of his mother al-Jîdâ, who belonged to the family of al-Hârith Ibn Kâb and on whom the poet had composed some amatory verses. It was not through love that al-Arji had done so, but merely to bring her son to shame. He remained in prison nine years and died there, after having been beaten with whips by al-Makhzûmi's order and paraded ignominiously through the market-places. He composed these verses when in prison.—But we have digressed from our subject, so, let us return to it, and complete our account of an-Nadr Ibn Shumail. Another anecdote concerning him is related by al-Harîri, in the *Durra tal-Ghawwâs*, towards the beginning of the work; he says: "Some people, when speaking to a
" sick man, make use of the expression: *May God remove* (masah, مسح) *your ail-
" ment!* It is related that an-Nadr Ibn Shumail, being unwell, received visits of
" condolence from a number of people, and one of them, surnamed Abu Sâlih,
" addressed him in the above-mentioned terms. An-Nadr replied: 'Do not say
" '*masah* with a *sîn* (س), but say *massah* with a *sad* (ص), which word signifies

" '*to remove, to disperse.* Have you not heard this verse of al-Aasha (*vol. I. p.* 267):

" As often as the wine frothed in the (*cup*), the froth went off and disappeared (*massah*)?

"The man answered: '*Sîn* may be sometimes employed instead of *sâd*, as takes " ' place in the words *sirât* (*road*) and *sakar* (*hell*).' To this an-Nadr replied: Then " ' your name is *Abû Sâlih* (13).' Another anecdote of a similar cast is related of " a literary man who maintained, in the presence of the vizir Abû 'l-Hasan Ibn al-" Furât (*vol. II. p.* 355) that it was allowable to substitute the *sîn* for the *sâd* in " every case. On this, the vizir said to him: 'In reading this verse (*Koran*, " ' sûrat 13, verse 23): *The gardens of eternal abode, into which they shall enter,* " ' *with those of their ancestors, wives and offspring who were virtuous* (*salah*); do " ' you pronounce this word with a *sâd* or a *sîn?*' The man blushed with confusion ' and uttered not a word." End of al-Harîri's remarks.—I may here state that the ablest philologers allow the substitution of *sâd* for *sîn* in every word wherein the *sîn* is followed by one of these four letters: *tâ* (ط), *khâ* (خ), *ghain* (غ) and *kâf* (ق). You may therefore say *ssirât* for *sirât*, *ssakhkhara lakum* for *sakhkhara lakum*, *massghaba* for *masghaba*, *ssaikal* for *saikal*. Take these as exemples of a general rule. In the philological works which I have consulted I never met with any observation to the contrary, except in the *Sahâh* of al-Jauhari (*vol. I. p.* 22), under the root صدغ, where the author says: " Kutrub Muhammad Ibn al-Mustanîr (*p.* 29 *of this* " *vol.*) mentions that the family of Bel-Anbar (*Ibn al-Anbar*), a branch of the tribe " of Tamîm, change the *sîn* into *sâd* when it is followed by any one of these four " letters: *tâ* (ط), *kâf* (ق), *ghain* (غ) and *khâ* (خ), no matter if one, or two, or three " letters intervene. They say *ssirât* for *sirât*, *bassta* for *basta*, *ssaikal* for *saikal*, *ssa-* " *rakt* for *sarakt*, *massghaba* for *masghaba*, *missdagha* for *misdagha*, *ssakhkhara lakum* " for *sakhkhara lakum*, and *ssakhab* for *sakhab*." End of al-Jauhari's remarks on this subject (14). Numerous anecdotes might be related of an-Nadr, but concision is to be preferred. He left a great number of works one of which was on the subject of *species* (?) (*al-Ajnâs*) and similar to the *Gharîb* (15); he entitled it *Kitâb as-Sifat* (*book of descriptions*). According to Ali Ibn al-Kûfi (16), the first volume treated of the human frame, beneficence, generosity and the qualities of women; the second volume treated of tents, dwellings, mountains and valleys; the third was wholly devoted to camels; the fourth to sheep, birds, the sun and moon, rivers, the

various kinds of milk, truffles (*of the desert*), wells, cisterns, well-ropes, buckets and descriptions of wine; the fifth contained (*passages of poems respecting*) corn-fields, the vine, grapes, the names of potherbs and of trees, winds, clouds and rain. His other works were the *Kitâb as-Silâh* (*on weapons*), the *Kitâb khilk al-Faras* (*on the frame of the horse*), the *Kitâb al-Anwâ* (*on the lunar mansions*), the *Kitâb al-Maâni* (*on rhetorical figures?*), the *Kitâb Gharîb al-Hadîth* (*on unusual words occurring in the traditions*), the *Kitâb al-Masâdir* (*on verbal nouns?*), the *Kitâb al-Mudkhil*, meant as an *introduction* to (*the study of*) al-Khalîl Ibn Ahmad's (*vol. I. p.* 493) *Kitâb al-Aîn*. An-Nadr died on the last day of Zû-'l-Hijja, 204 (16th June, A. D. 820);—some say, on the first day of that month, and some place his death in the year 203. He died at Marw, a town of Khorâsân, which was also his birth-place. He was brought up at Basra and received, for that reason, the surname of al-Basri.—*Nadr*, *Shumail*, *Kharasha*, *Kulthûm*, *Abda* and *as-Sakb*, are to be pronounced as here indicated. (*The poet Zuhair*) received the surname of as-Sakb for having composed the following verse :

Through the tent glittered a lightning-flash wide-spreading (*uskûb*).

Halîma has for vowels an *a* and an *i*. Ibn al-Jauzi (*vol. II. p.* 96) says in his *Kitâb al-Alkâb* (*book of surnames*), in the article *Sakb*: " That person's real name was Zu-" hair, the son of Orwa, the son of Julhuma." God knows best which of us is in the right! *Julhuma*, as here written, designated originally the side of the valley called *Julhama* or *Jalhama*, and then became a proper name for men. *Hujr* takes a *u* for its vowel. *Khuzâi* (*as a proper name*) is similar to the ethnic adjective (*which signifies belonging to the tribe of Khuzâa*). The remainder of the names (*in the genealogy*) are so well known that it is needless to fix their ortography.

(1) The arabic word is *Kilja*. It designates a weight of nearly four pounds.

(2) The life of Hishâm is given in this volume.

(3) Ismail Ibn Abi Khâlid Hormuz, one of the *Tâbis*, or disciples of Muhammad's companions, was a traditionist of the highest authority. He died A. H. 145 (A. D. 762-3).

(4) The traditionist Abd Allah Ibn Aûn al-Basri al-Muzani died A. H. 151 (A. D. 768).

(5) Hishâm Ibn Hassan al-Azdi al-Basri; this traditionist died A. H. 146 (A. D. 763-4).

(6) The life of Ibn Main will be found in the fourth volume of this work.

(7) In the second volume, page 242, mention has been made of this celebrated doctor. It is said that he was a partisan of the doctrines professed by the Shiites.



(8) See vol. I. introduction, page XXII.

(9) The text may also signify: we then began to repeat traditions.

(10) See vol. I, page 187, note (7).

(11) Mujâlid Ibn Saîd al-Hamdâni al-Kûfi learned traditions from some of the *Tâbîs*. He taught them to other traditionists, but his authority is considered by all the doctors as feeble. He died A. H. 134 (A. D. 751-2).—(an-Nawawi's *Tahdîb.*)

(12) Aûf Ibn Abi Jamîla, surnamed al-Aârâbi (*the Arab of the desert*), bore a fair reputation as a traditionist. He died A. H. 146 (A. D. 763-4), or 147.

(13) صالح means holy and سالح one who discharges his excrements.

(14) The examples given here are most of them taken from the Koran, the correct reading of which is a matter of the highest importance with the Musulmans. The *sîn* is our *s*; the *sâd*, or *sod*, is an emphatic *s* with a dull sound and gives to the following vowel a shade of that pronunciation which is special to the vowel *o*.

(15) This is probably the philological work compiled by Abû Amr as-Shaibâni (*vol. I. p.* 182) and entitled *Gharîb al-Musannaf.*

(16) According to the author of the *Nujûm*, a person named Ali Ibn Ghannâm al-Kûfi died in the year 228 (A. D. 842-3).

THE IMAM ABU HANIFA.

The *imâm* and jurisconsult, Abû Hanîfa an-Nomân, the son of Thâbit, the son of Zûta, the son of Mâh, was a native of Kûfa and a client, by enfranchisement, to the tribe of Taîm Allah Ibn Thalaba. He belonged to the same family as Hamza az-Zaiyât (*vol. I. p.* 478), and was a dealer in silk thread. His grandfather, Zûta, was a native of Kâbul, or, as some say, an inhabitant of Bâbel; but, according to other accounts, he was a native of al-Anbâr, or of Nasâ, or of Tirmid. It was he who was enslaved (*by the Moslim conquerors*), and afterwards obtained his liberty. His son, Thâbit, was born a musulman. Ismaîl, the son of Hammâd and the grandson of Abû Hanîfa, made the following statement: "I am Ismaîl, the son of Hammâd, "the son of an-Nomân, the son of Thabît, the son of an-Nomân, the son of al-"Marzubân who belonged to a noble family of Persia. God never laid upon us the "yoke of slavery. My grandfather was born in the year 80 (A. D. 699-700). Ali "(*the son-in-law of Muhammad*), to whom Thâbit went when a boy, invoked upon

"him and his posterity the benediction of God; and we hope that, on Ali's account, "the Almighty will continue to grant us that favour! An-Nomân, the son of al-"Marzubân and the father of Thâbit, was he who, on the day of the autumnal "equinox (*Mihrijân*), presented the almond cake to Ali, who said: 'May our Mih-" 'rijâun be every day like this (1).'" So it is related by the Khatîb (*vol. I. p.* 75), in his History (*of Baghdad*), but God only knows (*if the statement be true*).—Abû Hanîfa was born so far back that he might have met with four of the Prophet's companions,—namely: Anas Ibn Mâlik (*vol. II. p.* 587), Abd Allah Ibn Abi Aûfa (2), who resided at Kûfa, Sahl Ibn Saad as-Sâidi (3) at Medina, and Abû't-Tufail Aâmir Ibn Wathila (4), at Mekka; but he never saw them nor obtained from any of them Traditions respecting the Prophet. His disciples, however, say that he met with a number of the Companions and delivered traditional information on their authority; but, for doctors learned in the science of Traditions, this statement does not appear well supported. The Khatîb says, in his History of Baghdad, that Abû Hanîfa saw Anas Ibn Mâlik, that he took lessons in jurisprudence from Hammâd Ibn Abi Sulaimân (5), and that he heard traditions delivered by Atâ Ibn Abi Rabâh (*vol. II. p.* 203), Abû Ishâk as-Sabîî (*vol. II. p.* 392), Muhârib Ibn Dithâr (6), al-Haitham Ibn Habîb as-Sarrâf, Muhammad Ibn al-Munkadir (*vol. II. p.* 119), Nâfî (*see page* 521 *of this vol.*) the *mawla* of Abd Allah Ibn Omar, Hishâm Ibn Orwa (7) and Sammâk Ibn Harb (8). He says also that Traditions were taught on his authority by Abd Allah Ibn al-Mubarak (*vol. II. p.* 12), Wakîa Ibn al-Jarrâh (*vol. I. p.* 374), the *kâdi* Abû Yûsuf (*see next vol.*), Muhammad Ibn al-Hasan as-Shaibâni (*vol. II. p.* 590) and other doctors. He was a learned man and a practiser (*of good works*), remarkable for self-denial, piety, devotion and the fear of God; humble in spirit and constant in his acts of submission to the Almighty. (*The khalif*) Al-Mansûr had him brought from Kûfa to Baghdad in order to appoint him as *kâdi*, but Abû Hanîfa refused to act. Al-Mansûr then swore that he should act; the other swore that he would not; the khalif repeated his oath, and so did Abû Hanîfa: On this, the chamberlain, ar-Rabî Ibn Yûnus (*vol. I. p.* 521) said (*to the latter*): "Do you not perceive that the Commander of the faithful has made an oath!" Abû Hanîfa replied: "The Commander of the faithful has ampler means than I for "expiating an oath not fulfilled (9)." As he persisted in refusing, the khalif sent him to prison. According to a popular relation, he (*the khalif?*) passed a number of days as a counter of bricks in order to expiate his oath; but this story does not

repose on good authority. Here is ar-Rabî's statement: "I saw al-Mansûr enter into
"a discussion with Abû Hanîfa relatively to the affair of the kadiship; and he (*Abû*
"*Hanîfa*) addressed him in these terms: 'Keep the dread of the Lord before your
"'eyes and choose no man for the service of those confided to your care except one
"'who fears God. By Allah! I am not assured of (*your*) good will; how then can
"'I be assured against (*your*) anger? If I happen to judge of this matter diffe-
"'rently from you, you may perhaps threaten to have me drowned in the Euphrates,
"'unless I accept the office of judge; (*even in that case*) I should prefer being
"'drowned. You have (*a multitude of*) dependants who require to be respected
"'on your account; and, for such a task, I am not fitted.' The khalif answered
"and said: 'You lie! you are fitted for it!' Abû Hanîfa replied: 'You have now
"'decided in my favour and against yourself; is it lawful for you to nominate a
"'liar as a *kâdi* over those whom God has confided to your care?'" The Khatîb
gives other acounts of this affair and says: "When al-Mansûr had finished the
"building of his city (*Baghdad*), he took up his residence there, and (*his son*)
"al-Mahdi fixed his abode (*in the quarter*) on the east side (*of the river*). (*Al-*
"*Mahdi*), having built the mosque at ar-Rusâfa, sent for Abû Hanîfa and asked
"him to act as a *kâdi* in that place. The other refused, and al-Mahdi said to him:
"'If you do not accept, I shall have you flogged till you consent.' Abû Hanîfa
"accepted and sat in judgment for two days, but no one went to him. On the third
"day, a coppersmith appeared before him with another man and said: 'This man
"'owes me two dirhems and four daneks (*one shilling and a penny*) for a brass
"'drinking-cup (*and he will not pay me*).' Abû Hanîfa said to the other: 'Fear
"'God and reflect on what the coppersmith has said.' (*The defendant*) replied:
"'He has no claim upon me.' The plaintiff being asked what he had to say,
"answered: 'Let the man swear to the truth of his declaration.' Abû Hanîfa then
"bade the defendant repeat these words: *By God! by him who is the only God!*
"When he saw the man on the point of pronouncing them and taking the oath,
"he interrupted him, passed his hand into his sleeve, opened his purse and, taking
"out two dirhems of full weight, he said to the coppersmith: 'Take these two
"'pieces as the price of your cup'. The man examined the money and consented
"'to accept it. Two days later, Abû Hanîfa was taken ill and, six days after, he
"'died.'" Yazîd Ibn Omar Ibn Hubaira 'l-Fazâri (10), when emir over the two
Iraks, wished to appoint Abû Hanîfa to the place of *kâdi* at Kûfa, whilst Marwân Ibn

Muhammad, the last of the Omaiyide sovereigns, was still reigning, and, on his refusal, he inflicted on him one hundred and ten strokes of a whip; ten every day. Finding, however, that Abû Hanîfa persisted in his resolution, he set him at liberty. When Ahmad Ibn Hanbal spoke of this occurrence, he would shed tears and invoke God's mercy on Abû Hanîfa. This took place subsequently to the beating which he (*Ibn Hanbal*) had received for refusing to declare that the Koran was created. Ismaîl Ibn Hammad (*vol. I. p.* 469), the grandson of Abû Hanîfa, related as follows: "I passed (*one day*) through the Kunâsa with my father and, seeing him begin to "shed tears, I said to him: 'My dear father! what makes you weep?' He replied: "'My dear son! in this place Ibn Hubaira inflicted on my father ten strokes of a "'whip every day, for ten days, in order to force him to accept the office of *kâdi*; "'but he would not.'"—The *Kunâsa* is an open place at Kûfa.—Abû Hanîfa was a handsome man, an agreeable companion, strictly honorable and full of kindness for his brethren. He was of a middle size, or, by another account, rather tall, and his complexion inclined to tawny. No man spoke more elegantly than he, nor with a sweeter tone of voice. The Khatîb states, in his history of Baghdad, that Abû Hanîfa dreamt that he was digging open the tomb of the Prophet, and sent to consult Ibn Sîrîn (*vol. II. p.* 586), who returned this answer: "The person who "had this dream will lay open a science never before discovered." As-Shâfi (*vol. II. p.* 569) relates as follows: "Mâlik (*vol. II. p.* 545), being asked if he ever "saw Abû Hanîfa, replied: 'I did. He was a man of such talent that, if he spoke "'of this pillar and undertook to demonstrate that it was of gold, he would do so, "'and adduce good proofs.'" Harmala Ibn Yahya (*vol. I. p.* 369) relates that as-Shâfi said: "There are five men on whom people must rely for the nourishment of "their minds: he who wishes to become learned in jurisprudence must have "recourse to Abû Hanîfa;"—Abû Hanîfa was then considered as one of the highest authorities in jurisprudence;—"he who desires to become skilled in poetry must "apply to Zuhair Ibn Abi Sulma (11): he who would like to become well acquainted "with the history of the Moslim conquests must obtain his information from Mu-"hammad Ibn Ishâk (*vol. II. p.* 677); he who wishes to become deeply learned in "grammar, must have recourse to al-Kisâi (*vol. II. p.* 237), and he who seeks to be "acquainted with the interpretation of the Koran must apply to Mukâtil Ibn Sulai-"mân (*see page* 408 *of this vol.*)." This anecdote is related by the Khatîb, in his History.—"In my opinion," says Yahya Ibn Maîn (12), "Hamza (*vol. I. p.* 478)

"is the only man for the Koran-readings and Abû Hanîfa the only man for jurisprudence; and I find that every one agrees with me on this point."—Djaafar Ibn Rabîa said: "I attended (*the lessons of*) Abû Hanîfa during five years, and I never "met a man who would remain silent as long as he; but, when he was questioned "concerning (*a point of*) jurisprudence, he would launch out into a flux of words, "copious as a torrent; and, when he discoursed, I remarked that he spoke (*some-times*) in an under tone and (*sometimes*) in a loud one. In the art of drawing "conclusions from analogies (*kiyâs*) he was a master of the highest rank." Ali Ibn Aâsim (13) relates as follows: "I went to visit Abû Hanîfa and found with him a "barber (14) who was about to shorten his hair. He said to the man: 'Cut away "'those parts only which are turning white.' The other replied: 'Do not insist "'(*on that*).' 'Why not?' said Abû Hanîfa. 'Because,' said the barber, 'that "'will increase their whiteness.' 'Well,' said Abû Hanîfa, 'cut away those parts "'which are black; that may *perhaps* increase their blackness.' When I related "this conversation to Sharîk (*vol. I. p.* 622), he laughed and said: 'If ever Abû "Hanîfa gave up his system of *kiyâs*, he did so with this barber (15).'" The following relation was made by Abd Allah Ibn Raja: "Abû Hanîfa had for a neigh-bour, in Kûfa, a shoemaker who worked the whole day and came home, at night-fall, with a piece of meat which he boiled, or a fish which he fried. He would "then set to drinking and, when the liquor got into his head, he would begin to "sing. The words which he sung were always those:

> "They allowed me to perish, and what a man have they left to perish! (*one who could have "served them well*) in a day of terror or in the defense of a breach!"

"He would remain drinking and repeating this verse till overcome by sleep. "Abû Hanîfa, being accustomed to pass his nights in prayer, heard constantly the "din of that man's singing. Having perceived, after some time, that the noise "had discontinued, he enquired for the man and was informed that he had been "taken up by the guard and put into prison. The next morning, when he had "finished the prayer of day-break, he got on his mule, went to the emir's (*the chief of the police?*) and asked admittance. The emir gave orders to introduce him "without letting him dismount till he could set his foot on the carpet (*which covered the hall*). He then seated him in the place of honour, shewed him every mark "of attention and asked him what he required. Abû Hanîfa answered: 'I have

" ' for my neighbour a shoemaker and, some nights ago, he was taken up by
" ' the guard. Will the emir have the kindness to order that he be set at liberty?
" —' I will let him out,' replied the emir, ' not only him but all the persons
" ' arrested from that night till this day (16). He then gave orders for their
" immediate liberation. Abû Hanîfa rode off, and the shoemaker followed him on
" foot. On dismounting, he went over to him and said: ' Well, my good fellow!
" ' did I allow you to perish? (17)' The other answered: ' On the contrary; you
" ' preserved me and fulfilled the duty of a good neighbour; may God reward you!'
" He then abandoned his evil ways and never returned to them again."—Ibn al-Mubârak related this anecdote: " I met with Abû Hanîfa on the road to Mekka. He
" had caused the flesh of a fat young camel to be roasted for his companions and,
" as they wished to eat it with vinegar and could find no dish into which they might
" pour it out, they were very much embarrassed. I then saw him make a shallow
" hole in the sand, spread over it the *sofra* (*or leathern hide in which the provisions*
" *are packed up*) and pour the vinegar into the concavity. Being thus enabled to
" eat their roast-meat with vinegar, they said to him: ' All you do is well done.'
" He replied: ' Address your thanks to God, for it was on your account that he, out
" ' of his bounty, sent me this inspiration.' " The same Ibn Mubârak related that
he once said to Sofyân ath-Thauri (*vol. I. p.* 576): " Abû Abd Allah! I never saw a
" man less given to backbiting than Abû Hanîfa; never did I hear him speak ill
" of the absent." Sofyân replied: " By Allah! he is too wise to allow that his good
" qualities should be overcome by another quality which would destroy them."
—Abû Yûsuf (18) related as follows: " Abû Jaafar al-Mansûr sent for Abû Hanîfa, on
" which the chamberlain ar-Rabî, who bore great ill-will towards the latter, said:
" ' Commander of the faithful! this Abû Hanîfa maintains an opinion contrary to
" ' that which was held by Ibn Abbâs, your ancestor, who said that when a man takes
" ' an oath and puts restrictions to it, one or two days after, his restrictions are
" ' valid. Now Abû Hanîfa teaches that restrictions are not valid unless enounced
" ' simultaneously with the oath.' On hearing this, Abû Hanîfa said: ' Commander
" ' of the faithful! ar-Rabî now asserts that the oath of fidelity towards you, which
" ' was taken by your troops, may not be binding.'—' How so!' (*said the khalif*).—
" ' Because,' answered Abû Hanîfa, ' when they went back to their dwellings, they
" ' might have made such restrictions as rendered the oath null.' Al-Mansûr laugh-
" ed and said to ar-Rabî: ' I advise you to avoid hereafter attacking Abû Hanîfa.'

"When the latter retired, ar-Rabî said to him: 'You meant to bring about the
" 'shedding of my blood.'—'No,' replied Abû Hanîfa, 'but you meant to bring
" 'about the shedding of mine, and I saved not only myself but you!"—Abû 'l-Abbâs at-Tûsi bore great ill-will to Abû Hanîfa, a fact of which the latter was well aware; one day, on seeing him enter into al-Mansûr's presence-chamber, where there was a numerous assembly, he said to himself: "I shall have his life taken this very
" day." He then turned towards him and said: 'Tell me, Abû Hanîfa! if a man
" be ordered by the Commander of the faithful to behead another man without
" knowing anything about his conduct, is it lawful for him to obey?" Abû Hanîfa
" answered: "Tell me, Abû 'l-Abbâs! does the Commander of the faithful order
" what is right or what is wrong?" The other replied: "He orders what is
" right."—"Well," said Abû Hanîfa, " let right be done and no questions
" asked." He then said to those who were near him: "That man thought to have
" me cast into bonds, but I shackled him."—Yazîd Ibn al-Kumait relates the following anecdote: "Abû Hanîfa stood in great awe of the Lord, and, one night, the
" *muezzin*, Ali Ibn al-Hasan, recited to us the chapter of the *Earthquake* (*Coran*,
" *sourat* 99), after finishing the *ashâ* prayer (19), and Abû Hanîfa was behind him.
" Where the congregation withdrew, I looked and saw Abû Hanîfa seated on the
" floor, in profound meditation and uttering deep sighs. So I said: 'I shall go
" 'away, for he minds me not.' On departing, I left the lamp burning, and in it
" was very little oil. The next morning, after daybreak, I returned back and
" found him standing, with his hand clutched on his beard and saying: 'O Thou
" 'who givest a reward even for an atom's weight of good-works! O Thou who
" 'punishest, even for an atom's weight of evil-deeds! protect thy servant, an-
" 'Nomân, from the fire (*of Hell*) and deliver him from the evil which conducts
" 'thereto! Permit him to enter into the greatness of thy mercy!'—I then pro-
" nounced the call to prayer, whilst the lamp was still burning and he standing.
" When I went in, he asked me if I came to take away the lamp. I answered:
" 'I have just made the call to morning prayer.' On this, he told me not to
" speak of what I had seen, and made a prayer of two *rakas* (20). He then
" remained seated, till the public prayer began, and he joined in it, that morning,
" without having made any ablution since the preceding evening (21)."—Asad Ibn Amr (22) states that, according to accounts handed down respecting Abû Hanîfa, he always said the morning prayer without making any other ablution than that

of the prayer on the previous evening; "and this, said he, continued during forty "years." He spent the night in reciting the whole of the Koran, whilst making a single *raka*, and his sobbings were so loud that the neighbours would pray God to have pity on him.—It has been handed down that, in the place where he died, he had recited the entire Koran seven thousand times. Ismaîl, the son of Hammâd and the grandson of Abû Hanîfa, relates that he heard his father say: "When my "father died, we asked al-Hasan Ibn Omâra to take charge of washing the corpse, "which he did. When he had finished, he exclaimed: 'May God have mercy "'on you and pardon your sins! you never, for thirty years back, took a morning's "'meal, and never, for forty years back, did you pillow your head on your right "'hand during the night! you have (*outdone and*) fatigued those who strived to "'follow your example, and brought down disgrace upon the Koran-readers." The anecdotes told of Abû Hanîfa's merit and of his decisions are very numerous; the Khatîb has inserted many of them in his History (*of Baghdad*) but, to those, he has subjoined others which it would have been fitter for him to omit and not to notice; for no doubt can be entertained respecting the sincere religious convictions, the piety and the discretion of an *imâm* such as he. Never was any thing reproached to him but his insufficient acquaintance with Arabic grammar. As an example of his faults in that line, they tell us that the grammarian and Koran-reader, Abû Amr Ibn al-Alâ (*see vol. II. p.* 399), asked him, one day, if the slaying of a man with a heavy object necessitated retaliation or not, and received an answer in the negative, conformably to Abû Hanîfa's own system of jurisprudence and in opposition to the system established by as-Shâfi. Abû Amr then said to him: "What say you if a man slay another with a stone shot from a ballista?" and he replied: "Not even if he slew him with (*a stroke of*) *Abâ* Kubais!" which is the name of the mountain overhanging Mekka. To palliate this fault of his (23), it was said that he spoke so conformably to the doctrine of those who teach that the six words of the language which are (*usually*) declined by a change of letters (24) and which are *âbûh* (his father), *akhûh* (his brother), *hamûh* (his brother-in-law), *fuh* (his mouth), *hanuha* (her matrix), and (*zû* in the expression) *zû mâl* (possessing wealth), should take the *âlif* (*a*) in the nominative, the genitive and the accusative cases. In proof of their opinion they cited this verse (*of an ancient poet*):

Her father and the father of her father (25) attained to the highest point of excellence.

This is one of the provincialisms peculiar to the inhabitants of Kûfa and, as Abû Hanîfa belonged to that city, he conformed to its dialect.—This digression has led us from our subject, but discourse is liable to deviations and one matter brings on another.—Abû Hanîfa was born A. H. 80 (A. D. 699-700); other accounts give the years 70 and 61, but the first date is the surest. He died in the month of Rajab (August), or of Shâbân, according to another statement, and in the year 150 (A. D. 767); Some say 151 or 153, and on the 14th of the month of Rajab, but the date given first is right. He died in the prison at Baghdad, having been confined there in order that he might consent to fill the place of *kâdi*, and that he would not do. This is the more authentic account, for some say that he did not die in confinement. According to another relation his death took place on the day of as-Shâfi's birth. He was buried in the Khaizurân cemetery, and his tomb, which is a well-known monument, is much frequented by pious visiters.—*Zûta* is a Nabatean name.—*Kâbul* is a place of great note, in India. It has produced a number of remarkable men, some of them distinguished for learning, and all of them bearing the surname of *al-Kâbuli*.—As for *Bâbel* and *al-Anbâr*, these names are so well-known that it is needless to mark their pronunciation.—Sharaf al-Mulk Abû Saad Muhammad Ibn Mansûr al-Khuwârezmi, who was secretary of state under the reign of the Saljûk sultan, Malak Shâh, erected a chapel and dome over the tomb of Abû Hanîfa and, close to it, he built a large college for the instruction of students in hanefite law. When the work was finished, he rode out to inspect it with a numerous retinue of men high in office. Whilst he was there, the *sharîf* Abû Jaafar Masûd, the same who was generally known by the surname of *al-Bayâdi* (*see page* 353 *of this vol.*), went up to him and recited to him extempore these lines:

> Saw you not how science remained disconnected, till it was embodied by him who is now hidden in this tomb. Thus also was this spot of earth: it remained sterile, till the generosity of his excellence Abû Saad gave it new life.

For this impromptu the poet received an ample reward. Abû Saad built also a college at Marw and a number of *ribats* (*vol. I. p.* 159) and caravanserails in the deserts. He was noted for the great number of his charitable foundations. Towards the close of his life, he left the service of the state and confined himself to his house, but was then frequently applied to for advice on public affairs. He died in the month of Muharram, 494 (Nov.-Dec. A. D. 1100) at Ispahân. Abû Hanîfa's

mausoleum and the dome over it were erected by Abû Saad in the year 459 (A. D. 1066-7).—I stated (*p.* 231 *of this vol.*), in the life of Alp Arslân, the father of the sultan Malak Shâh, that it was he (*Alp Arslân*) who erected the mausoleum over the grave of Abû Hanîfa, and so I found it recorded in a historical work; but I do not now recollect from what book I took my information. I discovered afterwards that the person who built the chapel and the dome was Abû Saad; but it is probable that he only presided over its erection as being Alp Arslân's representative, a very usual thing with sovereigns and their lieutenants. It was for this reason that the construction of the monument was attributed to Alp Arslân during that sovereign's lifetime. This is indicated by the date of the construction, which falls within the reign of that sovereign and by the fact that Abû Saad was then acting as his secretary of state. Abû Saad remained in office after the accession of Malak Shâh. Those observations I make for the purpose of reconciling the two statements.

(1) This anecdote appears to have been preserved on account of the strange manner in which Ali pronounced the persian word *Mihrijân*. It is reproduced in the *Nazm al-Jumân*, a work written by Ibn Dukmâk and containing a long and most interesting notice on Abû Hanîfa, with a chronological account of the doctors who professed his system of jurisprudence. See *MS.* of the *Bib. Imp.*, ancien fonds, n° 741, fol. 22.

(2) Abd Allah Ibn Abi Aûfa Alkama al-Aslami, one of the musulmans who emigrated to Medîna, at the time of the persecution, took a share in the war against the Beni 'n-Nadîr and the Beni-Kuraiza. On the death of Muhammad, he removed from that city to Kûfa, were he died, A. H. 86 (A. D. 705). Some traditions have been handed down on his authority.—(*Nujûm*, an-Nawawi's *Tahdîb al-Asmâ*.)

(3) Sahl Ibn Saad as-Sâidi, a native of Medîna, was about fifteen years of age when Muhammad died. He himself died at Medîna, A. H. 84 (A. D. 703).

(4) Abû Tufail Aâmir Ibn Wâthila al-Laithi died A. H. 100 (A. D. 718-9).—(*Nujûm*.)

(5) Abû Ismaîl Hammâd Ibn Abi Sulaimân Muslim, a client of Abû Mûsa 'l-Ashari and a native of Kûfa, possessed a good knowledge of jurisprudence. He died A. H. 120 (A. D. 738).—(*Huffâz*).

(6) Abû 'l-Mutarraf Muhârib Ibn Dithâr as-Sadûsi, a *Tabî* and a native of Kûfa, died A. H. 121 (A. D. 739).

(7) The life of Hishâm Ibn Orwa will be found in this volume.

(8) Sammâk Ibn Harb ad-Duhli (الذهلي) died A. H. 123 (A. D. 740-1).—(*Nujûm*.)

(9) See vol. I. p. 53.

(10) The life of Ibn Hubaira will be found in the next volume.

(11) Zuhair Ibn Abi Sulma was the author of one of the *Moallakas*. For his history, see Mr Caussin de Perceval's *Essai sur l'Hist. des Arabes*, tome II, p. 527.

(12) The life of Ibn Maîn will be found in the next volume.

(13) The *hâfiz* Ali Ibn Aâsim Ibn Suhaib died A. H. 201 (A. D. 816-7).—(*Nujûm*.)

(14) Literally: with a cupper (or barber-surgeon).

(15) Because he employed the word *perhaps* and did not draw an absolute conclusion.

(16) This anecdote is incorrectly given; the author of the *Nazm al-Jumân* relates it in a much more satisfactory manner. According to him, the magistrate asked the prisoner's name, and, on Abû Hanîfa's saying that he did not know, he declared that he should set at liberty all those who had been arrested on the night which Abû Hanîfa mentioned.

(17) This was an allusion to the words of the song.

(18) Probably the Hanefite doctor whose life is given in the next volume.

(19) See vol. I, p. 594.

(20) See vol. I, p. 624.

(21) Ablution is necessary before morning prayer, if the person slept, even for a moment, during the night.

(22) The jurisconsult Asad Ibn Amr al-Bajeli died A. H. 190 (A. D. 805-6).—(*Nujûm.*)

(23) He should have said *Abi* (in the genitive case).

(24) Example: Nom. *Abû*, Gen. and Dat., *Abi*, Ac. *Abâ*.

(25) *Abâ abâhâ* is used here for *Abâ abîhâ*.

THE KADIS OF THE NOMAN *FAMILY.*

Abû Hanîfa an-Nomân Ibn Abi Abd Allah Muhammad Ibn Mansûr Ibn Ahmad Ibn Haiyûn was a doctor highly distinguished for his talents. The emir al-Mukhtâr al-Musabbihi mentions him in his historical work and says: "He was a man noted "for learning, for skill in jurisprudence, for piety and for talents not to be sur"passed. He composed a number of works, one of which was the *Kitâb Ikhtilâf "Usûl al-Mazâhib* (*treatise on the differences which exist between the fundamental "principles of the various systems of jurisprudence*)."—He at first followed the doctrine of Mâlik, but then passed over to the sect of the Imâmians (*the Fatimides*), and drew up a work entitled: *Kitâb Ibtidâ ad-Dawa lil-Obaidiyîn* (*on the origin of the mission got up in favour of the Fatimides*). He composed also two treatises on jurisprudence, the one bearing the title of *Kitâb al-Ikhbâr* (*book of information*), and the other *Kitâb al-Intisâr* (*the vindicator*). Ibn Zûlâk (*vol. I. p.* 388) has an article, in his history of the *kâdis* of Egypt, on Abû 'l-Hasan Ali, the son of the Nomân we are here speaking of, and there we read a passage to this effect: "His "father, the *kâdi* an-Nomân Ibn Muhammad, was a man of the highest abilities,

" deeply versed in the Koran, fully acquainted with the meaning of the expressions
" contained in that book, skilled in the systems of jurisprudence, well informed res-
" pecting the conflicting opinions entertained by the legists, learned in Arabic phi-
" lology, in poetry of the higher class, in the history of the battle-days of the
" people (*the ancient Arabs*), and distinguished for intelligence and equity. He
" composed for that family (*the Fatimides*) some volumes containing thousands of
" leaves; they were drawn up with great talent and in a style remarkable for the
" beauty of its cadences and rhymes. He composed also a good work on the meri-
" torious and disgraceful acts (*committed by the Arabian tribes*), and wrote a number
" of refutations addressed to those who contested his opinions. One of these trea-
" tises was directed against Abû Hanîfa (*the imâm*), another against Mâlik and as-
" Shâfi, and another against Ibn Suraij (*vol. I. p.* 46). In his work entitled
" *Ikhtilâf al-Fukahâ* (*differences of opinion between the doctors*), he takes the defense
" of the *People of the House* (*the Fatimides*). To a poem of his, treating of juris-
" prudence, he gave the title of *al-Muntakhab* (*choice selection*). He was attached
" to the service of al-Moizz Abû Tamîm Maadd Ibn al-Mansur,"—a sovereign whom we have already noticed (*page* 377 *of this volume*),—"and, when that prince set
" out from Ifrîkiya for Egypt, he accompanied him. He did not long survive (*the*
" *journey*); his death having taken place in Old Cairo, on the first of Rajab, 363
" (28th March, A. D. 974)." Ahmad Ibn Muhammad Ibn Abd Allah al-Farghâni states, in his History of the *kâid* Jawhar (*vol. I. p.* 340), that he died on the eve of Friday, the last day of the second Jumâda, in the year just mentioned, and that the funeral prayer was said over him by al-Moizz. Ibn Zûlâk speaks of him after mentioning the death of al-Moizz, when he gives the names of that sovereign's children and of the *kâdis* who acted by his appointment. He there says: "And his
" *kâdi*, the one who came with him from Maghrib, was Abû Hanîfa an-Nomân, the
" son of Muhammad the missionary (1). On arriving at Old Cairo, he (*al-Moizz*)
" found that Jawhar had established there provisionally as *kâdi* a native of Baghdad
" named Abû Tâhir ad Duhli, and this appointment he confirmed."—Abû Abd Allah Muhammad, Abû Hanîfa's father, lived to an advanced age. When four years old, he could recite many curious pieces which he had learned by heart. He died in the month of Rajab, 351 (August, A. D. 962), aged one hundred and four years, and was buried near the Bâb Salm, one of the gates of Kairawân. The funeral service was said over him by his son.—Abû Hanîfa left a number of sons

who distinguished themselves by their talents and rose to high places under government. (*One of them,*) Abû 'l-Hasan Ali was appointed by al-Moizz to act as the associate of Abû Tâhir Muhammad in the post of *kâdi* and chief magistrate. This Abû Tâhir was the son of Ahmad, the son of Abd Allah, the son of Nasr, the son of Bujair, the son of Sâlih, the son of Osâma ad-Duhli. The two continued to act with joint authority till the death of al-Moizz and the accession of al-Azîz Nizâr, that prince's son. The new sovereign confided to the *kâdi* Abû 'l-Hasan the administration of the two (*principal*) mosques and the direction of the mint, but the magisterial authority was shared by them both till the *kâdi* Abû Tâhir had a derangement of humours which paralized one of his sides and rendered him incapable of moving from one place to another without being carried. On the 1st of Safar, 366 (29th Sept. A. D. 976), al-Azîz proceeded on horseback to the island which lies between Old Cairo and Jîza. Abû Tâhir, accompanied by his assessors, was borne to the gate of the Sanâa (2) and, being presented to the prince, requested him to take into consideration the state of weakness to which he was reduced and allow him to employ, as his substitute, his own son Abû 'l-Alâ. It is related that al-Azîz said, on seeing him so much emaciated: "Nothing remains to be done with "that man but to make *kadîd* of him (3)." Two days later, the prince nominated to the exclusive possession of the kadiship Abû 'l-Hasan Ali, the son of an-Nomân. Abû 'l-Hasan then rode to the great mosque of Cairo and caused his diploma to be read there to the public; and from thence he proceeded to *the Djâmî 'l-Atîk* (*the ancient mosque*) at Old Cairo and presided at the same ceremony. The person who read the diploma was his brother, Abû Abd Allah Muhammad Ibn an-Nomân. By this document he was empowered to act as (*supreme*) kâdi over all the provinces of Egypt, Syria, Mekka, Medîna, Maghrib and the other countries belonging to al-Azîz; it authorized him, besides, to act as (*chief*) preacher, (*chief*) imâm, inspector of the gold and silver coinage and controller of weights and measures. He then returned to his house, accompanied by a crowd of people, no one thinking it proper to stay away. The *kâdi* Abû Tâhir, being always unwell, was obliged to keep his room, and there he taught Traditions to the numerous scholars who went to visit him. This continued till the end of the month of Zû 'l-Kaada, 367 (9th July, A. D. 978), when he died. He had then attained the age of eighty-eight years, and had held the post of *kâdi* for sixteen years and seventeen days. He was authorized, during that period, to revise the judgments (*pronounced in the courts of law*),

but he could never fill this duty in a satisfactory manner. He had acted for some time as a magistrate in that suburb of Baghdad which lies on the east bank (*of the Tigris*); but he subsequently removed to Egypt. The *kâdi* Abû 'l-Hasan Ali then chose for deputy his own brother, Abû Abd Allah Muhammad, and placed under his jurisdiction (*the towns of*) Damietta, Tinnîs, al-Farama and (*the country of*) al-Jifâr. Abû Abd Allah proceeded to those places and, having installed deputies in them, he returned back. Soon after, in the year 367, al-Azîz set out for Syria, and Abû 'l-Hasan, who accompanied him, left his brother Abû Abd Allah to act as judge in his place. Abû 'l-Hasan was well versed in a number of sciences: besides his knowledge of the duties incumbent on a *kâdi* and of the grave and dignified manner in which they should be filled, he was well acquainted with jurisprudence, Arabic philology, polite literature, poetry and the stories of the battle-days (*of the ancient Arabs*). He was also a good poet and held a high rank in the art of verse. One of his pieces is given by ath-Thaâlibi (*vol. II. p.* 129) in the *Yatîma tad-Dahr*, and runs as follows :

I have such a friend that poverty never attains me, once his eyes fall upon my wants. He gives (*me*) wealth, satisfies (*my wishes*) and obliges me neither to kiss his hand or his foot. He took charge of my interests when I neglected them, and minded my affairs when I heeded them not.

Ath-Thaâlibi gives also as his, the following piece in which the same idea is expressed :

I have a friend, full of courtesy; friendship like his is a title of honour. He shews me more regard than need be shown, and feels obliged to do more than is necessary. If his good qualities were appreciated at their full value, gold, compared with them, would be worthless.

The following verses are also given as his by Abû 'l-Hasan al-Bâkharzi (*vol. II. p.* 323), in the *Dumya tal-Kasr*, and are also to be found in the biographical article which Ibn Zûlâc has devoted to him (*an-Nomân*) in the History of the *kâdis* of Egypt; they are perfectly well turned :

At Arafât (4) I made the acquaintance of a maid whose beauty stole from me (*the merit of*) my good works. When I put on the pilgrim's dress, she forbade sleep to visit my eyes, and, with her glances, she laid waste my reserved park (*my heart*). When she hurried along (*from Arafât*) with the other pilgrims, tears hurried in emulation from my eyelids. She placed a burning coal on my heart when she walked towards the spot where they cast the pebbles. This

soul of mine did not obtain its wish; so I feared, when at al-Khaif, that the hour of my death was at hand.

Abû 'l-Hasan continued to fill the duties of a *kâdi* and to remain in high favour with al-Azîz, till he caught a fever whilst presiding, in the mosque, over the court of justice. He rose up immediately and returned to his house, where he expired after an illness of fourteen days. His death took place on Monday, the 6th of Rajab, 374 (3rd Dec., A. D. 984). The next morning, he was borne on a bier into the presence of al-Azîz who was then (*with the army*) encamped in the plain of al-Jubb, near the place which is now known by the name of al-Birka (*the pond*) (5). The bier was then deposed in the mosque called *Masjid al-Bîr wa 'l-Jummaiza* (*the mosque of the well and the sycamore fig-tree*). Al-Azîz left the camp and went to say the funeral prayer over the corpse, which was then carried back and buried in the house of the deceased, situated in the *Hamrâ*. Three places in Old Cairo had received this name because the Europeans used to lodge there (6). Al-Azîz then dispatched to Abû Abd Allah Muhammad, Abû 'l-Hasan's brother, a message worded in these terms: "The place of *kâdi* is yours; we shall never allow it to pass out of your "family." Abû 'l-Hasan had remained in office during nine years, five months and four days. He was born in Maghrib, in the month of the first Râbi, 329 (Dec.-Jan., A. D. 940-1). Old Cairo remained for eighteen days without a *kâdi* to arrange its affairs, and that because Abû Abd Allah was unwell. When his malady abated, he rode in a palanquin to the camp of al-Azîz. This was on Thursday, the 22nd of Rajab. The next day, Friday, he went from that to the Djâmî 'l-Atîk, after having received from al-Azîz his appointment to the kadiship, with a pelisse of honour and the sword (*of office*) suspended from his shoulder. Being much enfeebled by sickness, he was unable to get down from the palanquin and enter into the mosque; so he proceeded to his own house, and his son, accompanied by a band of his kinsmen, went to the mosque and read the diploma as soon as the Friday prayer was ended. This document was similar to that which had been drawn up for Abû 'l-Hasan and granted to the new *kâdi* the same powers as his brother had received before. In the month of Zû 'l-Kaada, 374 (March-April, A. D. 985), Muhammad appointed his son Abû 'l-Kâsim Abd al-Azîz to act as his deputy in Alexandria. This was done by the order of al-Azîz, who then arrayed Abû 'l-Kâsim in a robe of honour. On Friday, the 1st of the first Jumâda, 375 (19th September, A. D. 985), the *kâdi* Muhammad Ibn an-Nomân married his son Abû 'l-Kâsim to

the daughter of the *kâid* Jawhar. The marriage-act was signed at the levee of al-Azîz, and none were present except the officers of the court. The dowry settled (*by the bridegroom*) on the bride was three thousand pieces of gold and the *kitâb* (7) (*consisted of*) a single robe of one uniform colour.—When al-Moizz, the father of al-Azîz, was in Maghrib, he ordered the *kâdi* Abû Hanîfa an-Nomân to have an astrolabe made in silver and to place a trust-worthy person beside the workman (*lest he should embezzle some of the metal*). He chose his son, Muhammad, for that purpose and, when the astrolabe was finished, he carried it to al-Moizz. "Whom did you place beside the workman?" said the prince. "My son Mu-"hammad," was the reply. "He shall be *kâdi* of Egypt!" exclaimed al-Moizz, and so it happened. The fact was that al-Moizz, having always entertained hopes of getting that country into his possession, was induced to utter these words, and his good fortune, seconded by destiny, effected for him what he wished.—The *kâdi* Muhammad related the following anecdote: "When I was a boy, in Maghrib, al-Moizz would say to his son al-Azîz, every time he saw me: "There is your (*future*) "*kâdi*."—Muhammad was well acquainted with the (*leading*) maxims of jurisprudence and a great number of sciences; he was an accomplished scholar and could recite, with much elegance, narrations, poems and stories respecting the battle-days (*of the Arabs*). He composed also some poetry, and one of his pieces is as follows:

Thou who resemblest the moon, the moon of heaven, when she is seven (*days old*), and five (*more*) and two! Thou whose grace is the perfection of beauty! Thou hast preoccupied my heart and kept sleep from my eyes. Can I hope to obtain from you any favour, or must I return back with the boots of Hunain (8)? My enemies deride me for loving thee and say: "There you are still with empty hands!" Be kind to me or take my life; thou hast the power to do one or the other.

The following piece was sent to him in a letter by Abd Allah Ibn al-Hasan al-Jaafari, a native of Samarkand:

All other *kâdis* have found their equals in renown, but Abû Abd Allah is without a rival. He is unequalled in noble qualities, admirable in honourable deeds, great and illustrious. In renown, splendid; in resolution, firm; (*brilliant*) like the flashing of the polished sword. In judging causes, he has right reason for a sworn companion; when he bestows, the abundant rain cloud is merely his precursor. Were we to examine the sentences pronounced by him, we should be led to declare that he was assisted by (*the angel*) Gabriel. When he mounts into the pulpit, he is really a Koss (9); when he is present at assemblies, he is truly a Khalil (10).



To this the *kâdi* Muhammad returned, in writing, the following answer:

> We have read in your poem charming things, such as a most refined genius only could produce. Its lines are as a delightful garden, diffusing around the penetrating odour of musk. When they are recited, their fragance perfumes not only our dwellings but the very street. We long to see you, and you long to visit us. Send us, every day, verses like those; for you are capable of every generous deed.

The following passages are extracted from Ibn Zûlâk's History of the *kâdis* of Egypt: We never saw any *kâdi*, in Old Cairo, acquire so much influence as Muhammad Ibn an-Nomân, and, as far as we have learned, the like was never seen in Irak. He well deserved that great authority on account of his learning, his integrity, his self-command, the equity of his judgments and the awe (*wich he inspired*). In the month of Muharram, 383 (Feb.-March, A. D. 993), he authorised his son, Abû 'l-Kâsim Abd al-Azîz, to act as his deputy in Old and New Cairo and to fulfil the duties of a judge, uninterruptedly, every day. Before that, he himself gave audiences on Mondays and Thursdays only. Abû 'l-Kâsim commenced immediately to hear causes, to juge and to enregister acts. He (*Muhammad*) had at first confided this place to his nephew, Abû Abd Allah al-Husain, the son of Ali Ibn an-Nomân, but, on the 10th of the first Jumâda, 377 (7th Sept., A. D. 987), he replaced him by his own son, Abû 'l-Kâsim, whom he authorised to act on Mondays and Thursdays only. The *kâdi* Muhammad had risen so highly in the favour of al-Azîz that, in the year 385, on the festival of the Sacrifice (5th Jan., A. D. 996), he was allowed by that sovereign to go up with him into the pulpit. When al-Azîz died, it was the *kâdi* Muhammad who washed the corpse (*previously to interment*). Al-Hâkim (*p. 449 of this vol.*), the son and successor of al-Azîz, confirmed Muhammad in his place, raised him to higher honours and augmented his authority. From the moment that the *kâdi* acquired such favour at court and such influence in the state, he was frequently unwell and, being a constant sufferer from gout and colic, he was often laid up. The *ustâd* Barjawân (*vol. I. p.* 253), high in rank though he was, went very often to visit him. The illness of the *kâdi* continued to increase and, on the eve of Tuesday, the 4th of Safar, 389 (25th January, A. D. 999), he expired, immediately after the last evening prayer. Al-Hâkim rode to the house of the deceased, at Cairo and, having there repeated the funeral prayer over the corpse, he presided at the interment, after which, he returned to his palace. The *kâdi* Muhammad was born in Maghrib on Sunday, the 3rd of Safar, 340

(11th July, A. D. 951). His palace was given by al-Hâkim to one of the courtiers. On Wednesday, the 9th of Ramadân (August, A. D. 999), the body was removed to the *kâdi's* private house in Old Cairo and, on the eve of Friday, the 10th, it was borne to the Karâfa cemetery and deposited in the tomb which contained the bodies of his father and brother. After the death of Abû Abd Allah Muhammad, Cairo remained more than a month without a *kâdi*. Al-Hâkim then appointed to that office Abû Abd Allah al-Husain, the son of Ali Ibn an-Nomân, and the same whom his uncle Muhammad had authorised to act as his substitute and whom he afterwards replaced by his own son Abû 'l-Kâsim Abd al-Azîz. Al-Husain's nomination took place on the 6th of the first Rabî, 389 (25th February, A. D. 999). He remained in office till Thursday, the 16th of Ramadân, 394 (7th July, A. D. 1004), when his place was given to his cousin, Abû 'l-Kâsim Abd al-Azîz, the son of the above-mentioned Muhammad. Some time after, al-Husain, the son of Ali Ibn an-Nomân, was beheaded by al-Hâkim's order, and that for reasons too long to relate (11). This occurred on Sunday, the 6th of Muharram, 395 (23rd October, A. D. 1004). He was executed in the cell where he was confined, and his body was consumed by fire. Abû 'l-Kâsim then became *kâdi*, with undivided authority, and was chosen, besides, by al-Hâkim, to preside at the court of grievances (12). He thus united in his attributions the functions of the two offices, a thing which never before happened to any member of his family. Al-Hâkim then treated him with such favour that, on the day of the breaking of the Fast (*the 1st of the month of Shawwâl*), he permitted him to go up with him into the pulpit, immediately after the general in chief of the army. The same honour was accorded to him on the festival of the Sacrifice (*the 10th of Zû 'l-Hijja*). In judging causes, he displayed great firmness of character and treated with extreme severity such of the grandees as dared to resist him. He even arrested many of them and did not allow them to leave the court till they had fulfilled their engagements. He continued to fill all the magisterial duties which al-Hâkim had confided to him; but, on Friday, the 16th of Rajab, 398 (27th March, A. D. 1008), he was removed from office by that prince and replaced by Abû 'l-Hasan Mâlik Ibn Saîd Ibn Mâlik al-Fâriki. It was thus that the office of *kâdi* passed out of the family of an-Nomân. Some time after, al-Hâkim ordered (*some of*) his Turkish soldiers to kill, not only Abû 'l-Kâsim Abd al-Azîz, but the general Abû Abd Allah al-Husain, the son of Jawhar, and Abû Ali Ismaîl, the brother of the *kâid* Fadl Ibn Sâlih. They were all

sabred, at the same moment, and that for reasons too long to relate. This happened on Friday, the 22nd of the latter Jumâda, 401 (31st January, A. D. 1011); the mercy of God be upon them! Abû 'l-Kâsim Abd al-Azîz was born on Monday, the 1st of the first Rabî, 354 (7th March, A. D. 965).—Abû Mansûr Ahmad Ibn Abd Allah Ibn Ahmad al-Farghâni al-Misri states, in his historical work, that he (*the* kâdi *Abû Tâhir*) was well noted for reciting from memory a great number of pieces and for the agreeableness of his society: with his elders, he behaved like an elderly man, with the middle-aged men, like one who had reached that period of life, and, with young men, he acted as a youth. His death took place on the eve of the 30th of Zû 'l-Kaada, 367 (9th July, A. D. 978).

(1) See vol. II, page 594.

(2) The naval arsenal (*dâr as-sanda*) situated in the island of Roda, was called the *Sanda*, by abbreviation. See Makrîzi's *Khitat*, or topographical description of Cairo, edition of Bulak, vol. II, page 178.

(3) *Kadid* is the name given to long stripes of flesh salted and dried in the sun. Al-Azîz's words are equivalent to the expression: he is only fit to make cat's-meat of. The prince did not like Abû Tâhir and paid no attention to his request.

(4) This piece is full of verbal quibbles and clever allusions to the ceremonies of the pilgrimage and the places near Mekka where these ceremonies are accomplished.

(5) See M. de Sacy's *Chrestomathie arabe*, t. I, p. 187, of the second edition.

(6) The adjective *hamrâ* (*rubra*) served to designate such persons as had a clear complexion.

(7) The word *kitâb* means a book or a written document. It is evidently employed here as a law-term, but, as such, it is not to be found in the works on orthodox jurisprudence. It may perhaps belong to the system of law professed by the Shiites and signify the *jihâz* (in French, *trousseau*) given to the bride.

(8) This proverb means: much disappointed. It has been explained in three or four different manners, one of them as follows: A desert Arab, mounted on his camel, entered into a town, went to the bazar and bargained for a pair of boots. Not being able to conclude with the maker, whose name was Hunain, he flew into a passion, gave him foul names and then, having made his other purchases, he got upon his camel, left the town and took the road leading to his tent. The boot-maker was so highly offended at the Arab's insulting language that he resolved on being revenged. Taking up the boots, he ran to the road by which the Arab had to pass and threw one of them on the ground. A mile or two farther on, he threw down the other and hid himself. The Arab saw the first boot as he was riding along and said: "There is one of the "boots of Hunain; if the other was with it, I should dismount and pick it up." About half an hour after, he perceived the other boot and regretted not having picked up the first; so he got off his camel, not wishing to fatigue it too much, and having fettered it with a cord, picked up the boot which was lying there and ran back to take up the other. As soon as he disappeared, Hunain went off with the camel and the baggage. When the Arab returned, his camel was missing; so he went home on foot. Being asked what he had brought back, he replied: "The boots of Hunain."

(9) See vol. I, p. 137.

(10) The person here meant was probably al-Khalîl Ibn Ahmad. See vol. I, p. 493.

(11) A sum of twenty thousand pieces of gold came into the possession of al-Husain Ibn Ali Ibn an-Nomân who, being a *kâdi*, acted as guardian and depositary of all property left by persons who died. The son of the deceased claimed it from him and received part of the sum by instalments. On asking for the rest, he was told by the *kâdi* that he was paid up and that no more remained. Al-Hâkim, to whom the heir adressed a complaint, had the *kâdi* brought before him and the account-book (*diwân*) of the tribunal examined. This inquest proved that a large sum remained due. The *kâdi* acknowledged his guilt, indemnified the heir and begged for pardon. Al Hâkim deprived him of his place and sent him to prison, where he was beheaded, about a year afterwards, in A. H. 397 (A. D. 1006). (*History of the Kâdis of Cairo*; MS. of the *Bibl. imp.*, ancien fonds, n° 690).

(12) See vol. I, p. 346.

AS-SAIYIDA NAFISA

As-Saiyida (1) Nafîsa was the daughter of Abû Muhammad al-Hasan, the son of Zâid, the son of al-Hasan, the son of Ali, the son of Abû Tâlib. She arrived in Old Cairo with her husband Ishâk, the son of Jaafar as-Sâdik. According to another account, she went there with her father, al-Hasan, whose tomb, it is said, may be seen in Old Cairo, but is not generally known. He had been governor of Medina in the name of (*the khalif*) Abû Jaafar al-Mansûr and had held that post during five years, when he incurred his sovereign's displeasure and was dismissed from office. All his property was confiscated and he himself shut up in the prison at Baghdad and detained there till the death of al-Mansûr. Al-Mahdi having then come to the throne, gave him his liberty and restored to him all that had been taken from him. Al-Hasan afterwards remained with him and, when that prince set out to make the pilgrimage, he followed in his train, but died on reaching al-Hâjir, A. H. 168 (A. D. 784-5), at the age of eighty-five years. Al-Hâjir is at five miles from Medina. "According to another statement, he died at Baghdad and "was interred in the cemetery of al-Khaizurân; but the fact is that he died at al-"Hâjir." So says the *Khatîb* in his History of Baghdad, but God knows best the truth. Nafîsa was a woman noted for her piety and the holiness of her life. It is

related that the *imâm* as-Shâfi, when he arrived in Old Cairo, — for the date, see his life (*vol. II. p.* 571), — went to visit her and learned some Traditions from her. The people of Cairo had the highest esteem for her, and the veneration in which she was held subsists up to the present day. When as-Shâfi died, his corpse was brought into her house, and she there said over it the funeral prayer. The spot on which that house stood is now occupied by Nafisa's mausoleum. She continued to dwell there during the remainder of her life. Her death took place in the month of Ramadân, 208 (Jan.-Feb., A. D. 824). Where she expired, her husband, al-Mûtamin Ishâk, the son of Jaafar as-Sâdik, resolved on transporting the body to Medina but, at the request of the inhabitants of Cairo, he consented to leave it with them. The place where she was buried now bears her name; it lies between Old and New Cairo, in the neighbourhood of the other mausoleums. This place was then called the Derb as-Sabâ (*Lion street*), but the street fell into ruin and nothing now remains there except her funeral chapel and her tomb. This tomb has a great reputation, experience having shewn that prayers said near it are fulfilled.

(1) The word *saiyida* signifies *mistress* and is sometimes employed, as here, to distinguish certain females remarkable for the holiness of their lives. It is now pronounced *sîda, sitta* or *sitt,* and bears the meaning of *madam.*

IBN AS-SHAJARI

The *sharîf* Abû 's-Saâdât Hibat Allah Ibn Ali Ibn Muhammad Ibn Hamza, a descendant of al-Hasan, the son of Ali (*Ibn Abi Tâlib*), was a native of Baghdad and bore the surname of Ibn as-Shajari. He held the highest rank as a grammarian and a philologer, was well acquainted with the poetry of the Arabs, the accounts of their battle-days and the occurrences which happened in these conflicts. Perfect in accomplishments, and full of literary information, he composed some works on (*Arabic*) philology, one of which, entitled *Kitâb al-Amâli* (*Book of Dictations*), is much



more extensive and useful than the others. He dictated its contents in eighty-four sittings. This treatise contains a mass of information and a great variety of philological observations. He concluded it by the addition of another *sitting* in which he treated of nothing else but some verses of al-Mutanabbi's (*vol. I. p.* 102), indicated the different manners in which they were explained by the commentators and added such observations as occurred to himself. It is a very instructive work. When he finished dictating it, he received the visit of Abû Muhammad Abd Allah, surnamed Ibn al-Khashshâb (*vol. II. p.* 66), who expressed to him the wish of hearing the work dictated and, by his refusal, he incurred the enmity of that author, who then attacked a great number of the opinions enounced in the work and declared them to be erroneous. Ibn as-Shajari, having met with this refutation, wrote a reply to it and pointed out the mistakes into which his adversary had fallen. This treatise, forming one volume, appeared under the title of *al-Intisâr* (*the vindication*) and, though very short, contained much useful information. He dictated it to the persons who attended his lectures. Another work of his entitled the *Hamâsa* and drawn up on the model of the *Hamâsa* composed by Abû Tammâm at-Taî (*vol. I. p.* 348), is really original and very good; he displayed in it great talent. A number of grammatical works were composed by him and also a treatise on synonyms. He published a commentary on the *Luma* of Ibn Jinni (*vol. II. p.* 191) and another on the *at-Tasrîf al-Mulûki* (*of the same author*) (1). He spoke with great elegance, in a sweet, expressive and simple style. He read over some Traditions under the direction of the great masters of that day, such as Abû 'l-Hasan al-Mubârak Ibn Abd al-Jabbâr as-Sirâfi, Abû Ali Muhammad Ibn Saîd Ibn Binhân the *kâtib* and others. The *hâfiz* Ibn as-Samâni (*vol. II. p.* 156) mentions him in the *Zail* (*supplement*) and says: "I "studied Traditions under him at the house of the vizir Abû 'l-Kâsim Ali Ibn Tirâd "az-Zainabi (2), and I wrote down some pieces of poetry under his dictation "(*when he taught*) at the college. I afterwards went and read over, under his tui-"tion, a portion of the *Amâli* (*dictations*) composed by the grammarian Abû 'l-Abbâs "Thalab (*vol. I. p.* 83)".—The grammarian Abû 'l-Barakât Ibn al-Anbâri (*vol. II. p.* 95) says, in his *Manâkib al-Udabâ* (*the merits of literary men*): "The learned doctor "Abû 'l-Kâsim Mahmûd az-Zamakhshari (*p.* 321 *of this volume*), having gone to "Baghdad, in one of his (*frequent*) journeys, with the intention of making the pil-"grimage, went to visit our master Ibn as-Shajari, and I accompanied him. When "they met, (*Ibn as-Shajari*) addressed him in this verse of al-Mutanabbi's:

" Before we met him, we thought the accounts given of him were exaggerated; but, when we " met, experience shewed us that we had underrated them.

" He then recited to him the following lines :

" In questioning the (*returning*) caravans, I obtained the fairest accounts of Jaafar Ibn Falâh; " and, by Allah! when we met, I found that my ears had not heard any thing to equal what I " witnessed with my eyes."

— I have already mentioned these verses in the life of Jaafar Ibn Falâh (*vol. I. p.* 327) and stated that they were composed by Abû 'l-Kâsim Ibn Hâni al-Andalusi (*page* 123 *of this vol.*), but they have been attributed to other poets.— " To this compliment, az-Zamakhshari made the following reply : ' It is related of the Prophet " ' that, on receiving the visit of Zaid al-Khail (3), he said to him : ' O Zaid ! before " ' the promulgation of Islamism, I never heard a favorable account given of a man " ' without perceiving, after the introduction of Islamism, that he was inferior to his " ' reputation. Thou art the only exception.' We then withdrew," said Ibn al-Anbâri, " and were much struck by the *sharîf's* quoting verses to express his feelings " and by az-Zamakhshari's quoting a tradition, him who did not belong to the Arabic " race."—This anecdote is not given in Ibn al-Anbâri's words, but it contains their substance. I did not take it from the book itself, but became acquainted with it long ago and kept it in my recollection. I mention this lest such persons as may read the book should suppose that I am careless in my quotations, when they perceive the difference between the two manners in which the anecdote is related.—Abû 's-Saâdât (*Ibn as-Shajari*) was the *nakîb* (*or syndic*) of those Alides who resided in (*the suburb of*) al-Karkh. He acted there as the lieutenant of his father (*Ali*) at-Tâhir. He composed some good poetry, such as the *kasîda* in which he eulogizes the vizir Nizâm ad-Dîn Abû Nasr al-Muzaffar Ibn Ali Ibn Muhammad Ibn Jahîr (4), and which begins thus :

Here is (*the source of*) as-Sudaira and the pond full to overflowing. (*Here you formerly met the beloved*;) so follow my advice and suppress the feelings of your heart. Tell me, lotus-tree of the valley! Thou whose fragance widely diffused would suffice to guide towards thee the nocturnal traveller, if he lost his way: The happy days which a fond lover once passed under thy shade, will they return to him again before his death? How unjust was that fawn (*maiden*) in refusing even a glance (*of her eye*) to one who was borne down by love, and in treating his prayers with disdain. Remote is the place where I might meet her; she is far away, and yet she is near, for she dwells within my bosom. (*She is like*) a slender twig which bends

before the zephyr and bears on its top a moon (*visage*) surrounded with impending darkness (*her hair*). When the glances of other eyes partook in the contemplation of her charms, these eyes of (*mine, who am*) a benighted traveller, obtained not, from that source, a single refreshing draught. We passed near (*the valley of*) al-Akîk and, at the sight of those meadows and pasture grounds in which the gazelles were roaming, our passion was renewed. We wept, on reaching those shady groves; yet, how often have flowing tears betrayed the secret of the lover! Years of drought have laid bare the remains of her abode, and the (*projecting*) ruins, now abandoned, appear like camels drawing water from the wells. Look there, my two companions! may your lives be long, and may showers protracted and lasting like the flow of the evening rain-cloud refresh your dwellings! Are those handsome statues which appear before our eyes? or are they a flock of does? or else maidens amplis natibus præditæ? Are those the eyes of gazelles which look on us through the veils? are they human cheeks and noses which we see? When they turned towards us, they left not a member of our body unscathed; even the ravenous beasts had compassion on it. How can this heart (*of mine*) hope for delivery from the bondage of love and from misery, if she who wounds it ever soothes and flatters? Were a draught of water from (*the spring of*) Dârij (*near which my beloved resided,*) to moisten the soil (*of my heart*), the germs of affliction would make on it no impression.

Here the poet introduces the eulogy (*of his patron*). This part I abstain from inserting, lest I should be led too far, and, besides, my object, in admitting the extract which precedes, was to give the reader an idea of Ibn as-Shajari's poetical style. Here is another piece by the same author :

Can love remain concealed when our tears bear witness to its existence? can the lover who gainsays the reports of jealous spies persist in denying (*the truth*)? How long will you continue to wear out your eyes with weeping, you who know that Labîd fixed a term to the shedding of tears? Though my (*stature, formerly as strait as a*) wand is now bent by old age, I still possess fortitude and energy sufficient to bear up under afflictions.

This passage contains an allusion to a thought expressed in the following lines by Labîd Ibn Rabîa al-Aâmiri (5) :

My two daughters wished their father to live for ever; is he then of another race than Rabîa and Modar? Arise (*my girls!*), and proclaim all you know (*of my merits*), but do not tear your faces nor cut off your hair. Say he was a man who never abandoned his friend, who never broke a promise and who never deceived. Continue thus for a year, then the salutation of peace be upon you! The person who weeps a whole year is justified (*in not continuing*).

It was to these verses that Abû Tammâm at-Taî alluded when he said :

My friends departed and I wept for their loss during a year; then I ceased, according to the precept of Labîd.



A certain degree of jealousy, such as usually reigns between men of talent, existed between Abû 's-Saâdât (*Ibn as-Shajari*) and Abû Muhammad al-Hasan Ibn Ahmad Ibn Muhammad Ibn Hakîna al-Harîmi (6), a native of Baghdad and a celebrated poet. This is the same person whose name is mentioned in our life of al-Harîri, the author of the *makâmât* (*vol. II. page* 492). When he (*Ibn Hakîna*) read the poems of his rival, he adressed to him the following lines :

> I declare, sir! in the name of Him who should prevent you from composing verses which stupify the understanding! that you have nothing in common with your ancestor (*Muhammad*) except your incapacity for poetry.

The anecdotes related of Ibn as-Shajari are very numerous, but we prefer being concise. He was born in the month of Ramadân, 450 (Oct.-Nov., A. D. 1058), and died on Thursday, the 26th of Ramadân, 542 (18th February, A. D. 1148). The next morning, he was buried in his house situated in al-Karkh (*the suburb*) of Baghdad.—*Shajari* is an adjective derived from *Shajara*, which is the name of a village in the dependencies of Medina. The word *Shajara* is also employed as the name of a man; the Arabs of the desert gave it this application and their exemple was followed by others. A great number of persons, some of them men of learning, bore the surname of *as-Shajari*. I do not know whether our poet derived his from the name of the village or from that of one of his ancestors whe might have borne the name of *Shajara*.—We have spoken of *al-Karkh* in the life of Marûf al-Karkhi (*page* 384 *of this volume*).

(1) This title appears to signify *the imperial treatise on grammatical inflections*.

(2) The *sharîf* Abû 'l-Kâsim Ali Ibn Tirâd az-Zainabi, vizir to the Abbaside khalifs al-Mustarshid and al-Muktafi, was noted for his talents and his generosity. Having been removed from office, he passed the remainder of his days in poverty and died in the reign of the last mentioned khalif.—(*El-Fakhri*.)

(3) For an account of this celebrated chieftain, see M. Caussin de Perceval's *Essai sur l'histoire des Arabes*.

(4) Nizâm ad-Dîn Abû Nasr al-Muzaffar Ibn Jahîr acted as vizir to the khalif al-Muktafi li-amr Illah. Two other vizirs bore the surname of Ibn Jahîr; see pages 280, 284 of this volume.

(5) This Labîd is the author of the *Muallaka*; see M. Caussin de Perceval's *Essai, etc.*, tome II, page 487. His life, by the author of the *Kitâb al-Aghâni*, has been given by M. de Sacy in the same volume which contains the arabic text of *Kalîla and Dimna*.

(6) See page 582, note (4) of this volume.

AL-BADI AL-ASTORLABI

Abû 'l-Kâsim Hibat Allah, the son of al-Husain, the son of Yûsuf, or of Ahmad, according to another statement, and surnamed *al-Bâdi al-Astorlabi* (*the admirable, the maker of astrolabes*), was a celebrated poet and an accomplished scholar. As a maker of astronomical instruments, he was considered to be the ablest man of the age. In that art, he possessed consummate skill, and by it he gained a large fortune, under the khalifate of al-Mustarshid. When he died, he left no one capable of replacing him in his profession. Abû 'l-Maâli 'l-Hazîri (*vol. I. p.* 563) speaks of him in the *Zîna-tad-Dahr*, and Imâd ad-Dîn al-Ispahânî (*page* 300 *of this vol.*) mentions him in the *Kharîda*. Both authors praise him highly and (*the latter*) gives some pieces of verse composed by him, one of which is the following:

> I offer presents to (*my patron at*) his noble levee, but what I offer I received from his beneficence. The clouds, in shedding their rains upon the sea, place it under no obligation : from it they received their waters.

None of his verses has obtained such currency as these two, but they have been attributed to another author. The following piece is given as his :

> When (*his cheeks*) acquired the redness of blood (1) and put on the sable hue of the *izâr* (2), darkness settled upon them and *my heap was still measuring* (3).

In the *Zîna tad-Dahr* these two lines are given as his, but I read elsewhere that they were composed by Abû Mohammad Ibn Hakîna (4), the same of whom we have spoken in the life of Ibn as-Shajari (*page* 579 *of this vol.*).—The expression *my heap was still measuring* is particular to the inhabitants of Baghdad and signifies, with them, *to struggle without being able to escape.* The word *kâra* (*heap*) is employed by them in speaking of flour and is equivalent to the word *jumla* (*mass, heap*), made use of in Egypt. Here is another piece of his composition :

> Dixerunt : Amavisti (*ephebum*) levi gena præditum, sed fama est illum barbatum (*nîkrîsh*) fieri. I replied : The young peacock is never so handsome as when he is fully fledged.



Nîkrîsh is a foreign (*a persian*) word, formed of *nîk rîsh*, which signify *a handsome beard*. It is an established practise with the Persians to invert the order of words which are in annexation (5). He was extremely licentious, and admitted into his poetry such indelicate ideas as led him to employ the most obscene terms. It is for this reason that I insert here so few of his verses, though they are very numerous and were collected by himself into a *diwân*. He took also the poems of Ibn Hajjâj (*vol. I. p.* 448) and arranged them under one hundred and forty-one heads, according to their different subjects. This collection, to which he joined an appendix, received from him the title of *Durra tat-Tâj fi shîr Ibn Hajjâj* (*the pearl of the diadem, treating of the poems of Ibn Hajjâj*). He was full of grace in every thing he did. He died of a hemiplegy in the year 534 (A. D. 1139-40), and was interred in the cemetery called *the Wardiya* (*the rose-garden*), which lies on the eastern side of (*the river at*) Baghdad.—*Astorlâbi* is derived from *astorlâb*, the name of a well known instrument (*the astrolabe*). Kûshyâr Ibn Labbân Ibn Bâshahri of Jilân (6), the author of the *Kitâb az-Zîj* (*a set of astronomical tables*) says, in his treatise on the use of the astrolabe, that *astorlâb* is a greek word and signifies *the balance of the sun*. I heard a learned doctor say that *lâb* is the name of the sun in the language of the Greeks, so that the word *astorlâb* is composed of (*the Arabic word*) *astor* (*lines*), joined to *lâb*, and signifies *the lines of the sun*; indicating thus the lines traced upon the instrument. It is said that the inventor was Ptolemy, the author of the *Almegisti*, who was led to that discovery in the following manner: as he was taking a ride with an armillary sphere in his hand, he let it fall, and the animal on which he was riding trod upon it and broke (*or flattened*) it, so that it received the shape of an astrolabe. The great masters in the mathematical sciences thought, till then, that the image (*or representation*) of the sphere could only be traced on a mass of a globular form, but Ptolemy then perceived that it could be reproduced upon a surface forming the half of a circumference, and that such an instrument would furnish the same results as were given by the armillary sphere. No one ever preceded him in this discovery; yet (*neither he*) nor any of the ancients supposed that it was possible to represent the image of the sphere upon a line (*a flat rule*). So they continued to employ the armillary sphere and the astrolabe till the *shaïkh* Sharaf ad-Dîn at-Tûsi,—the same of whom we have spoken in the life of Kamâl ad-Dîn Ibn Yûnus (7) and who was that person's preceptor in mathematics,—conceived the idea of a line (*or rule*) which would furnish all the results that the armillary sphere and thea strolabe could give. He called

it *the staff* and wrote an elegant treatise on the subject. In some points, he committed mistakes which were rectified by the above mentioned Kamâl ad-Dîn. At-Tûsi was the first who produced this instrument; none of the ancients having ever known it. The result was that the form (*or configuration of the sphere*), which had been at first represented by means of a globe, that is, a solid having length, breadth and thickness, and which had then been delineated on a surface, which has only length and breadth, without thickness, was now marked on a line (*a rule*) having length only and neither breadth nor thickness. There remains only to reduce this representation to a point; but it is impossible to conceive how that can be done, since a point is neither a solid, nor a surface, nor a line, but only the extremity (*or limit*) of a line, in the same manner as the line is the extremity of the surface, and the surface of the solid. The point being indivisible, it is impossible to conceive how any thing can be delineated upon it.—These observations are foreign to our subject, but they funish some information which it is better to know than not (8). Besides, we were led into them by the turn which our discourse had taken.

(1) Literally : of death.

(2) See page xxxvi of the introduction to the first volume.

(3) This proverbial expression is explained, a few lines farther on.

(4) Here and elsewhere all the manuscripts and the editions read *Hakîna*. This appears to be the right reading and is that given in the *Kharîda*.

(5) They place the adjective before the substantive, which is contrary to the Arabic system.

(6) Abû 'l-Hasan Kûshyâr Ibn Labban Ibn Bâshahri, a native of Jîlân, in Persia, composed astronomical and astrological works, of which the most important were evidently the tables in which he gave the mean positions of the planets, conformably to the era of the Persians, that of Yezdegird. According to Hajji Khalifa, in his Bibliographical Dictionary, article زيج كوشيار, the observations on which these tables were founded were made by Kûshyâr in the year 459 (A. D. 1066-7); but, under title of مدخل فى علم النجوم, he states that this latter work was drawn up in the year 357 (A. D. 968). M. Reinaud, in his introduction to the French translation of Abû 'l-Fedâ's Geography, says that Kûshyâr lived in the latter half of the eleventh century (from A. H. 442 to 494).

(7) In the life of Ibn Yûnus (*vol. II. p.* 365), the name of Sharaf ad-Dîn at-Tûsi does not occur, neither is the title of Kamâl ad-Dîn given to Ibn Yûnus. These indications, written, probably, by the author, on the margin of his own copy, are not to be found in our manuscripts. It is hardly necessary to observe that Sharaf ad-Dîn at-Tûsi must not be confounded with the celebrated astronomer, Nasr ad-Dîn at-Tûsi, who died in the latter half of the seventh century of the Hijra.

(8) Our author, like all musulmans of that epoch, knew nothing of greek and not much of astronomy. Here, he evidently speaks of matters which he did not well understand.



IBN AL-KATTAN *THE POET*

Abû 'l-Kâsim Hibat Allah Ibn al-Fadl Ibn Abd al-Azîz Ibn Muhammad Ibn al-Husain Ibn Ali Ibn Ahmad Ibn al-Fadl Ibn Yakûb Ibn Yûsuf Ibn Sâlim, generally known by the surname of Ibn al-Kattân (*the son of the cotton-spinner*), was a poet of great celebrity and a native of Baghdad. We have already spoken of him and given some of his verses in our articles on Hais Baîs (?) (*vol. I. p.* 559) and Ibn as-Sawâdi (*vol. II. p.* 415). He learned Traditions from a number of masters and taught them to some disciples. He was excessively licentious and dissolute, full of humour and pleasantry, pertinacious in flattering and in satirizing the proud and haughty. The witty sayings attributed to this poet and the anecdotes related of him are very numerous and amusing. His poetry has been collected into a *diwân*. Abû Saad as-Samâni (*vol. II. p.* 156) mentions him in the *Kitâb az-Zail* and adds : " As a poet, he me-" rited praise, his verses being fine and delicately turned; but, with him, satire pre-" dominated so much that he was dreaded for the virulence of his tongue and feared " as a detractor (*thallâb*). " Farther on, he says: " I wrote down two Traditions under " his dictation, and no more; I also committed to paper some pieces of verse composed " by him and which he recited to me. "—The *hâfiz* as-Silafi (*vol. I. p.* 86) speaks, in these terms, of Abû Abd Allah al-Fadl, the father of Ibn al-Kattân : " He belong-" ed to a family of traditionists. I asked him the date of his birth and he told me " that he was born on the eve of Friday, the 14th Rajab, 418 (20th August, " A. D. 1027). " According to Abû Ghâlib Shujâa Ibn Fâris ad-Duhli, he died on Wednesday, the 23rd of the latter Rabî, 498 (12th January, A. D. 1105), and was buried in the cemetery called *al-Karkhi*. Imâd ad-Dîn al-Ispahâni (*page* 300 *of this vol.*) speaks of him (*Ibn al-Kattân*) in the *Kharîda*: " His wit, " says this writer, " and the graces of his style were universally acknowledged. There exists a *diwân* of " his poetry, the greater part of which is good. In his verses, he bantered a num-" ber of eminent men and exposed their faults. No one escaped from his attacks, " neither the khalif, at Baghdad, nor any other person. A learned doctor spoke to " me of him in these terms : I was a boy and too young to learn any thing from his

"lips, but I saw him sitting in a place apart from others. He was then a druggist at "Baghdad, and I heard people say: 'That is Ibn al-Fadl, the satirist.' He learned "Traditions from his own father and some other teachers, amongst whom were Abû "Tâhir Ahmad Ibn al-Hasan al-Bakilâni, Abû 'l-Fadl Ahmad Ibn al-Hasan Ibn "Jîrûn al-Amîn, Abû Abd Allah al-Husain Ibn Ahmad Ibn Muhammad Ibn Talha "Ibn Muhammad Ibn Othmân al-Bighâli al-Karkhi. He had frequent skirmishes "with Hais Bais, one of which is thus related: Hais Bais went out, one night, "from the palace of the vizir Sharaf ad-Dîn Abû 'l-Hasan (read *al-Kâsim*) Ali Ibn "Tirâd az-Zainabi (*see p.* 579 *of this vol.*), and a young dog barked at him. As he "had a sword suspended from his shoulder, he struck it with the point (1) of the "blade and killed it. Ibn al-Fadl (*Ibn al-Kattân*) being told of this, drew up a piece "of verse in which he inserted two lines composed by an Arab of the desert, who, "being informed that his son had been slain by his (*the Arab's*) brother, went to "take vengeance of the murderer, but then threw away his sword and uttered the "verses of which we speak."—They are to be found in the first section of the *Hamâsa* (2).—"Ibn al-Fadl inscribed his poem on a piece of paper which he then tied "to the neck of a bitch having a number of puppies, and charged a man to drive "her and her young ones up to the vizir's door. She appeared there like a suppliant; the paper was taken off her neck and presented to the vizir, who found in "it these lines:

"'People of Baghdad! Know that Hais Bais has done a deed which now covers him with "shame, throughout the town. It was he, the coward, who, to shew off his bravery, assailed "a young whelp which had neither strength to attack nor force to resist. He has no money, "so he cannot pay the price of blood; he is not equal in value to his victim, so he cannot suffice "to undergo the law of retaliation. Therefore (*I*,) *curly-hair*, recited these lines, after referring the vengeance of *little-gray's* blood to Him who is the sole, the eternal. Then, to give "my heart relief and consolation, I said: *One of my hands struck me without intending it;* "*each of them could supply the place of the other: one is truly my brother when I call him* "*by his name; the other is my son.*"

The idea expressed in the third verse (*beginning with: He has no money*) is borrowed from this verse of another poet:

They are a people who esteem themselves so vilely that, when one of their party commits a crime, they think that, by the law of retaliation (*not one of them but*), all must suffer the penalty of death.

This is one of the verses given in the *Hamâsa* (3); it will be found in the quire

which begins by the words لقى بشار (4), and to that work we refer the reader. The insertion (*of the two verses*) is cleverly done; I never heard any thing so good, notwithstanding the great number of pieces into which poets have introduced verses composed by others. The only exception I shall make concerns a piece which was recited to me by the *shaikh* Muhaddab ad-Dîn Abû Tâlib Muhammad, better known by the surname of Ibn al-Khaimi; the same of whom we have spoken in the life of Tâj ad-Dîn al-Kindi (*vol. I. p.* 548). He informed me that, when he was at Damascus, the sultan ordered the beard of a person in his service to be shaved off before the eyes of the public. A part of it was already retrenched when some one interceded for the man and obtained for him the permission to retain the rest. He (*Ibn al-Khaimi*) composed on this subject the following piece, in which he designated the person indirectly, without mentioning his name:

I went to visit a son of Adam who, as I was informed, had all his beard shaved off, after receiving a bastinade. Finding that only the half had been removed, I congratulated him on his being allowed to retain the rest. He rose up, half-choked with weeping, and recited to me two verses which had not been composed in (*a spirit of*) lying and falsity : *When a band of fellows come to shave off your beard, throw away your clothes so that they may not impede your flight. When* (friends) *come to you, saying: You have still the half; answer: The best of the halves is that which is gone!*

The two last verses are given in that section of the *Hamâsa* which contains the satires on women (5), but (*Ibn al-Khaimi*) altered the first of them; in its original form it ran thus:

Marry not an old woman, though they bring her to you; but throw off your clothes so that they may not impede your flight.

(*One year*), in the month of Ramadân, the poet Hais Bais and Ibn al-Fadl were at a grand supper given by the vizir. Ibn al-Fadl took up a roasted *kata* (6) and offered it to his companion, who immediately turned towards the vizir and exclaimed: "My lord! this man has insulted me."—"How so?" said the vizir.—"Because "he has made an allusion to the (*well-known*) verse:

"(*The tribe of*) Tamîm follows the path of vileness, and therein is better directed than the "*kata* (*towards its nest*). If they trod in the path of honour, they would surely go astray."

We have already observed (*vol. I. p.* 559), that Hais Bais belonged to the tribe



of Tamîm.—This verse is taken from a piece composed by at-Tirimmâh Ibn Hakîm, the poet (7), and is followed by these lines:

Night is dispelled by day, but the ignominy of Tamîm will never be dispelled. If they saw a flea riding on a louse and galloping down to charge their line of battle, they would turn their backs (*and run away*).

Ibn al-Fadl entered, one day, into the palace of the vizir az-Zainabi and, finding Hais Bais with him, he said: "I have just composed two verses which could not "possibly be augmented by a third, so completely do they indicate the idea I meant "to express."—"Let us hear them," said the vizir. The poet recited as follows:

An image came (*in a dream*) to visit (*me*) which was as sparing (*of visits*) as she who sent it (*was sparing of her favours*); neither did it embrace me nor kiss me, so as to alleviate my pain. Its visits are only to aid me in abstaining from sleep, for it drives it away and then departs.

The vizir turned towards Hais Bais and said: "What think you of that preten- "tion?" and received this answer: "Let the author repeat them, and the vizir "shall hear the third verse." Ibn al-Fadl recited the verses again by the vizir's order; Hais Bais remained silent for a moment und then came out with this line:

(*The beloved*) knew not that I employed sleep as a snare to catch (*a sight of*) her image, when I found that all other snares (*remained without effect and*) fatigued my waking hours.

The vizir acknowledged that Hais Bais had well fulfilled his promise.—I was told that a modern whom I cannot now designate, being unable to discover who he was, took this very idea and versified it remarkably well; he expressed it thus:

You who (*by your beauty*) render jealous the sun and the moon! (*tell me*) who will console the enslaved lover whom you treated so cruelly, whilst you said that (*not you, but*) fate alone was to be blamed. I declare by the vitality of my love, that, if I sleep, it is not because I have forgotten you, but for the purpose of catching (*a glimpse of*) your image (*in my dreams*). Regret not the visits which your image made me whilst I slumbered: it was really as coy (*and as disdainful*) as yourself.

I have since discovered that the author of this piece was Abû 'l-Alâ Ibn Abi 'n-Nada al-Marûf.—When he (*Ibn al-Fadl*) directed against the *kâdi 'l-kodât* Jalâl ad-Dîn az-Zainabi that satirical poem of which we have spoken in the life of Ibn as-Sawâdi

(*vol. II. p.* 416) and which we should give here, were it not so long, the *kâdi* ordered one of his servants to bring the poet before him, and, when he was led in, he boxed his ears and sent him to prison. The poet remained in confinement so long that he wrote to Majd ad-Dîn Ibn as-Sâhib, the khalif's major-domo, a letter containing the following verses:

Majd ad-Dîn! I ask for shelter under your protection and complain to you of such ill treatment as I am unable to support. Some people have brought against me an absurd accusation and transmitted it to the worshipful *kâdi*. A brutal prosecutor dragged me by the sleeve and by the collar before the seat of justice. Every stroke of the (*kâdi's*) slipper made me bend my head, till my heart was ready to faint away. Even before the accuser had produced his proofs, I received such slaps on the face as prevented me from knowing where I was. Suppose that false accusation to be true, and tell me, master! if the prisoner should remain in confinement after having paid the full penalty of his fault?

When he got out of prison, he composed these lines:

He who struck me on the face thought he dishonoured me and did me harm; but his prison has not altered my sentiments, neither have his buffets injured (8) my ears.

Some verses rhyming in *m* and directed against Hais Bais have been already given in his life with the answer to them. When az-Zainabi, he of whom we have spoken, was raised to the vizirate, Ibn al-Fadl went to see him and entered into the hall of audience, which was crowded with men of high rank who had come to congratulate the vizir on his nomination. Having gone up to him, he wished him every happiness and, to show his joy and delight, he began to dance about. The vizir, on seeing this, said to one of his confidants: "God confound that old fellow! his "dancing reminds me of the common proverb: *Skip for the ape when the time of* "*his* (prosperity) *is arrived.*" The poet himself put this idea into verse and transmitted to one of the grandees a written copy of the piece (9). He composed also a *kasîda* rhyming in *r*, in which he diffamed, one way or other, a great number of the grandees. In this poem he said:

Tikrît is out of our reach and, in our ignorance, we go to take Tirmid from Sinjar (10).

The same poem contained the well known verse:

Genealogies traced up to al-Abbâs are now so frail (*and so ill-supported*) that they may be compared to pot-herbs.



A literary man of my friends recited to me the following verses as having been composed by Ibn al-Fadl :

> His generosity put an end to the war between me and Fortune; for one verse of eulogium, he bestowed on me gifts enough to fill my house.

He went, one day, to the house of the vizir Ibn Hubaira (11) and found with him the syndic of the *Sharîfs*, who was generally looked on as a great miser. This was in Ramadân, (*the month of fasting*), and the weather was very hot. The vizir said to him : " Where have you been?"—He replied: " In the kitchen of his worship " the *sharîf*."—" Wretch that you are!" exclaimed the vizir, " what were you doing " in a kitchen, now that we are in the month of Ramadân? " He answered: " By " the life of your Lordship! I was *breaking the heat*." The vizir smiled, all the persons present laughed out and the syndic remained quite confounded. The expression *to break the heat in such a place* is particular to the people of that city (*Baghdad*) and signifies *to chose a* cool place *for taking one's afternoon nap*. Another day, he went to the dwelling of a great man and, being refused admittance, was much offended. He then saw servants bring out meat and give it to their master's hounds, on which he observed that his lordship wished not to incur the common imprecation: *God's curse on the tree which shelters not its own people.*—Another day, as he was sitting down to dinner with his wife, he told her to uncover her head. When she did so, he repeated these words of the Koran : *Say*, *God is one.* She asked him what was the matter and received this answer: " When a woman uncovers her " head, the angels do not remain present and, when that verse of the Koran is pro- " nounced, the demons take to flight. Now, I do not like being at table with a crowd " (*zahma*) about me." The anecdotes told of him are very numerous. He was born in the year 477 (A. D. 1084-5), but as-Samâni (*vol. II. p.* 156) says as follows: " I asked him the date of his birth and he replied that he was born on the morning " of Friday, the 7th of Zû 'l-Hijja, 478 (26th March, A. D. 1086)." He died at Baghdad, on Saturday, the 28th of Ramadân, 558 (30th August, A. D. 1163) and was buried in the cemetery called al-Karkhi. According to as-Samâni, he died on the festival day of the breaking of the Fast, (*the* 1*st Shauwâl=2nd september*). Did I not prefer being concise, I should relate a great number of the laughable anecdotes which are told of him, for, in the chapter (*of jokes and pleasantry*), he held a noted place.—One of the verses above mentioned and which rhyme in *d*, contains

the word بواء (*bawá*), which signifies *the equivalent*. Thus, the say: " The blood " of this man shall the equivalent of (*i. e. shall answer for*) the blood of that man." The word جعدة (*Jada*), which (*signifies* curly-haired *and which*) occurs in the same piece, is the proper name of a bitch; so I was informed, but I have found nothing of the kind in philological works. Persons versed in philology say only this of it: " *Abû Jada* (*the father of Jada*) is a name given to the wolf; *jada* serves to designate " the sheep. The wolf was so called because he likes sheep so much."

(1) Literaly : with the heel.

(2) See Freytag's *Hamâsa*, page ١٠٠.

(3) See *Hamâsa*, page ١٢١.

(4) Here, the author, by a singular inadvertance, refers to a page or a quire of his own manuscript.

(5) See *Hamâsa*, page ٨١٧.

(6) A species of grouse. See vol. II, p. 145.

(7) This poet lived in the first century of Islamism.

(8) Literally: softened.

(9) Here Ibn Khallikân inserts the piece. It contains eleven verses, some of which offer expressions and allusions belonging, apparently, to the corrupt popular dialect of Baghdad. The third of these verses is incorrectly given in the manuscripts and the two printed editions, so that its meaning is not evident. The other verses, taken separately, are sufficiently intelligible, but when they are all taken together, the general thought which should pervade the piece cannot be perceived. I therefore do not attempt translating them.

(10) The allusion to these cities I cannot understand.

(11) The life of Ibn Hubaira will be found in this work.

AL-KADI 'S-SAID IBN-SANA 'L-MULK

Al-Kâdi 's-Saîd (*the fortunate kâdi*), Abû 'l-Kâsim Hibat Allah, the son of al Kâdi ar-Rashîd (*the well-directed kâdi*) Abû 'l-Fadl Jaafar, the son of al-Motamid Sana 'l-Mulk (*the lustre of the empire*) Abû Abd Allah Muhammad, the son of Hibat Allah, the son of Muhammad as-Saadi, was a celebrated Egyptian poet and the author of that *diwân* which contains such elegant pieces of verse and such exquisite mor-

cels of poetry. He was one of those men high in office who obtained general notice by their merit and their talent. He learned Traditions from the *hâfiz* Abû Tâhir as-Silafi (*vol. I. p.* 86). To the eminent rank and the ease which he enjoyed were joined the abundant favours of fortune and an ample share of wordly prosperity. The *Book of animals*, composed by al-Jâhiz (*vol. II. p.* 405), was abridged by him and published under the quaint title of *Rouh al-Haiwân* (*the spirit of animals*). He left also a *diwan* (*filled with poems of that species which goes under the name*) of *al-muwashshahât* (*roundelays*), and entitled *Dâr at-Tirâz* (*the house* or store *of embroidery*), and another consisting of extracts from the epistolary correspondence which passed between him and al-Kadi 'l-Fâdil (*vol. II. p.* 111) and containing elegant ideas of all sorts. Some of the great poets of that age formed a society at Old Cairo and held sittings during which they conversed and discoursed in a manner which was highly pleasing to hear. Sharaf ad-Dîn Ibn Onain (*page* 176 *of this vol.*), having then visited Cairo, was received by them with great honour and invited to their parties. As they all agreed in leading a pleasant life, they exclaimed, on learning his arrival: "Here is the poet of Syria!" and, on that occasion, they held assemblies during which their discourses were taken down in writing. Were I not apprehensive of being led away too for, I should give some of them here. A *kasîda*, composed by him (*al-Kâdi 's-Saîd*) in honour of al-Kâdi 'l-Fâdil, contains two elegant verses which I give here:

> Were the jeweller to see the pearls of her mouth, he would take them for gems of the rarest kind. If any one say that her figure is like a willow-wand, tell him to take care lest her figure should overhear your words (*and chastise you*).

Here is another piece of his:

> No branch can represent the slightness of thy figure; no gazelle (*is so graceful as thee*). Let others unite in their form every charm; their beauty is surpassed by thine. O thou whose smiling lips always display to us a row of beads, each of them a real pearl! my censurer asked me if I had no ears (*for good advice*), and I asked him if he had no eyes (*to see thee*).

The following amorous ditty was composed by him on a blind girl:

> My sun (*is in her face;*) it was never hidden but by her hair and has never suffered an eclipse but in its eyes. The sword (*of her glances*) is sheathed, but she wounds without it by means of her eyelids. In looking on her, I see a (*blind*) mole in (*the body of*) a gazelle, and the eyes of (*the blind*) Jacob in (*the head of the handsome*) Joseph.



The verses which follow were composed by him on a lad who had been whipped and then sent to prison :

I should give my life to redeem him who was scourged, not for being in fault but for the purpose of making that slender branch open its rose-buds (1). They put him into prison only to save his beauty from the stroke of the evil eye, and they said to him: "You resemble Joseph "in beauty; resemble him again by entering into prison."

The next verses are taken from another of his pieces :

I ceased to love her, not through lassitude, but for a motive which forced me to say: I leave you. She wished a third to be associated in our intimacy, but in my heart is still that article of belief which forbids me (*the sin of*) association (2).

By the same:

O thou whose neck is bared of every ornament except its beauty! on thy account I bared my heart (*of every sentiment*) except affliction (*for thy cruelty*). On the thread of my eyelids are strung the pearls of my tears; wilt thou have for thy neck a collar which will cost thee nothing? Fear me not! for I am as feeble and as languid as the zephyr; and the zephyr need not be feared by the willow-branch (*of thy figure*).

The idea expressed in this last verse is borrowed from the following line composed by Ibn Kalâkis and already given in his biographioal notice (*see page* 538 *of this vol.*):

As long as I courted her, (*she*) that pliant branch in a garden, enfeebled my body, so that I am become the zephyr.

A sa specimen of his style in prose we may cite a passage of a letter written by him, it is said, to al-Kadi 'l-Fâdil, relatively to the Nile which, in that year, had not attained its usual height and did not produce an inundation. Here is the passage: "As "for the water (*of the Nile*), the places where it might draw from are gone dry; "its fingers are cut off (*the digits of the nilometer are useless*); the pillar (*in that "edifice*) must make its ablution with dust, if it intend to offer up a prayer for rain, "and the scale is so feeble (*and thirsty*) that it thinks it has got the dropsy." This is one of the finest turns of expression which were ever employed to indicate the Nile's inability (*to overflow its banks*). There was in Old Cairo a poet called Abû Makârim Hibat Allah Ibn Wazîr Ibn Mukallad the *kâtib*. Al-Kâdi 's-Saîd, being informed that a satire had been composed on him by this person, had him brought into his presence

and, after inflicting on him a corporal chastisement, addressed him in abusive language. A well known poet, named Nashû al-Mulk Abû 'l-Hasan Ali Ibn Mufarraj and surnamed Ibn al-Munajjim al-Maarri (*whose family belonged to Maarra tan-Nomân, but*) who was born and who died in Egypt, was induced by this circumstance to indite the following lines and send then to the *kâdi*:

Say to as-Saîd, whose prosperity may God maintain! "Why did you treat so unjustly our "worthy friend, Ibn Wazîr? You avenged yourself sufficiently by striking him on the face; "why then did you insult him after? In doing so, you returned insult for insult, but you paid "him moreover, with blows for interest; yet the law does not allow usury. If you say that "your insults did him no hurt; then, by Allah! your blows did not hurt him either."

Al-Kâdi 's-Saîd composed a *kasîda* in praise of Shams ad-Dawlat Tûrân Shâh (*vol. I. p.* 284), the brother of the sultan Salâh ad-Dîn (*Saladin*) and began it thus:

I am indifferent for none except for my turbaned friend (3); I have renounced nothing except a blameworthy life.

When this piece appeared, a number of the Cairo poets leagued against him and, having declared that such a manner of opening a poem was detestable, they attacked him in satires. On this occasion, Ibn az-Zarawi (or *ad-Darawi*), the same person of whom we have spoken in the life of Saif ad-Dawlat al-Mubârak Ibn Munkid (*vol. II. p.* 555), wrote to him the following lines:

Relate to as-Saîd these words of one who admires his productions so full of charms: "How "admirable is your clever and perspicuous poem! yet our poets cannot taste its novelties. They "blame the idea of being indifferent for a friend; yet, if at-Taî (*vol. I. p.* 348) saw such a tissue "of verses as yours, he would become (*your ardent*) partisan."

Numerous anecdotes are told of this *kâdi*. He died at Cairo, on one of the first ten days of the month of Ramadân, 608 (between the 6th and the 16th of February, A. D. 1212). The *Kâtib* (*Imâd ad-Dîn, see p.* 300 *of this vol.*) speaks of him in the *Kharîda* and says: "On the 18th of Zû 'l-Kaada, in the year 70,"—that is, in the year 570,—"(10th June, A. D. 1175), I was with al-Kâdi 'l-Fâdil in "his tent at Marj ad-Dalhamiya (4), when he shewed me a *kasîda* which as-Saîd had "sent to him from Cairo, and he informed me that the author had not yet attained "his twentieth year. I was much struck with the elegance of its versification." He (*Imâd ad-Dîn*) then gives the poem; it begins thus:

Separation (*from thee*) has condemned my heart to be the constant companion of sorrow; thy departure has effected a firm accord between my eyes and tears.

If we admit the above mentioned indication, al-Kâdi 's-Saîd was born towards the year 550 (A. D. 1115-6). Imâd ad-Dîn then says, after inserting the *kasîda:* " He "—meaning as-Saîd,—" came to Syria in the month of Ramadân, 571, being " then in the service of al-Kâdi 'l-Fâdil; and I found him to be a marvel for intel- " ligence. He has reached the goal in the career of prose and of verse; the exqui- " site (*genius*) of the Arabic language has delivered to him a standard with its right " hand, and he obtained from the affability of al-Kâdi 'l-Fadil a most favorable " reception. The clay of his intelligence has been moulded by nature on (*the wheel* " *of*) sagacity, and I have every hope that his rank in the (*literary*) art will be exalted " highly; that, if his days be prolonged, he will obtain science enough to satisfy " his utmost wishes, and that, when his merit will be disengaged from (*the* " *admixture of*) puerility, reflexion will, with him, be watered by the fountain of " knowledge, so that it may render abundant fruits and produce for him collars " such as all would wish to possess."—I may here add that Jaafar, the father of al-Kâdi 's-Saîd, died towards the middle of Ramadân, 580 (December, A. D. 1184).—I have since found in the handwriting of a friend who took interest in these matters that his death occurred on Tuesday, the 5th of Zû 'l-Hijja, 592 (30th Oct., A. D. 1196), and that he was born towards the middle of Shauwâl, 525 (Sept., A. D. 1131).—The poet and *kâtib* Abû 'l-Makârim Hibat Allah Ibn Wazîr Ibn Mukallad, he whose name occurs in this article, is spoken of by Imâd ad-Dîn, who says, in his *Kharîda:* " I went to Old Cairo in the year 576 (A. D. 1180-1) and having enquired after " him, was told that he was dead."

(1) That seems to mean: making his body red.

(2) In Moslim theology, *association* signifies admitting the doctrine of polytheism or that of the trinity.

(3) I suppose that, by these words, the poet designated his mistress.

(4) The sultan Saladin invaded Syria, A. H. 570, took Damascus and other cities and blockaded Aleppo. The Kâdi 'l-Fâdil accompanied him. The place called Marj ad-Dalhamiya was probably in the neighbourhood of Aleppo.

HIBAT ALLAH AL-BUSIRI

Abû 'l-Kâsim, surnamed also Abû 'l-Karam Hibat Allah Ibn Ali Ibn Masûd Ibn Thâbit Ibn Hâshim Ibn Ghâlib Ibn Thâbit al-Ansâri al-Khazraji, came of a family which inhabited al-Monastîr, but was born in Egypt and there he resided. *Al-Bûsîri* is the appellation by which he is generally known (1). This *kâtib* was well versed in (*Arabic*) literature; he knew also by heart a number of pieces which had been transmitted down from the ancients and taught some Traditions known only to himself. He thus formed an intermediate link in the chain by which the doctors who came after him were connected with those of ancient times, and, in the latter part of his life, he held (*as a traditionist*) a rank in which he had no equal. The system of *koran-reading* followed by the *hâfiz* as-Silafi (*vol. I. p.* 86) and Ibrâhîm Ibn Hâtim al-Asadi was taught to him by Abû Sâdik Murshid Ibn Yahya Ibn al-Kâsim al-Madîni (*a native of Medina and*) *imâm* of the Jâmê 'l-Atîk (*the ancient mosque* in Old Cairo). Al-Bûsîri was the last person who ever taught Traditions received orally from the above mentioned Abû Sâdik, from Abû 'l-Husain Ali Ibn al-Husain Ibn Omar, the *koran-reader* of Musul, and from Abû Abd Allah Muhammad Ibn Barakât Ibn Hilâl as-Saîdi, the grammarian. He delivered also some Traditions on the authority of Abû 'l-Fath Sultân Ibn Ibrâhîm Ibn al-Musallam al-Makdisi, and was the last survivor of all those who taught Traditions which they had learned from the lips of that doctor. People came from (*distant*) countries to hear him, and obtained from him a great quantity of information. His grandfather, Masûd, had removed from al-Monastîr to Bûsîr, where he took up his residence, but, when his great abilities became known to the Egyptian government, he was called down to Old Cairo and appointed to draw up the official papers in the Correspondence office. His son Ali, the father of the Abû 'l-Kâsim whom is the subject of this article, was born in Old Cairo, in which city the family resided and had got into notice. Abû 'l-Kâsim bore the surname of Saiyid el-Ahl (*the chief of the family*), but he is better known as Hibat Allah. He was born in Old Cairo, A. H. 506 (A. D. 1112-3), or, according to another statement, on Thursday, the 5th of Zû 'l-Kaada, 500 (28th June, A. D. 1107). He died in that city on the eve of the 2nd of Safar, 598 (1st Nov., A. D. 1201) and

was buried at the foot of Mount Mokattam. Yâkût al-Hamawi (2) says, in his dictionary of places bearing similar names, that he died in the month of Shauwâl.—*Khazraji* means *descended from al-Khazraj*, the brother of *al-Aûs*. These two were the sons of Hâritha Ibn Thalaba Ibn Amr Muzaikiya Ibn Aâmir Ma as-Samâ. The remainder of this genealogical list is well known. Their mother's name was Kaila (قيلة). It was among the descendants of these two that the Prophet found at Medina his *Ansârs* (or first *assistants*).—*Al-Monastîr,* a town in Ifrîkiya (*the kingdom of Tunis*), was founded by Harthama Ibn Aîan al-Hâshimi (3), in the year 180 (A. D. 796-7). He had been appointed governor of that province by Hârûn ar-Rashîd, and he arrived there on Thursday, the 3rd of the latter Rabi, 179 (26th June, A. D. 795). In the life of the emir Tamîm Ibn al-Moizz Ibn Bâdis (*vol. I. p.* 283), reference is made to the present article.—*Bûsir* (بوصير), called also *Bûsîr Kûrîdos,* which last name is written uther with a *k* (ك) or à *q* (ق), is a town in the province of al-Bahnasa, wich is one of the countries included in the Saîd (*Upper Egypt*). In the life of the *kâtib* Abd al-Hamîd (*vol. II. p.* 175), we have spoken of another Bûsîr situated in the province of al-Faiyûm. There is also a village near al-Jîza which is called *Bûsîr as-Sidr,* and another in the canton of as-Samannûdiya. We have thus four places of the same name and all of them situated in Egypt.—*Al-Monastîr* lies betwen al-Mahdiya and Sûsa. It is a place of devotion to which pious men retire when they abandon the world for the service of God. It contains a number of castles resembling convents, all of which are surrounded by one wall (4). These indications are taken from the work of Yâkût al-Hamawi.

(1) The author of the *Borda,* a celebrated poem in praise of Muhammad, bore also the surname of *al-Bûsîri.* His names and surnames were Sharaf ad-Dîn Abû Abd Allah Muhammad Ibn Saad Ibn Hammâd as-Sanhâji ad-Dûlâsi al-Bûsîri. He was a native of Egypt, born, A. H. 608 (A. D. 1211), in one of the dependancies of al-Bahnasa. According to Abû 'l-Mahâsin, in the 5th volume of the *al-Menhal as-Sâfi,* ms. of the *Bib. Imp.* ancien fonds, n° 751, fol. 128 *et seq.*, he died, A. H. 696 or 697, or, according to Hajji Khalifa, in the year 694 (1294-5). He descended from the berber tribe of Sanhâja and belonged probably to the Hammâd family which reigned over a part of North Africa from A. H. 398 (A. D. 1008) to A. H. 547 (A. H. 1152-3). The *Menhal as-Sâfi* gives some account of this poet.

(2) The life of Yâkût is given in this work.

(3) See Ibn Khaldûn's *History of the Berbers,* vol. I, page 394 of the translation.

(4) It is, or was, a Molsim *ribât,* on a very extensive scale.

HIBAT ALLAH IBN AT-TALMID

Abû 'l-Hasan Hibat Allah Ibn Abi Ghanâim Sâêd Ibn Hibat Allah Ibn Ibrâhîm Ibn Ali, generally known by the surname of Ibn at-Talmîd and the title of Amîn ad-Dawla (*the trusty* servant *of the empire*), was a Christian physician and a native of Baghdad. The *kâtib* Imâd ad-Dîn (*page* 300 *of this vol.*) designates him, in the *Kharîda*, as the sultan of doctors, and praises him in the highest terms. Here are his words: "In the science of medicine, he was for the whole world the point to "which they had recourse; he was the Hippocrates of the age, the Galen of the "epoch; his talents carried the medical science to the acme of perfection, none of "the ancient doctors having reached the height to which he attained. His life was "long and his days prosperous. When I saw him, he was an old man of a plea-"sing aspect, and the sweetness (*of character*) indicated by his looks was, on trial, "found to be real. His mind was quick, his body graceful, his sentiments exalted, "his thoughts aspiring, his sagacity felicitous and his judgement solid. He was "the *elder* of the Christians, their priest, their head and their chief. His verses "shine by their charming style, by the sweetness of the fruits gathered from them "and by the admirable abundance (*of their thoughts*). Here is one of his pieces "containing an enigmatical description of a balance:

> "Tell me what is the thing which bears various names and gives a just measure for things "on earth and for the heavens. It decides with equity and never uses deception. Though "blind, it sets the spectator in the right; it is dumb, but not from an accident or a malady; it "enounces by a sign its decisions, and answers, by rising and falling, the appeal of him who is "in doubt. When suspended in air, it returns a clear reply."

One of the *various names* to which the author alludes is *the balance of the sun*, by which is meant *the astrolabe* and other astronomical instruments, and which is also indicated by the words *giving a just measure for the heavens;* the other names are *the balance of discourse*, that is to say, *grammar*, the *balance of poetry*, which means *prosody* and the *balance of ideas*, or *logic*. These are the things are designated by the names of *balance, measure, cubit* and other terms besides. Imâd ad-Dîn then gives a number of passages taken from this author's poems, and some

of them we shall notice. The article in which he speaks of the Christian physician Motamid al-Mulk Abû 'l-Faraj Yahya Ibn at-Talmîd (1), contains these words: "When Abû 'l-Faraj died, he was replaced by his sister's son,"—the person of whom we are treating,—" who, for that reason, became known by the surname of his " predecessor." He (*Imâd ad-Dîn*) says, in the work entitled *Anmûdaj al-Aaiyân min chuwarâ az-Zamân, etc.* (*List of those eminent contemporary poets whom I have known or heard of*): " Ibn at-Talmîd was versed in many sciences; he possessed a " solid judgement and a powerful intellect. For a long time, he was in the service of " the khalifs and the kings; his conversation was more brilliant than molten gold or " strings of pearls. I met with him at different times, towards the close of his life, " and marvelled greatly that he, with his excellent judgment and extraordinary " intelligence, should let himself be deprived of (*the blessings of*) Islamism; but " God, in his bounty, directeth whom he pleaseth and, through his resolve, he " leadeth astray whom he pleaseth. In his epistolary compositions, his style was " copious and exalted; by his verses, he placed himself among the great masters in " poetry and took the place of honour." He then gives some passages from his poems. Abû 'l-Maâli 'l-Hazîri (*vol. I. p.* 563) mentions him in the *Zîna tad-Dahr* and gives some of his pieces, such as the following:

O thou who hast lanched against me, from the bow of departure, the arrow of separation (*whose wounds are so*) difficult to cure! pardon the absence of him who is far from thee; that absence is a fault which bears in itself its punishment.

Imâd ad-Dîn cites the last of these verses in the *Kharîda,* as being the production of Abû Muhammad Ibn Hakîna (2), and joins to it another which I here give:

If he suffered no other punishment than thy departure from him, that alone would be sufficient.

Al-Hazîri attributes to him the following lines:

I complained because thy image did not visit (*my slumbers*), and yet I was prevented from sleeping by my love (*for thee*). It at length paid me a visit of kindness and complained of my (*not sleeping to receive it*). Thus was fulfilled the proverb: *Dreams go by contraries.*

Imâd ad-Dîn says, in his *Kharîda,* amongst other things: "Abû 'l-Maâli Hibat " Allah Ibn al-Hasan Ibn Muhammad Ibn al-Muttalib told me that Abû 'l-Hasan

" Ibn at-Talmîd recited to him the following lines, declaring them to be of his own
" composing :

" The happy days of my youth were a (*prolonged*) intoxication; but I then recovered and
" commenced to act as a virtuous man. I stopped to await (*the hour of*) death, like the tra-
" veller who, knowing the place (*to which he is going*), stops to pass the night at a distance from
" the (*regular*) halting-place. "

The second of these verses is given by Ibn al-Munajjim (3) in the *Kitâb al-Bâri*, where it is attributed to Muslim Ibn al-Walîd (*vol. I. p.* 25). Ibn at-Talmîd must have therefore borrowed and inserted it among his own. Abû Muhammad Ibn Hakîna having fallen ill, was treated by Ibn at-Talmîd ; on recovering, he gave him some money and composed these lines :

Being unwell, I went to be treated by him; for maladies must be cured. He tended me and consoled me, till I was able to thank him as every man would do when delivered from his cares; and I said: " Since this doctor has treated me kindly and cured me, let theriac (4) be adminis-
" tered to him. "

He composed on the same person another piece expressing the same idea and which I give here :

He was kind to his patient and saved him from death; yet (*the sick man*) was so ill that they were on the point of swathing his legs together, (*for burial*) (5). The person who keeps death away from another, merits to share in that man's wealth.

He, one time, requested the same doctor to cross the Tigris for the purpose of treating him, and, in this written application, he said :

Amro 'l-Kais, when enamoured with her who rode in the palanquin, was cured by an *abra* (*by shedding a flood of tears*) (6). An *abra* (*or crossing of the river*) would do me also good.

Ibn Hakîna lost his sight towards the close of his life. He had then a quarrel with Ibn at-Talmîd and, when (*the latter*) wished to make up with him, he addressed to him this line :

If you wish to pacify Bashshâr, the son of Burd (*vol. I. p.* 254), throw upon him his father (*i. e. a cloak, burd*).

On this, Ibn at-Talmîd sent him what he asked for and regained his friendship.

Many stories are related of what passed between them. Ibn Hakîna mentioned the name of Bashshâr Ibn Burd in this verse because Bashshâr had not the use of his sight and he, being blind also, compared himself to that poet. The expression *throw upon him such a one* is in general use with the people of Baghdad: when a man wishes to make up with his adversary and the latter refuses, they say: "Throw such "a one upon him;" that is, let such a one visit the adversary and intercede with him. In the verse is a *tauría,* one thing being said and another meant.—Here follows a well known piece of which he (*Ibn at-Talmîd*) is said to be the author, but I have found it attributed to an-Nâsih Ibn ad-Dahhân, a grammarian of Mosul:

Away with (7) reasoning! (*see you not how*) the passion of love leads to judgments (*so wild that they*) cannot be brought into the road of good sense. Thus, people say of love, which is eternal, that it is a (*transitory*) accident, yet our bodies are annihilated under its influence.

The two following verses are by the same author, but Imâd ad-Dîn, in his *Kharída,* attributes them to Abû Ali 'l-Muhandis, a native of Egypt:

My heart shares its love between a troop of beauties, to each of whom I am fondly attached. It is thus a center of which they are the circumference, and each of my desires is a radius.

By the same:

His liberality is a physician which cures our indispositions by a kind treatment. He is like mummy for a broken bone, and theriac for the bite of a serpent.

I have since found these two verses in the *diwân* of the poet Ibn Hajjâj (*vol. I. p.* 448). The following lines were composed by him on his son Saîd:

My love for Saîd is an enduring substance; his love for me a transitory accident. The six dimensions of my substance are occupied by him; but he, though enclosed therein, is inclined to leave me for another.

Abû 'l-Kâsim Ibn Aflah, a poet of whom we have already spoken (*vol. II. p.* 324), was cured of a disease under Ibn at-Talmîd's treatment; and, as the latter forbade him to take any other food than that which was prescribed to him, he addressed to him the following lines, complaining of hunger:

I am hungry; deliver me from starvation. A piece of bread, even a small morcel, would be my deliverance. Say not to me: "Just now! take patience!" I cannot have patience, even for an hour. Today, my empty stomach will hearken to no remonstrance against bread.



Ibn at-Talmîd, having read these verses, answered them by the following :

> It is thus that guests (*when famished*) like me complain to each other of hunger; yet I will not give you what is hurtful, remonstrate as you may! Try and humour your appetite with panado; that is better than a piece of bread. Answer, I beg of you, to what I prescribe by the words: *I hear and obey*.

When Ibn Aflah received these lines, he wrote back the following answer :

> I shall endeavour to follow your prescription, but I cannot say with perfect sincerity: *I hear and obey*. By Allah! I have struggled against hunger, but am unable to repel it. Preserve me from its consequences by delivering me from the headache which it gives.

Ibn at-Talmîd replied by these lines :

> In poetry my talent is feeble and my abilities limited, whilst you have a genius naturally disposed for it and are skilled in that art. As long as you cannot bear with the pains of hunger, so long you will not be delivered from your headache. Therefore, let your *Bismillah* (*or grace before meat*) be preceded by the taking of (*food*) an hour later (8).

Ibn at-Talmîd and the celebrated physician Auhad az-Zamân (*the pearl of the age*) Abû 'l-Barakât Hîbat Allah Ibn Malkân (9), the author of the philosophical treatise entitled *al-Motabir* (*the worthy of notice*), looked on each other with feelings of jealousy and rivality such as usually prevail between men who are eminent in the same profession. The anecdotes concerning their conferences and disputes are well known. Auhad az-Zamân was a Jew, but became a Moslim in his latter days. To cure himself of an elephantiasis, he let himself be bitten by vipers which he had kept, for some time, without food; and, after receiving a great number of bites, he was cured, but lost his sight. The history of this affair is well known. Ibn at-Talmîd composed on his rival the following epigram :

> Our friend, the Jew, is so filled (*fîhi*) with folly that it is manifested by his mouth (*fîhi*) every time he speaks. He talks at random (*yatîh*); not a dog but ranks higher than he! one would think he had not yet got out of the Wilderness (*Tîh*).

Ibn at-Talmîd was very modest, and Auhad az-Zamân very presumptious. This induced al-Bâdî al-Astorlâbi (*page* 580 *of this vol.*) to compose the following lines :

> The doctor Abû 'l-Hasan and his imitator, Abû 'l-Barakât, stand at opposite extremes: one,

by his modesty, has reached the Pleiades, and the other, by his presumption, is in the lowest abyss.

Ibn at-Talmîd composed some good works on medicine, one of which, the *Akrâbâdîn* (*Antidotarium*) is a very useful treatise and serves as a practical guide to the physicians of our days. Another of his works, that which he composed on the *Kûlliyât* (10) of Ibn Sîna (*Avicenna*), bears the title of *Kunnâsh wa Hawâch* (*compilation and glosses*). The master under whom he made his medical studies was Abû 'l-Hasan Saîd Ibn Hibat Allah (11), the author of some well known medical works, such as the *Talkhîs* (*compendium*), the *Mughni* (*sufficient*), in one volume, and the *Iknâa* (*satisfactory*), in four volumes. Some persons found fault with these (*two last*) titles and said that they should have exchanged places, because *mughni* signifies *what enables to dispense with any thing* and would have been an appropriate title for the larger work, whilst the term *iknâa*, signifiying *what furnishes a sufficiency*, was more suitable for a compendium. All the medical and literary works (*composed by Ibn at-Talmîd*) are very good. His conduct was most regular and his gravity so remarkable that, it is said, in the frequent visits made by him to the palace of the khalifs, he was never heard to utter a jest, except on one occasion. That was in the presence of the khalif al-Muktafi (*li-amr illah*). Here is what passed: A pension which had been assigned to him on the glass-bottle manufactory at Baghdad was stopped without the khalif's knowledge, and, one day that he was with that prince, and intended to withdraw, he had great difficulty in getting up, by reason of his advanced age. On this, the khalif said: "Doctor! you are getting old." To which he replied: "It is true, my lord! my bottles are broken." This expression is employed by the people of Baghdad to indicate that a man is old. When the khalif heard these words from the doctor's lips, he said: "During all " the time he has been in our service I never heard him utter a pleasantry." Enquiries being then made into the affair, led to the discovery that his pension on the bottle manufactory had been suppressed. The khalif, being informed of the circumstance, gave orders that the pension should be restored to him and granted him another besides. It had been suppressed by the vizir Aûn ad-Din Ibn Hubaira. The anecdotes related of this doctor are very numerous. He died at Baghdad in the month of Safar, 560 (Dec.-Jan., A. D. 1164-5), aged nearly one hundred years. In the historical work of Ibn Zûlâk al-Fâriki it is stated that Ibn at-Talmîd died on Christmas day and that he was acquainted with more sciences

than any other man. All those who inhabited Baghdad, either on one side (*of the river*) or on the other, went with his corpse to the church and attended the funeral; not one of them staid away.—This article contains only one name the orthography of which requires to be marked; it is *Malkân,* that which was borne by the grandfather of Auhad az-Zamân. — In the life of Ibn al-Jawâlîki (*page* 499 *of this vol.*) we have related a scene which passed between him and Ibn at-Talmîd in the presence of the khalif al-Muktafi. My article on Amîn ad-Dawlat Ibn at-Talmîd was finished when I met with a book in the handwriting of my professor, Muwaffak ad-Dîn Abû Muhammad Abd al-Latîf Ibn Yûsuf, and drawn up by him in the form of an autobiography (12). Towards the commencement of this work, he describes Ibn at-Talmîd as being possessed of great learning and skill in medicine. He then says (13): "One of his (*remarkable cures*) was this: A woman "was carried to him in such a state that her family did not know whether she was "living or dead. Though it was then in the depth of winter, he had her "stripped and submitted to a prolonged affusion of cold water. He then ordered "her to be carried into a warm room, which had been fumigated with aloes-wood "and other perfumes. They covered her with a quantity of furred cloaks and, "some time after, she sneezed and began to move; then she sat up and was able "to go home on foot with her people. Another time, they brought to him a man "who sweated blood in the summer season. He asked his pupils, who were about "fifty in number, if they knew what that malady was, but none of them could "tell. He ordered the patient to eat barley bread with roasted love-apples. The "sick man did so for three days and recovered. The pupils asked their master "what the malady was and he replied: 'The man's blood had got thin and the "'pores of his body were much opened; now, the virtue of this regimen is, to "'thicken the blood and to close the pores.' To give an idea of his disinte-"restedness, we may mention that the rear of his house was contiguous to the "Nizâmiya college and, when any of the law students was taken ill, he had him "brought to his house and took care of him, till he was cured and able to return." —Before this, our professor, Muwaffak ad-Dîn (*Abd al-Latîf*) says: "I profited "greatly under the tuition of this Amîn ad-Dawla's son. He lived nearly eighty "years. His great experience and his profound acquaintance with the secrets of "the human constitution were such that he could discern every malady as clearly "as if he saw it through a pane of glass; and he had never the least hesitation in

" deciding on its nature and mode of treatment. He usually prescribed simple " remedies or such as were but slightly compounded; and he thought no one " worthy of practising medicine but himself. He used to say: 'A prudent man " 'should wear such clothes as may not draw upon him the envy of the lower " 'order or the contempt of the higher.' So he wore white clothes of a fine " quality."—He (*Abd al-Latîf*) then adds: " This (*doctor*) was strangled in the " court of his house, in the first third of the night (14); he became a Moslim before " his death. I have often regretted his loss."

(1) This doctor practised in Baghdad, with great reputation, towards the close of the fifth century of the Hijra. This century ended A. H. 1106.

(2) This is the same poet whose name is written *Jaktna*, vol. I, p. 171, and vol. II, p. 492. I am inclined to think that *Hakina* is the right name. See page 582 of this volume, note (4).

(3) His life will found page 604 of this volume.

(4) Various readings: ذرياج, زرياج, ررياج. These words appear to be alterations of ترياق.

(5) This translation is merely conjectural.

(6) Amr 'l-Kais says, in the fourth verse of his *Muallaka:* " a flood of tears is my cure."

(7) I read تعس with the edition of Bûlâk.

(8) The absurdity of this recommendation and the impossibility of fulfilling it imply that the patient should not take anything. I do not see any other way of explaining the passage.

(9) Auhad ar-Zamân was the khalif al-Mustanjid's physician. He composed a number of medical treatises. For a notice on this doctor see Wüstenfeld's *Arabische Aerzte*, n° 177.

(10) *Kulliyât* signifies *generalities* and, when employed as the title of a medical work, means *general principles of therapeutics*. Avicena and Averroes composed each of them a *Kulliyât*. In the old latin translations, this word is rendered or rather transcribed by *colliget*.

(11) The text reads *Hibat Allah Ibn Said* which is a fault. See *Arabische Aerzte*, n° 143 and Hajji Khalîfa's bibliographical Dictionary, tom. V, p. 658.

(12) See de Sacy's *Relation de l'Égypte, par Abd-Allatif*, page 458.

(13) Ibn Abi Osaibia gives some long extracts from Abd al-Latîf's autobiography, but has purposely omitted what concerned Ibn at-Talmîd. See de Sacy's *Abdallatif*, p. 461. I may here observe that Ibn Khallikân was about twenty-one years of age when, his profesor Abd al-Latîf died.

(14) Here the text appears to be corrupt.

HARUN IBN ALI 'L-MUNAJJIM

Abû Abd Allah Hârûn, the son of Ali, the son of Yahya, the son of Abû Mansûr al-Munajjim (*the astrologer*), was an accomplished scholar and a native of Baghdad. We have already spoken of his son Ali (*vol. II. p.* 313). Hârûn was a *hâfiz*, knowing by heart and able to repeat a great quantity of poems. His conversation was agreable and his social talents highly pleasing. The *Kitâb al-Bâri* (the *book of surpassing excellence*), a work composed by him on the *muwallid* (*or Moslim*) (1) poets, contains one hundred and sixty-one articles. It begins with a notice on Bashshâr Ibn Burd al-Okaili (*vol. I. p.* 254), ends with a account of Muhammad Ibn Abd al-Malik Ibn Sâlih (2) and offers the finest passages composed by these poets. The author says, towards the beginning of the work: "In writing this book on the history "of the *muwallid* poets, I inserted such pieces of their poetry as I myself had "chosen, and, in making that selection, I proceeded with the utmost care and after "the best of my knowledge. The learned say that a man's intelligence is indicated "by what he chooseth, and that the faculty of choosing well proceedeth from the "abundance of the understanding. Some of them also have said: A man's poetry "is a part of his discourse, the opinion he professes is a part of his understanding, "and his faculty of choosing is a part of his (*acquired*) knowledge." In this strain, he goes on to a considerable length and then informs us that this work was abridged from another which he had compiled on the same subject and which he reduced to its present dimensions by making suppressions. It is really a very useful work because it does away with the necessity of procuring the *diwâns* (or *collected works*) of all the poets which it mentions. The fact is that the author, in making his abridgment, retained the cream of their verses and rejected the froth. In the life of the *kâtib* Imâd ad-Dîn (*page* 300 *of this vol.*), we have indicated this work as the main stem of several branches, namely the *Kharîda*, the treatise of al-Hazîri (*vol. I. p.* 563), that of al-Bâkharzi (*vol. II. p.* 323) and that of ath-Thaâlibi (*vol. II. p.* 129). It was the model after which they all composed theirs. Another of Ibn al-Munajjim's works is the *Kitâb an-Nisâ* (*book of women*). It contains the anecdotes related of them and the elegant passages in prose and verse of which women were the subject.

I am unable to give here any of his own verses, having never met with any of them. In the *Kitâb al-Bâri*, he inserted an article on his father Abû 'l-Hasan Ali Ibn Yahya, with extracts from his poems and, immediately after, he gives a notice on his brother Yahya Ibn Ali with a series of extracts. These we need not insert here, as they will be found in our article on Yahya Ibn Ali.—Abû Abd Allah Hârûn Ibn al-Munajjim died in the year 288 (A. D. 901), at an early age. His great-grandfather, Abû Mansûr, was astrologer to the khalif Abû Jaafar al-Mansûr and, in religion, a fire-worshipper. His son Yahya was attached to the service of Zû'r-Riâsatain al-Fadl Ibn Sahl (*vol. II. p.* 472), and his astrological indications always regulated the actions of that vizir. After al-Fadl's catastrophy, an event of which we have already spoken (*vol. II. p.* 475), Yahya became al-Mâmûn's astrologer and boon companion. The pressing instances of that khalif, who had chosen him for his favorite and friend, induced him to turn Moslim, and his profession of the Mohammedan faith, made to al-Mâmûn, rendered him the *mawla* (3) of that prince. The Munajjim family produced a number of men who rose to eminence by their abilities, their literary acquirements and their talent for poetry. All of them were admitted into the intimacy of the (*reigning*) khalifs and became their boon companions. Ath-Thaâlibi has devoted a whole section of his *Yatîma* to the members of this family and notices a great number of them. The abore mentioned Yahya died at Aleppo when al-Mâmûn was going on his expedition to Tarsûs. He was buried in the Kuraish cemetery of that city, and his tomb, with his name inscribed on it, is there still to be seen.

(1) See vol. 1st, p. 209.

(2) In the year 196 of the Hijra (A. D. 811-2), Muhammad, the son of Abd al-Malik Ibn Sâlih the Abbaside, was named governor of Mesopotamia and Syria by the khalif al-Amîn.—(*Nujûm*.)

(3) See vol. II, Introduction, page IX.

HISHAM IBN ORWA

Abû 'l-Mundir Hishâm al-Asadi was the son of Orwa, the son of az-Zubair Ibn al-Awwâm. We have already spoken of his father (*vol. II. p.* 199). Hishâm was one of the most distinguished *Tâbis* of Medina, and transmitted down a great quantity of Traditions. He ranked among the most eminent of the learned (*in the law*) and was considered as one of the principal *Tâbis*. He belonged to the fourth generation of those who inhabited Medina. Traditions were taught to him orally by his uncle Abd Allah Ibn az-Zubair (*the antikhalif*) and by Ibn Omar (*vol. I. p.* 567). He saw Jâbir Ibn Abd Allah al-Ansâri (*vol. II. p.* 204), Anas Ibn Mâlik (*vol. II. p.* 587) and Sahl Ibn Saad (1). According to another statement, he saw Ibn Omar but did not hear any Traditions from him. Traditions were taught on his authority by Yahya Ibn Saîd al-Ansâri (*vol. II. p.* 549), Sofyân ath-Thauri (*vol. I. p.* 576), Mâlik Ibn Anas (*vol. II. p.* 545), Aiyûb as-Sikhtiâni (2), Ibn Juraij (*vol. II. p.* 116), Obaid Allah Ibn Omar (3), al-Laith Ibn Saad (*vol. II. p.* 543), Sofyân Ibn Oyaina (*vol. I. p.* 578), Yahya Ibn Saîd al-Kattân (*vol. II. p.* 679), Wakî (*vol. I. p.* 374) and others. He went to Kûfa, in the reign of Abû Jaafar al-Mansûr and delivered Traditions to the people of that city. His birth took place A. H. 61 (A. D. 680-1). Abû Ishâk Ibrâhîm Ibn Ali Ibn Muhammad ad-Duhli (4) states that (*the khalif*) Omar Ibn Abd al-Azîz, Hishâm Ibn Orwa, az-Zuhri (*vol. II. p.* 581), Katâda (*vol. II. p.* 513) and al-Aamash (*vol. I. p.* 587) were born on or about the day in which al-Husain, the son of Ali, was slain. This occured on the (*festival*) day of Ashûrâ, A. H. 61 (10th Oct., A. D. 680). He went to visit al-Mansûr, at Baghdad, and died there in the year 146 (A. D. 763-4), or in 145 or 147, according to other statements. The funeral service was said over him by al-Mansûr, and he was buried in the Khaizurân cemetery, on the eastern side (*of the Tigris*). Some say, however, that he was interred on the western side, without the wall (*of the city*), near the gate of Kutrubbul, beyond the ditch, and higher up than the cemetery of the Harb gate. His tomb (*they say*) is still to be seen there and is well known. It is covered with a flat stone on which is inscribed : *This is the tomb of Hishâm Ibn Orwa.* The persons who state that he was buried on the eastern side say that the tomb on the western is that of Hishâm Ibn Orwa

al-Marwazi, a disciple of Abd Allah Ibn al-Mubârak (*vol. II. p.* 12). God knows best! He left posterity at Medina and Basra. The Khatîb (*vol. I. p.* 75) relates as follows, in his History of Baghdad: "Al-Mansûr said to him one day: 'Abû 'l-Mun-
"'dir! do you remember when I and my brothers, the legitimate heirs to the
"'khalifate, went to visit you, and we found you drinking ptisan through a hollow
"'reed? When we left you, our father said to us: 'Appreciate well the merit of this
"'old man; he will never cease to be of your party, come what may!' Hishâm
"replied: 'Commander of the faithful! I do not remember that.' When he
"withdrew, some one said to him: '(*How simple you are*) to acknowledge that you
"'do not remember a thing which the khalif mentioned to you and which would
"'ensure you his favour!' He answered: "I did not recollect it, and my vera-
"'ciousness cannot but obtain a recompense from God.'" It is related that he went to visit al-Mansûr and said to him: "Commander of the faithful! deliver me
"from my debts" Al-Mansûr asked him how much he owed and, being told one hundred thousand (*dirhems*) (5), he exclaimed: "How could you, with all your
"learning in the law and all your merit, contract a debt of one hundred thousand
"(*dirhems*) without having the means of paying it?" He replied: "Commander of
"the faithful! some of my boys were grown up and, being afraid of incurring the
"disagreeable necessity of answering for their conduct, I constructed for them sepa-
"rate dwellings and made marriage feasts to get rid of them; being assured that
"God and the Commander of the faithful would come to my assistance." The khalif continued to repeat the words: "*One hundred thousand!* (6)," as if he found the sum enormous, and at length said: "I shall give you ten thousand."—"Com-
"mander of the faithful!" said Hishâm, "give me whatever sum you can bestow
"with good will; I heard my father relate that our blessed Prophet said: 'When a
"'gift is bestowed and leaves the mind satisfied, the donor and the receiver obtain
"'equally the blessing of God.'" The khalif replied: "I shall then bestow what
"will leave my mind satisfied." Hishâm sprung forward to kiss his hand. but the other prevented him and said: "Son of Orwa! we esteem you so highly that we
"will not let you kiss it, and we esteem it so highly that we do not allow it to be
"kissed by others."—The anecdotes related of Hishâm Ibn Orwa are very numerous.

(1) Sahl Ibn Saad as-Sâêdi, one of Muhammad's companions and a native of Medina, delivered upwards

of one hundred and eighty traditions relating to his master. He died at Medina, A. H. 88 (A. D. 707).—Nawâwi's *Tahdib al-Asma*.) The note (3), page 564, ought to be suppressed.

(2) Abu Bakr Aiyûb Ibn Kisân as-Sikhtiâni, a native of Basra and a traditionist of good authority, died A. H. 114 (A. D. 732-3), aged seventy three years.—(Dahabi's *Tabakât al-Huffâz*.)

(3) Obaid Allah, the son of the khalif Omar, was slain A. H. 37 (A. D. 657), at the battle of Siffin.—(*Tahdib, Huffâz*.)

(4) Ibrahim Ibn Ali ad-Duhli died A. H. 293 (A. D. 905-6).—(*Nujûm*.)

(5) About two thousand five hundred pounds sterling.

(6) Al-Mansûr was notorious for his avarice.

HISHAM IBN AL-KALBI

The genealogist Abû 'l-Mundir Hishâm Ibn Abî 'n-Nadr Muhammad Ibn as-Sâib Ibn Bishr Ibn Amr al-Kalbi was a native of Kûfa. We have already spoken of his father (*p.* 27 *of this vol.*) and related what passed between him and the poet al-Farazdak. Traditional information, learned from his father, was handed down by his son al-Abbâs and some others, amongst whom were Khalîfa Ibn Khaiyât (*vol. I. p.* 492), Muhammad Ibn Saad *Kâtib al-Wâkidi* (*vol. III. p.* 64), Muhammad Ibn Abi Sarî al-Baghdadi (1) and Abû 'l-Ashâth Ahmad Ibn al-Mikdâm (2). In the science of genealogy he was the most learned of men, and his *Jamhara tan-Nisab* (*or collection of genealogies*) is one of the best works ever composed on the subject. As a *hâfiz* (*vol. I.* xx, 64), he bore a high reputation. The Khatîb (*vol. I. p.* 75) says, in his History of Baghdad, that Hishâm went to that city and taught Traditions there. He states also that he said: "I have learned by heart "more that any man ever did, and forgotten more than any other man. Being "reproached by my uncle for not knowing the Koran by heart, I went into a room "and swore not to leave the place till I had committed that book to memory, and "I accomplished the task in three days. I looked at myself, one day, in a mirror, "and grasped my beard with the intention of cutting it off from below my clenched "hand, and I cut it off from above it (3)." A great number of treatises were composed by him, such as the *Hilf* (*or pact*) made by Abd al-Muttalib with the tribe

of Khuzâa, the *Hilf al-Fudûl* (*confederation made between the Fâdls*) (4), the *Hilf* (or *confederation*) formed between (*the tribes of*) Tamîm and Kalb, the *Kitâb al-Munâfarât* (*contestations* between rivals who vaunt the glory of their respective families), the *Kitâb Buyûtât Kuraish* (*on the illustrious families of the tribe of Kuraish*), the *Kitâb Fadâil Kais Ailân* (*on the eminent merit of* the families descended from *Kais Ailân*), the *Kitâb al-Mawûdât* (*on the girls buried alive*) (5), on the illustrious houses (*buyûtât*) of the tribe of Rabîa, the *Kitâb al-Kuna* (*on by-names*), a work on the noble deeds of Kusai and his descendants in the times of ignorance and of islamism; the *Kitâb alkâb Kuraish* (*the usual surnames among the Kuraishides*), the *Kitâb alkâb al-Yaman* (*the usual surnames among the Yemenites*), the *Kitâb al-Mathâlib* (*book of upbraidings*), the *Kitâb an-Nawâfil* (*on gifts*), the *Kitâb iddai Ziâd Moawîa* (*on Ziâd's claim of relationship to Moawîa*) (6), the History of Ziâd Ibn Abîh, the *Kitâb sandia Kuraish* (*the generous deeds of the Kuraishides*), the *Kitâb al-Mushâjarât* (*book of contestations*), the *Kitâb al-Mudtabât* (*the book of reproaches*), the *Kitâb mulûk at-Tawâif* (*on the provincial kings*) (7), the *Kitâb mulûk Kinda* (*on the kings of the tribe of Kinda*), the *Kitâb Iftirâk walad Nizâr* (*the dispersion of the posterity of Nizâr*), the *Kitâb tafrîk Azd* (*the dispersion of the sons of Azd*), the *Kitâb Tasm wa Jadîs* (*on the ancient tribes of Tasm and Jadîs*). His works are upwards of one hundred and fifty in number. The best and the most instructive is that which is generally known by the title of *al-Jamhara* (*the collection*) of genealogical information; the like of it was never composed on the subject. He drew up a genealogical work entitled *al-Manzil* (*the station*), which was more extensive than the *Jamhara*. His *Mujaz* (*abridgment*) (8) treats also of genealogies. The *Farîd* (*precious pearl*), on the same subject, was composed by him for al-Mâmûn, and the *Mulûki* (*or imperial*), another genealogical work, was drawn up by him for Jaafar Ibn Yahya the Barmekide. The quantity of his narrations concerning the battle-days and the history of the (*Arabian*) people is very considerable. Here is one of these pieces: The sons of Omaiya assembled at the house of Moawîa Ibn Abî Sofyân, and reproached him for the preference he gave to Amr Ibn Aâsi and for acknowledging (*as his brother*) Ziâd Ibn Abîh. Moawîa replied to them and then pushed Amr on to speak. In this discourse, Amr said (9): "I am he who "pronounced these lines at the battle of Siffîn:

"When others looked askance, I blinked not; then I partially closed my eyes, but not in

"winking (*at the sight of danger*). You saw me return (*to the charge*) and continue to dash
"forward. I support (*equally well*) good and evil, and am inexorable, like the serpent at the
"foot of the tree."

"By Allah! I am neither languid nor feeble. I am the deaf snake from whose
"bite none can recover, and whose sting renders a man sleepless. I am one
"who shatters when he strikes; who cooks well whatever he heats. Let him who
"pleases consult (*me*); let him who wishes ask (*my*) advice (*he will find it good*).
"O! if they saw what I witnessed on the battle-day of al-Harîr (10); if they faced
"what I faced, they would have found the outlet too narrow (*for their escape*).
"The road would have appalled them when (*Ali*) the father of al-Hasan
"dashed down upon us, having on his right and on his left men of action
"and of prudence, noble companions; there, by Allah! the eyes were star-
"ing, the mischief (*of war*) was exalted, and se subduxerunt colei usque
"ad renes. There were drawn the lots which rendered mothers childless and
"made them forget what they were bearing (*in the womb*); the pupils of the eye
"were turned red, the horizon was clouded with dust, the (*ocean of*) sweat came
"up to the month, blood flowed in torrents, the dust flew aloft, the brave stood
"firm, the cowards drew back, the voices were extinguished, the lips were
"foaming, and numerous were the struggles hand to neck. War was thus set on
"its legs; the time of departure (*from life*) arrived; the combatants struck each
"other with the scabbards of their swords, after using all their arrows and
"splintering their lances. On that day, nothing was heard but the shouts of the
"men and the neighing of the horses. Swords fell upon heads as the bat of
"washer-man falls on the trestle. That lasted (11) for a day, till night came on
"with its darkness, and till morning was enlightened by the dawn. Then nothing
"remained of the conflict but groans and cries; for the enemy had learned that
"I was the first of you all in bravery, the ablest in efforts and the steadiest in
"defending the standard. To me, when compared with you, may well be applied
"these words of the poet:

"I shut my eyes on certain acts, and if I choose to mention them, I should leave no room for
"peace-making. If the tree of my (*honour*) be of gold, should I not respect it more than to
"place it in competition with common weeds?"

We still possess much of the traditional information which came down from

him. He died in the year 204 (A. D. 819-820), or, by another account, in 206. The first is most probably the correct date.

(1) Muhammad Ibn Abi Sarî al-Mutawakkil al-Askalâni (*a native of Ascalon*) and designated by Ibn Khallikân as a native of Baghdad, was considered by the ablest critics in the history of the Traditions as a sure authority. He died A. H. 228 (A. D. 842-3), at Ascalon.—(*Huffâz, Nujûm.*)

(2) Ahmad Ibn al-Mikdâm, belonged to the tribe of Ijl. This traditionist died A. H. 253 (A. D. 867).—(*Nujûm.*)

(3) Hishâm meant to indicate by this that his sight was weakened by excessive study. It was customary with men of learning not to let their beards grow longer than the breadth of the hand.

(4) The confederation of the Fadls was formed at Mekka, A. D. 595, for the purpose of protecting strangers who came to that city. This association maintained its influence till the middle of the first century of the Hijra. Muhammad entered into it at the age of twenty-five years.—(*Essai, etc.*, de M. C. de Perceval, tom. I, p. 330 et suiv.)

(5) Female infanticide was common with the Arabs till abolished by Muhammad. He alludes to the practise in the Koran, *sûrat* LXXXI, verse 8.

(6) Ziâd, a bastard son of Abû Sofyân, was legitimated by his half-brother, the khalif Moawia, in the forty-fourth year of the Hijra. Till that time, he was generally called *Ziâd Ibn Abîh*, i. e. Ziâd, the son of his (*unknown*) father.

(7) This term usually designates the successors of Alexander the Great and the Arsacides. After the fall of the Omaiyide dynasty in Spain, the governors of the cities and provinces became independant and were also designated as *the kings of peoples* or *provincial kings*.

(8) According to another reading: *al-Muakhkhar* (*the final*), الموخر in place of الموجز.

(9) We possess very few specimens of discourses in prose, pronounced in the first century of the Hijra. This piece is remarkable for that reason, and is highly caracteristic of its author. The grammarians and philologers of later times must have prized it as literary curiosity, for it offers a fair sample of the quaint, pretentious and rhythmical style which was so common during and before the time of Muhammad. The Arabs could then express their ideas very well in verse, but were singularly awkward and affected in their prose compositions. As a prose-writer, Muhammad excelled them all.

(10) The Persian army was defeated at al-Kadisiya after a battle which lasted three days. One of those conflicts was called *the night of growling* (*laila tal-Harîr*).

(11) The true pronounciation of the word بدأب is uncertain, the diacritical points varying in the manuscripts and the printed editions. The meaning here given to it is quite conjectural.

HISHAM AD-DARIR, *THE GRAMMARIAN*

Abû Abd Allah Hishâm ad-Darîr (*the blind*) grammarian, was a native of Kûfa and a disciple of Abû 'l-Hasan Ali Ibn Hamza al-Kisâi (*vol. II. p.* 237), from whom he received a great quantity of grammatical information. One of his treatises on this subject is even attributed to al-Kisâi. He composed many grammatical works, such as the ***Kitâb al-Hudûd*** (*on definitions*), which is a short treatise, the ***Mukhtasir*** (or *abridgment*) and the ***Kitâb al-Kiyâs*** (*on analogies*). Ishâk Ibn Ibrâhîm Ibn Musâb (1) had, one day, with (*the khalif*) al-Mamûn, a conversation in which he committed a fault of grammar. Perceiving that the khalif stared at him, he knew what that meant and, on retiring, he went to study grammar under the tuition of Hishâm. According to Abû Mâlik al-Kindi, this grammarian died in the year 209 (A. D. 824-5).

(1) Ishâk Ibn Ibrâhîm Ibn Musâb, a nephew of the celebrated Tâhir Ibn al-Husain, governor of Khorâsân, was governor of Baghdad under al-Mâmûn and other khalifs. He died A. H. 235 (A. D. 849-50).—(*Nujûm*.)

AL-FARAZDAK, *THE POET*

Abû Firâs Hammâm, or Humaîm, in the diminutive form, according to Ibn Kutaiba (*vol. II. p.* 22), in his *Tabakât ash-Shuwarâ*, was the son of Ghâlib surnamed Abû 'l-Akhtal, the son of Sâsâa, the son of Nâjia, the son of Ikâl, the son of Muhammad, the son of Sofyân, the son of Mujâshia, the son of Dârim, whose true name was Bahr, the son of Mâlik, surnamed Aûf (*host*) for his generosity, the son of Hanzala, the son of Mâlik, the son of Zaid Manât, the son of Tamîm, the son of Murr. This celebrated poet of the tribe of Tamîm was generally known by the appellation of al-Farazdak

and by his fellowship with Jarîr (*vol. I. p.* 294). His father, Ghâlib, was one of the most eminent chiefs of the tribe. His mother, Laila, was the daughter of Hâbis and the sister of al-Akrâ Ibn Hâbis (1). He (*Ghâlib*) was famous for noble acts and renowned for praise-worthy deeds. Here is an example of his generosity: The inhabitants of Kûfa were afflicted by a famine whilst he was there, and most of them retired into the country (*among the nomadic tribes*). Ghâlib was the chief of one tribe and Suhaim Ibn Wathîl ar-Riâhi was at the head of another (*the Banû Riâh*). The refugees (*of Kûfa*) assembled at a place called *Sauâr* situated in the outskirts of (*the desert of*) as-Samâwa, in the territory of (*the*) Kalb (*tribe*) and at a day's journey from Kûfa.—The first syllable of *Sauâr* is to be pronounced with an *a* and the second begins with an *â*.—Ghâlib slew a female camel for his people and prepared a repast with the flesh. To the persons of consequence belonging to the tribe of Tamîm he presented large dishes filled with *tharîd* (*bread steeped in broth*), but Suhaim, to whom he sent one dish, upset it and beat him who brought it, saying: "Do I stand "in need of a repast from Ghâlib? as often as he slays a female camel, I shall slay "another." A contest of rivalry then ensued, and Suhaim slew a female camel for his people. The next morning, Ghâlib killed two, and Suhaim killed also two for his people. The next day, each of them killed three. On the fourth day, Ghâlib slew one hundred, and Suhaim, not having so many at hand, slew none and concealed in his mind (*the jealousy which he felt*). When the famine was over, the people of Kûfa returned to the city and the Banû Riâh said to Suhaim: "You have "brought down upon us everlasting disgrace! why did you not kill as many as he? "For every camel you slew, we should have given you two." He excused himself by saying that his camels were absent, and (*soon after*) he killed three hundred and said to the people: "Here is for you; eat!" This passed in the khalifate of Ali Ibn Abi Tâlib, and he (*Ali*) being consulted on the lawfulness of eating that flesh, made answer: "To eat it is contrary to law, because the animals were not killed "for eating but through another motive, namely, vain glory and ostentation." So the flesh was cast into the place (*kunâsa*) where the sweepings and dirt of Kûfa were deposited, and it remained there till eaten by dogs, eagles and vultures. The history of this occurrence is well known, as it gave rise to a number of poems. One of them was composed by Jarîr, in the form of a satire on Farazdak and contains a verse often quoted by grammarians in their treatises, to exemplify a rule, and which we here give:

Sons of Dautara! you count as your best title to glory the slaying of old camels, since you cannot (*boast of slaying warriors*) equipped in helm and mail (2).

This idea was borrowed by al-Mahel (3), a member of the tribe called the Bani Katan Ibn Nahshal, and expressed by him in the following terms:

I was rejoiced that (*the tribe of*) Mujâshia could put forward no other claim to honour than the slaying of old camels at Sauâr.

The Ghâlib here spoken of was blind of an eye. The Suhaim above-mentioned was the son of Wathîl Ibn Amr Ibn Juwain Ibn Wuhaib Ibn Himyar, and the author this (*well-known*) verse:

I am the son of Jalâ, the climber of mountains; when I take off my turban (*and veil*), you shall know me (4).

This verse is part of a poem (5). The poetical works (*of Suhaim*) have been collected and form a small *diwân*. *Wathîl* (*as a common noun*) means *a weak rope*, or, according to some, *the fibres of the date-tree* (6).—Al-Farazdak had so great a respect for the tomb of his father that, when any person invoked its protection, he would go to his assistance and help him to obtain what he wanted. As an instance of this, we shall here give an anecdote inserted by al-Mubarrad (*page* 31 *of this vol.*) in his *Kâmil*: Tamîm Ibn Zaid al-Kaini, having been appointed to the government of Sind by al-Hajjâj Ibn Yûsuf at-Thakafi (*vol. I. p.* 356), entered into Basra (*for the purpose of levying troops*) and took off with him as many of the inhabitants as he pleased. An old woman then went to al-Farazdak and said: "I have invoked the protection "of your father's tomb; here are some of the pebbles (*which cover it*)." He asked her what she wanted and she replied: "Tamîm, the son of Zaid, has carried off my "son, the sole delight of my eyes, the only one who procures me subsistence."— "What is his name?" said he. She answered: "His name is Khunaish." He immediately wrote to Tamîm the following lines and sent then off by a person who was going (*to join him*):

Tamîm, son of Zaid! let not this request be neglected and let not its answer be delayed. Restore me Khunaish; I shall consider it as a great favour; such is the interest I take in a (*poor*) mother who can no longer enjoy her food. She came to me, o Tamîm! and invoked the tomb of Ghâlib, that grave over which the winds sweep the dust. All people know that you are truly generous and, when the fire of war is lighted, brave as a lion.



When Tamîm received this letter, he had doubts whether the name was *Khunaish* or *Hubaish*, and gave orders to see if it was inscribed on the roll of the army. Six names were found; some of them *Khunaish* and the others *Hubaish;* so, he sent all those men to the poet.—Al-Farazdak and Nusaib (7), a well known poet, were one day in the presence-chamber of Sulaimân Ibn Abd al-Malik, the Omaiyide khalif, who said to the former: " Recite me something;" expecting to hear an eulogium on himself. Al-Farazdak pronounced the following lines in praise of his own father:

How often (*was seen*) a band of travellers on whom the wind, (*fatigued*) with bearing along the (*heavy*) clouds, seemed to be wreaking its vengeance. In their nocturnal journey, they struggled against the blast which envelopped them, (*and tried to get*) at the water-skins attached to the saddles on which their baggage was tied (8). When they saw the light of a fire, they would exclaim : " May it be the one (*we hope for*)! " and already, the (*hospitable*) fire of Ghâlib was close at hand.

Sulaimân turned away from him, as if displeased, and Nusaib then said: " Com- " mander of the faithful! permit me to recite to you a piece in the same rhyme as " that which you have heard and, perhaps, not inferior to it in merit."—" Let us " have it," said the khalif, and the poet recited as follows:

I said to the caravan which I met coming from the watering-place, (*situated*) behind Zât Aushâl: " May the Lord provide for you (9)! Stop and give me news of Sulaimân; for he " (*always*) seeks inhabitants of Waddân on whom he may bestow his gifts (10)." They turned (*towards me*) and praised him has as he deserved; had they even remained silent, their (*well filled*) saddle-bags had sufficed for his eulogium.

Sulaimân then said to al-Farazdak: " What think you of that?" The other replied: « He is the best poet of his race," and, on rising up, repeated this line :

The best poetry comes from men of noble race; the worst proceeds from slaves.

Nusaib was a black slave, belonging to a man who was an inhabitant of Wâdi 'l-Kura (11). He bound himself by a written contract (*to purchase his liberty*) (12), and (*the Omaiyide prince*) Abd al-Azîz Ibn Marwân, in whose honour he composed some verses, bought (*of the former master*) the right of patronage. Nusaib was surnamed Abû 'l-Hajnâ, or, according to some, Abû 'l-Mihjan (13).—Al-Farazdak composed a great number of pieces in which he extolled his father. Sâsâa Ibn Nâjia, the grandfather of al-Farazdak, was a powerful chief in the time of paganism.

He purchased (*and brought up*) thirty female children whom their parents intended to bury alive (14), and one of them was a daughter of Kais Ibn Aâsim al-Minkari (*vol. I. p.* 166). Al-Farazdak expressed in the following lines the pride he felt in having such an ancestor:

My grandfather was he who hindered fathers from burying their daughters; he saved the life of the child, so that it was not buried.

Sâsâa was the first of our poet's forefathers who embraced Islamism; and the author of the *Istiyâb* (15) ranks him among the Companions of the Prophet. Such of the (*literary*) men as were acquainted with poetry differed in opinion respecting the relative merits of al-Farazdak and Jarîr, but the majority considered Jarîr as the better poet. It is well known that these two composed satires on each other and lived in mutual enmity. The pieces (*in which they attacked each other*) have been collected into a volume, which bears the title of *an-Nakâid* (*detractory pieces*), and is a well known work. Djarîr composed on his rival a poem the rhymes of which were formed by the syllable *ra* and which contained this verse:

When you were a guest at any one's house, you departed with ignominy and left behind disgrace.

It happened, some time after, that al-Farazdak stopped at the house of a woman who inhabited Medina, and he had there an adventure too long to relate. The sum of it was that she received him as a guest and treated him with kindness; on which he asked her to yield her person up to him, but she refused. Omar Ibn Abd al-Azîz, who was then *wâli* (*chief magistrate*) of Medina, was informed of what had passed and gave orders that al-Farazdak should be turned out of the city. He was sent away, mounted on a female camel, and a spectator said: "The devil take Ibn al-" Marâgha! (16) one would think he had witnessed what is now passing, when he " said: *When you were a guest at any one's house, etc.*"—A certain *kâdi*, having one day heard a deposition made by al-Farazdak, said to him: "We accept your " testimony," and then told the parties concerned to furnish additional evidence. Al-Farazdak, being told, after leaving the court, that the *kâdi* had rejected his testimony, said (*only this*): "What should prevent him from doing so? have I not (*done* " *like him and*) compromised a thousand respectable women?" Here is one of the pieces which he composed during his residence at Medina:

These two females lowered me down from a height of eighty fathoms. I descended like a falcon, stooping down its dark head. When my legs took solid footing on the ground, these (*girls*) said: "Is he alive, so that he may give hopes (*of being seen again*), or is he killed, so "that we must fear (*the consequence*)?" I said: "Draw up the cords lest we be discovered,' and I went away more promptly than the last shades of night. I feared two door-keepers who had been set to watch us and I dreaded a black (*thing*) of teak-wood (*a door*), with creaking nails (17).

When Jarîr heard these verses, he composed a long *kasîda* in which he said:

The mother of al-Farazdak brought into the world a reprobate, a short-winged buzzard. When night spreads her shades around, he forms his two ropes into a ladder, by which he may mount to the chambers of his female neighbours. Adulterer! you were lowered down from a height of eighty fathoms, but you could never attain to any height in glory and in honour. People of Medîna! that man is impurity itself; be on your guard and shut all entrances by which may pass (*a wretch so*) foul, so versed in all lewdness. The expulsion of al-Farazdak from your town was the purifying of the quarter which lies between the Musalla and Wâkim (18).

When al-Farazdak heard the contents of this poem, he answered it by another, which was also of considerable length and which contained this passage:

It would be wrong in me to revile persons resembling my high-minded ancestors, so generous, so noble! But it would be right for me to return insult for insult, if I was attacked by the descendants of Abd Shams or of Hâshim, the two branches of Abd Manâf. Such people are my equals in worth; let me then have one like them (*if I must attack*). I disdain satirizing Kulaib (*Jarîr's ancestor*) in opposing to him (*my ancestor*) Dârim.

The inhabitants of Medîna, having heard the first of these (*three*) pieces, met together and went to Marwân Ibn al-Hakam the Omaiyide, who then governed the city in the name of his relative, Moawîa Ibn Abi Sofyân. "It is not fit," said they, "that a poem such as this should be recited in a place where the widows of "the Prophet are residing. Besides, the author has incurred the penalty of cor- "poral correction." Marwân replied that he would not inflict that punishment, but would write to a person who would do so. He then ordered al-Farazdak to quit the city within three days. In allusion to this circumstance, the poet said:

He threatened me and fixed a term of three days; the same term assigned to the Thamûdites, when threatened with destruction (19).

Marwân then wrote to one of his officers, commanding him to chastise al-Farazdak and cast him into prison. (*He gave this letter to the poet*), making him believe that

it contained an order for a present. He afterwards regretted what he had done, and dispatched after the poet a messenger, to whom he (*merely*) said: "I have just "pronounced a piece of verse; here it is; go and repeat it to al-Farazdak:

"Say to al-Farazdak, — and folly is like its name (20)! 'If you obey not the order I have "'given you, go to Najd (*ijlis*). Leave Medîna; it is a place to be feared. Go to Mekka or to "'Bait al-Makdis (*Jerusalem*). If you have committed a grave fault, take now consummate "'prudence for your guide.".

The word *ijlis* means *go to al-Jalsa,* that is, *to Najd.* This country was called *al-Jalsa* on account of its elevation; for the root *julûs* signifies *to sit up* (*after reclining*). —When al-Farazdak heard these verses, he understood what Marwân meant, and threw away the letter. He then said:

O Marwân (21)! my camel was stopped, in expection of a gift which was not totally dispaired of; and you gave me a sealed letter; but I feared it would procure me the gift of death. Throw away the letter, Farazdak! lest it should be dangerous, like the letter of al-Mutalammis.

As we have now mentioned *the letter of al-Mutalammis,* we shall relate what is told of it, as the reader of this work may perhaps be desirous of knowing what it was. Jarîr Ibn Abd al-Masîh Ibn Abd Allah Ibn Zaid Ibn Daufan Ibn Harb Ibn Wahb Ibn Julaî Ibn Ahmas Ibn Dubaia Ibn Rabîa Ibn Nizâr Ibn Maadd Ibn Adnân received the surname of al-Mutalammis for having said, in a *kasîda:*

This (*happened*) at the time (*we were dwelling in the valley*) of al-Ird, the flies of which, that is, the wasps, lived in abundance, as also the blue fly, so pertinacious (*mutalammis*) (22).

Al-Mutalammis and Tarafa Ibn al-Abd al-Bakri, his sister's son, composed, both of them, satires on Amr Ibn al-Hind al-Lakhmi, the king of Ḥîra (23). These poems were communicated to Amr, but he did not manifest any dissatisfaction on hearing them. The two poets, having afterwards praised him in their verses, he handed to each of them a letter, addressed to his lieutenant at Hîra (24), and gave them to understand that these papers contained an order to bestow on them a handsome present. The truth was that, in them, he enjoined his lieutenant to put the bearers to death. When they arrived near Hîra, al-Mutalammis said to Tarafa: "Both of us have satirized the king and, if he had the intention of bestowing on "us a gift, he would have done so, without writing in our favour to Hîra. Come! "let us shew the letters to some one who can read; if they be dangerous for us, we

"can take to flight before any one knows that we are here." Tarafa replied : "I cannot permit myself to open the king's letter. "—" By Allah!" exclaimed "al-Mutalammis, " I shall open the one which he gave me; I must know "what it contains, for I do not wish to resemble the man who bore in his hand the "instrument which served to kill him." He then looked about and, seeing a "young boy come out of the town, he said to him: " Tell me, my boy! can you "read?"—" I can," said the lad. " Well," said al-Mutalammis, " read me this "letter." The boy cast his eyes over it and said: " Let the mother of al-Muta-"lammis be rendered childless." On hearing this, al-Mutalammis said to Tarafa: "Open your letter and see if it contains the same order as mine." Tarafa replied: "Amr may be bold enough to have you put to death, but he dare not do so to me, "lest he should give a mortal offence to my tribe." Al-Mutalammis threw his letter into the river of Hîra and fled to Syria. Tarafa entered into the city and was put to death. The history of this is well known.—The *letter of al-Mutalammis* is an expression employed proverbially in speaking of persons who read letters in which their death is ordered. It is to this al-Harîri alludes, in his tenth *Makâma* (25), where he says: " And I unsealed it as one would do who wished to escape from (*a danger*) "such as (*that contained in*) the letter of al-Mutalammis." The poet al-Ablah, of whom me have already spoken (*page* 159 *of this vol.*), said in one of his *kasîdas:*

> The passionate lover reads expressions of disdain on the page of her cheek ; (*a page as clear*) as the letter of al-Mutalammis.

Let us resume our notice on al-Farazdak. — He then set out and fled for refuge to Saîd Ibn al-Aasi (26), whom he found in company with al-Hasan and al-Husain (*the sons of Ali Ibn Abi Tâlib*), and Abd Allah Ibn Jaafar (27). When he told them what had happened, each of them ordered him a present of one hundred dinars and a good travelling camel. He then proceeded to Basra. Marwân, being told (*by his friends*) that he had acted wrong in exposing himself to be attacked by the ablest poet of (*the tribe of*) Modar, sent after him a messenger with one hundred dinars and a camel; so much he dreaded being satirized by the poet.—It is related that al-Farazdak, in one of his journies, halted in (*the midst of*) a desert and lighted a fire. A wolf, seeing the flame, drew near, and he gave it some of his provisions to eat whilst he recited these lines:

In the middle of the night, I called near me, by lighting a fire, a dark-gray, swift-trotting (*wolf*), which had never been a companion (*to any one*). When he arrived, I said: "Ap-"proach! take this! you and I shall have equal parts in the provisions." I passed the night in cutting the meat and sharing it between us; — now, lighted by the fire, and then surrounded by smoke. When he shewed his teeth, as if in laughter, the hilt of my sword was firm in my grasp, and I said: "Sup, o wolf! and, if you engage to use no treachery towards me, we shall "be inseparable companions. But you are (*as bad as*) a man; you and treachery are bro-"thers, nourished with the same milk. Had you aroused any other but me in demanding hos-"pitality, he would have shot you with an arrow or pierced you with the point of his spear."

He one day recited to the Omaiyide (*khalif*), Sulaimân Ibn Abd al-Malik, a poem rhyming in *m* and containing the following passage:

Three (*girls*) and two make five; the sixth was (*of a colour which*) inclined to black (28). They passed the night lying at my sides, and I passed it in breaking open the seals. It seemed as if..... were in it and as if they were sitting on burning coals (29).

When he pronounced these lines, Sulaimân said to him: "I am an *imâm* (*khalif*) "and yet you acknowledge in my presence that you committed fornication; you "must therefore undergo the corporal punishment fixed by law."—"Commander "of the faithful!" said al-Farazdak, "how can I have incurred such a chastise-"ment?"—Sulaimân answered: "The Almighty has said (*Corân*, sur. xxiv, "vers. 2): *He and she who commit fornication, scourge each of them with one hundred* "*stripes.*" Al-Farazdak replied: "The book of God averts that punishment from "me, by virtue of these words: "*And the poets; none follow them but the misguided.* "*Seest thou not how they roam through every valley* (*of the imagination*), *and that* "*they say things which they do not perform.* I said also what I did not perform." Sulaimân said to him, in smiling: "Go away, you reprobate!"—Al-Farazdak did a noble act for which we may hope that he gained admission into Paradise and which we shall relate here. Hishâm Ibn Abd al-Malik went on a pilgrimage to Mekka during the lifetime of his father (*the khalif*). He made the circuits (*about the Kaaba*) and endeavoured to approach the (*black*) stone, so that he might kiss it, but was unable to do so, on account of the crowd. A platform was set up for him and, whilst he was sitting on it, with a number of the (*principal*) Arabs of Syria, and looking at the people, Zain al-Aâbidîn (*vol. II. p.* 209), the son of Ali, the son of Abû Tâlib approached. He was the handsomest of men and no one smelled so sweetly. Having made the circuits about the (*holy*) house, he advanced towards the stone, and the people made way for him, so that he was able to kiss it. One of

the Syrians asked who that person was to whom so much respect was shown, and Hishâm, fearing that the Syrians might take a fancy to him (30), answered that he did not know. Al-Farazdak, who was present, said: "I know him." The Syrian said to him: "Who is he? Abû Firâs!" and the poet replied in these terms:—

This is he whose footsteps are well known to al-Bat'ha (31); he is known to this temple, to the sacred territory and to that which is profane. This is the son of the best of the servants of God; this is the pious, the pure, the unsullied, the learned. When the Kuraishides look at him, they say: "Virtues such as his are what the virtuous should strive to imitate." He has reached a pinnacle of glory to which the Arabs of Islamic times and men of foreign race have been unable to attain. The corner of al-Hatîm (32) recognises the touch of his hand, and strives to detain it, when he goes to kiss (*the black stone*). The rod which he wields owes its sweet odour to (*the contact of*) a hand belonging to a man of comely aspect and exalted rank. His eyes are cast down, through modesty, and those of other men are cast down in his presence; none dare to speak to him unless they see him smile. The light of true guidance shines forth from his forehead like the radiance of the sun dispersing the dark clouds. The source from which he springs is derived from the apostle of God; pure are the elements of which he is composed; pure his nature and his disposition. That is the son of Fâtima, in case you know him not; with his grandfather terminated the series of the prophets of God. Long since, God ennobled and exalted him; this was traced on the tablet of his (*life*) by the pen (*of fate*). Your asking who he is can be for him no disparagement: the Arabs know him whom you know not, and so do the foreigners. Each of his hands (*furnishes*) a shower (*of gifts*) which all enjoy; the flow of their (*beneficence*) is constantly invoked and never ceases. From him, so mild in disposition, no bursts of passion are to be feared; he possesses the double beauty of body and of mind. He alleviates the distressed and takes their burden on himself; so sweet is his temper that the word *yes* is sweet for him to say. His, the promises which are never broken; his, the generous inspirations, the large (*and hospitable*) court and the resolution which appals (*the foe*). He extends his beneficence to all mankind, and delivers them from gloom (33), from poverty and from want. He belongs to a family which religion obliges us to love and towards which hatred, if shewn, is an act of infidelity. Their neighbourhood is an asylum and a protection. If pious men were counted, they would hold the first rang; if it were asked who are the best on earth, the answer would be: "They". The most bountiful of men cannot keep pace with them in the career of beneficence; generous though he be, he cannot come up with them. They are (*fertilising*) rains when drought afflicts the land; they are lions, lions of as-Shara, when the ardor of war has arisen. Straitened circumstances cannot diminish the abundance of their gifts; their conduct is the same, whether they be rich or poor. When the name of God is pronounced at the beginning or at the close of an invocation, their names are mentioned before those of others. Their generous nature and their hands overflowing with beneficence will not permit blame to settle near them: (*Shall we ask*) what are the noble qualities which have not adorned their necks, from the commencement of their existence? or must we not rather affirm (*that they possess them all*) (34). They who know God know the exalted rank of that man; from his family religion was received by every nation.

Hishâm was so much displeased on hearing this *kasîda* that he had al-Farazdak



taken to prison. Zain al-Aâbidîn sent twelve thousand dirhems to the poet, who refused to accept them, saying that he had praised him, not for the hopes of obtaining a gift but with the intention of pleasing Almighty God. To this Zain al-Aâbidîn answered : "We others, *the people of the house* (35), never take back what we bes- "tow". Al-Farazdak then accepted the present. Muhammad Ibn Habîb, a person of whom we have already spoken (36), relates as follows: "Al-Walîd, the son of "Abd al-Malik, got into the pulpit (*to pronounce the* khotba), and he heard the "sound of a *nâkûs* (37). "What is that?" said he. "The monastery," was "the reply. He immediately ordered it to be levelled to the ground and did part of "the work with his own hands. The people followed his example and destroyed "the building. Al-Ahzam, the king of the Greeks (38), then wrote a letter in which "he said: 'This monastery was authorised by your predecessors; and, if they were "'right in doing so, you are now in the wrong; if you are in the right, they were "'wrong.' Al-Walîd said: 'Can any one answer that?' Al-Farazdak replied: "'Write to him these words: *And* (remember) *David and Solomon, when they pro- "'nounced judgment concerning a field, in which the sheep of certain people had "'fed by night having no shepherd; we were witnesses of their judgment, and we "'gave the understanding of the cause to Solomon* (39), *and to all we gave wisdom "'and knowledge.*'"

The anecdotes told of al-Farazdak are very numerous, but concision is to be preferred here. He died at Basra, in the year 110 (A. D. 728-9), forty days before the death of Jarîr; some say, eighty. Abû'l-Faraj Ibn al-Jauzi (*vol. II. p.* 96) says, in his *Shudûr al-Okûd* (40), that they both died in the year 111. As-Sukkari (41) states that al-Farazdak saw Ali Ibn Abi Tâlib, and that he died in the year 110. Other accounts say, 112 or 114. Ibn Kutaiba mentions, in his *Tabakât as-Shuwarâ* that al-Farazdak, being suffering from a *vomica*, was taken to Basra in that state. The doctor who was called in prescribed to him a draught of naphtha, on which the patient exclaimed: "Do you mean to make me drink naphtha (*before I am gone "to hell*)? I am still in the world." When he died, he was nearly one hundred years of age. Al-Mubarrad (*page* 31 *of this vol.*) relates as follows, in his *Kâmil:* "Al-Hasan al-Basri (*vol. I. p.* 370), and al-Farazdak met together at a funeral, and "al-Farazdak said to al-Hasan : 'Abû-Saîd! do you know what the people are "'saying? they declare that the best and the worst of men have met at this funeral.' "'Nay,' said al-Hasan, 'I am not the best of men, neither are you the worst. But,

" 'tell me what good work you can adduce in your favour (*before the tribunal of* " '*God*), when this day arrives (*for yourself*).' Al-Farazdak answered: '(*I shall* " '*adduce*) the testimony I have borne, for the last sixty years, that there is only " 'one God.' A female belonging to the tribe of Tamîm declared that al-Farazdak " was seen in a dream and, being asked how the Lord had treated him, he ans- " wered: 'He pardoned me.' Being then asked for what reason, he replied: 'For 'a word which I said in a conversation with al-Hasan al-Basri.'"—The words همام and عقال must be pronounced *Hammâm* and *Ikâl*.—Muhammad Ibn Sofyân was one of the three individuals who bore the name of *Muhammad* in ante-islamic times. Ibn Kutaiba mentions them in the *Kitâb al-Maârif*, and as-Suhaili (*vol. II. p.* 99) says, in his *ar-Raud al-Onuf*: "Amongst the Arabs, no one is known to have borne this name except three persons. Their fathers, having " heard that a Muhammad was soon to appear, who would be sent on a (*divine*) " mission to Hijâz, gave this name to their sons, hoping that one of them might be " that person. According to Ibn Fûrak (*vol. II. p.* 673), in his *Kitâb al-Fusûl* " (*book of chapters*), their names were, 1° Muhammad Ibn Sofyân Ibn Mujâshia, " the grandfather of al-Farazdak, 2° Muhammad Ibn Uhaiha, the grandson of al- " Julâh, the same who was a (*uterine*) brother of Abd al-Muttalib, the grandfather of " the apostle of God, 3° Muhammad Ibn Humrân Ibn Rabia. The fathers of these " three went to a certain king who was acquainted with the primitive scriptures, " and he informed them of the coming of God's apostle and mentioned his name. " Each of them had left his wife at home in a state of pregnancy, and then " vowed that, if his child was a male, he would name it *Muhammad*; and so " they did." مجاشع must be pronounced *Mujâshia*; دارم is pronounced *Dârim* *with an i in the second syllable*); the other names in al-Farazdak's genealogy are too well known to require observation. الفرزدق pronounced *al-Farazdak*, was a nick-name given to the poet. Ibn Kutaiba explains it in two different manners, stating, in his *Adab al-Kâtib*, that it signifies *a lump of dough*, and that its form, as a noun of unity, is *farazdaka*. "The poet," says he, "received this name on account of " his ugly face (42)." He then states, in his *Tabakât as-Shuwarâ*, that he was so called on account of his short and dumpy stature, which made him be compared to the crust (*farazdaka*)(43) with which women polish their teeth. The first explanation is the best, because the poet caught the small-pox and, when he recovered, his face remained deformed and wrinkled. It is related that a person said to him: "Abû

Firâs! vultus tuus est sicut congeries pudendorum muliebrium (احراح *âhrâh*)." To this he answered: "Inspice! forsan in illa videbis pudendum matris tuæ."—The word *âhrah*, with two *h*, is the plural of *hirh*, a word employed to designate the female sexual organ. In the singular, the second *h* is suppressed, but reappears in the plural; for it is a general rule that words irregular in the singular become regular in the plural.—*Nawâr*, the cousin and wife of al-Farazdak, was the daughter of Aayan Ibn Dubaîa Ibn Ikâl, of the family of Mujâshia. It was her grandfather, Dubaîa, who hamstrung the camel on which Aâisha, the mother of the faithful (44), was mounted, at the battle of the Camel. A Kuraishide having asked Nawâr to marry him, she sent to al-Farazdak and requested him to act as her legal guardian, because he was the son of her uncle. He replied: "In Syria, you have nearer "relations than me, and I cannot but apprehend that one of them may arrive "and blame me for interfering. You must therefore declare before witnesses that "you leave what concerns you to my decision." She consented and (*when the formality was executed*), al-Farazdak went out with the witnesses and said to them: "She has taken you to witness that she leaves what concerns her to my decision; "now I take you to witness, that I have decided on marrying her myself, and that "I assign to her a dowry of one hundred she-camels of a bay colour with black "eyes." An-Nawâr was much incensed at this proceeding and, wishing to obtain justice, she went to Abd Allah Ibn az-Zubair, who was at that time sovereign of Hijâz and Irak. Al-Farazdak set out also. An-Nawâr took up her abode with al-Khaula, the daughter of Manzûr Ibn Rabbân al-Fazâri and the wife of Abd Allah Ibn az-Zubair. Being kindly received by her, she implored her intervention (*with Ibn az-Zubair*). Al-Farazdak stopped at the house of Hamza, the son of Ibn az-Zubair and of al-Khaula, and, having recited some verses in his praise, he obtained from him the promise to interfere. Al-Khaula then spoke in favour of an-Nawâr and Hamza in favour of al-Farazdak. The influence of al-Khaula prevailed, and Ibn az-Zubair ordered the poet to proceed to Basra with an-Nawâr, and to avoid every familiarity with her till the governor of that place had decided between them. It was on this occasion that al-Farazdak composed these lines (*on Ibn az-Zubair*):

> The intervention of your sons was of no avail, but that of Manzûr Ibn Rabbân's daughter succeeded. An intercessor who goes to you clothed is not like one who goes to you naked.

Some time after, they were reconciled together, but a considerable period elapsed before they had any children. An-Nawâr then had a number of sons, whose names were Labata, Sabata, Khabata, Rakada, and Zamâa (45), but they all died childless. The daughters only left posterity. Ibn Khâlawaih (*vol. I. p.* 56) says that among the sons of al-Farazdak were Kalata and Khalata. God knows best! Al-Farazdak afterwards divorced an-Nawâr for motives the indication of which would lead us too far. He then repented of what he had done and composed on the subject a number of pieces, one of which was the following:

My regret was like that of al-Kusâi (46), when Nawâr was divorced and left me. She was my paradise and I abandoned it; 'twas thus that a maleficent demon expelled Adam from his paradise.

The stories and anecdotes told of what he did under these circumstances are too numerous to be related here, and this is not a fit place for them. A male child of al-Farazdak's died, and the father said over it the funeral service; he then turned to the people who were present, and pronounced this verse:

Between us and those who lie here there is but little difference: we remain here after them for a short time, and then we depart (*to join them*).

He died a few days after.

(1) Al-Akrâ Ibn Hâbis, a brave cavalier of the tribe of Tamîm, was one of Muhammad's companions, and one of the chiefs who revolted against Abû Bakr, on Muhammad's death. He afterwards made his submission and commanded the van of the army with which Khâlid Ibn al-Walîd attacked the Persian empire. — (Caussin de Perceval's *Essai, etc.*, tome III; Ibn Duraid's *Ishtikâk.*)

(2) The grammarians notice this verse because it offers an example of the particle *lau-lâ* followed immediately by a noun in the accusative. They get over the difficulty by saying that a verb is to be understood. See de Sacy's edition of the *Alfiya* of Ibn Mâlik, page 178, and Ibn Akîl's Commentary on the Alfiya, page 230 of the Bûlâk edition. The word *dautara* signifies *a heavy, good for nothing man.*

(3) The orthography of this name is doubtful.

(4) This verse is cited by al-Jauhari, in the *Sahâh* and by Ibn Hishâm in the *Mughni 'l-Labîb.* The celebrated general, al-Hajjâj Ibn Yûsuf, applied it to himself in his harangue to the people of Kûfa. See Dozy's *Histoire des Musulmans d'Espagne*, tome I, page 201.

(5) The rest of this poem is given by as-Suyûti in his *Sharh Shawâhid il-Mughni*, ms. of the *Bibl. imp.*, nº 1238, fol. 105.

(6) According to as-Suyûti, this name is of the diminutive form and should be pronounced *Wuthail.*

(7) See note (13).



(8) This translation of two very obscure verses is merely conjectural.

(9) The meaning of the second hemistich is very doubtful.

(10) The observation in the preceding note applies equally to this hemistich.

(11) A fertile and well-inhabited valley, on the road leading from Medîna to Syria.

(12) For the nature of the bond called *kitâba*, see d'Ohsson's *Tableau général de l'Empire ottoman*, tome VI, page 35.

(13) The poet Nusaib Ibn Riâh, generally known by the surname of Abû Mihjan (*the man with the crook*), was a black slave. He was present at the battle of al-Kadisiya and, according to the author of the *Nujûm*, was enfranchised by the khalif Abd al-Azîz Ibn Marwân. He went to see that prince and, being asked by him what he wanted, replied : " I am a slave." Abd al-Azîz ordered apprisers to estimate his value. They answered : " He is a black slave, hardly worth one hundred dinars (*forty pounds sterling*). " Yes, " said Abû Mihjan, speaking of himself, " but he is a shepherd and well understands the management of a flock. " On this, they said : " Two hundred dinars. " — " Yes, " said the other, " but he can shape arrows and " fledge them. " — " Three hundred dinars. " — " Yes, but he shoots well and hits the mark." — " Four " hundred dinars. " — " Yes, but he is a reciter of poems. " — " Five hundred dinars. " He then addressed the khalif in these terms : " May God favour the commander of the faithful! where is my handsel? " The prince gave him one thousand dinars, purchased his mother and all the family, and granted them their liberty. According to the *Nujûm*, in which this anecdote is given, Abû Mihjan died A. H. 108 (A. D. 726-7). Some account of him is given in the *Journal asiatique* for february, 1841.

(14) Respecting this barbarous custom, see Sale's note on the eighth verse of the eighty-first *surat* of the Korân.

(15) The *Istiyâb*, a work treating of the companions of Muhammad, was composed by Yûsuf Ibn Abd al-Barr, a doctor whose life will be given in this work.

(16) Literally : God's curse on Ibn al-Marâgha! This was a nickname given to Jarîr. For its origin, see vol. I, page 297. Maledictions of this kind were often employed by the Arabs to express approbation.

(17) Ibn Khallikân has cited the last words of this verse incorrectly; the right reading is : تلوح مسامره " the (*broad-headed*) nails of which shine brightly. "

(18) Wâhim was the name of a castle at Medina. For *Musalla*, see v. I, p. 605.

(19) *Korân*, surat. XI, verse 68.

(20) This proverbial expression is not noticed by al-Maidâni. It appears to signify : " It is as bad to be stupid, as to be called so, " and was probably used in speaking to persons whom is was necessary to put on their guard.

(21) The right reading is يا مروان with the apocopated vocative. See *Hamâsa*, page ٦٨٩.

(22) This verse is given incorrectly in the editions, the manuscripts and the *Ishtikâk* of Ibn Duraid, p. 192. The *Hamâsa*, p. ٣٢٣, gives it as it should be and explains its meaning and grammatical construction.

(23) For an account of this adventure by al-Mutalammis himself, see Reiske's edition of Tarafa's *Muallaka*, *Prologus*, p. XLIX et seq.

(24) This is evidently a mistake; the king of Hîra could not have had a regular lieutenant in his own capital. The true reading is *al-Hajar* الهجر, which place was the capital of Bahrain. The recital made by al-Mutalammis gives the latter reading.

(25) Page ١٠٣ of de Sacy's edition.

(26) Saîd Ibn al-Aâsi, a member of the Omaiyide family, governed Kûfa under the khalifate of Othmân.



In A. H. 29 (A. D. 649-50), he re-established the authority of the Arabs in Adarbaijân; in 49 (A. D. 669) he was appointed governor of Medina by Moawia and died A. H. 59 (A. D. 678-9). — (*Nujûm*).

(27) Abd Allah, the son of Jaafar and the nephew of Ali Ibn Abi Tâlib, was born in Abyssinia during the first Moslim emigration. He was a devoted partisan of his uncle. His death occurred A. H. 80 (A. D. 699-700). — (*Nujûm.*)

(28) I suppose the right reading to be سحام.

(29) The breaking open of seals and the pronoun *it* (in the third line), without an antecedent, indicate evidently obscene ideas. The translator is unable to explain the word مغالق.

(30) It was to the Arabs established in Syria that the Omaiyides were indebted for their elevation and the maintenance of their power. Hishâm was apprehensive that they might fix their affection on this Alide prince.

(31) Al-Bat'ha is the name of the valley in which Mekka is built.

(32) The corner of the Kaaba near which is inserted the black stone, is called the Hatîm.

(33) The true reading is doubtful, but the meaning is clear. I read الغيابة (*darkness*).

(34) Literally : or to that, yes; i. e : or to that (*question must we not say*) yes?

(35) The term *people of the house* served to designate the descendants of Muhammad, the posterity of his daughter Fâtima, and of Ali.

(36) The author refers perhaps to a passage in the life of Jarîr the poet, vol. I, p. 296. Abû Jaafar Muhammad Ibn Habîb, a *mawla* of the Hâshim family, died at Samarra, A. H. 245 (A. D. 859-60). He was a learned genealogist, well-versed in the history of the ancient Arabs and their battle-days, an exact, veracious and trustworthy traditionist. — (*Nujûm.*)—For further information see M. Flügel's *Grammatische Schulen der Araber*, p. 67.

(37) In Muhammedan countries, the use of bells was forbidden in Christian churches. To call the people to prayer, they strike with a mallet on a short board which is suspended by cords. This is the *nâkûs*.

(38) The Arabic word احزم (*ahzam*) signifies *circumspect* and *corpulent*. I suspect we must read اخرم (*akhram*), an adjective which means *slit-nosed*, and that the person meant was Justinian II. This prince was deposed and his nose was amputated, A. D. 695; but, a few years afterwards he was restored the throne, and reigned till A. D. 711, when he was put to death. Al-Walîd reigned from A. D. 705 to 714.

(39) *Korân*, surat XXI, verse 78. On this verse Sale has a note, borrowed from the Musulman commentators, and informing us that David ordered the owner of the land to take the sheep in compensation for his loss; but Solomon, who was then only eleven years of age, was of opinion that it would be more just for the owner to take the produce of the sheep, namely their milk, lambs and wool, till the shepherd put the field in as good condition as before the trespass.

(40) This title signifies *Fragments of golden collars*. The work itself was a historical compilation.

(41) Abû Saîd al-Hasan Ibn al-Husain as-Sukkari, a learned philologer, genealogist and historian, studied at the schools of Kûfa and Basra, and composed some works, one of which was a collection of ancient Arabic poetry. He died A. H. 275 (A. D. 888-9), aged sixty-three years. For fuller information see professor Flügel's work entitled *Die grammatischen Schulen der Araber*, p. 89.

(42) Ibn Kutaiba should have added, to complete his explanation, that the poet's face was wrinkled and spotted like a burnt cake of bread.

(43) Here the text is fautly; I read الفتيتة التى تنشر بها.

(44) The title of *Mother of the faithful* was given to all the widows of Muhammad.



(45) Ibn Duraid explains the meaning of these strange names in his *Ishtikâk*, page ١٢٧.

(46) See de Sacy's *Chrestomathie arabe*, tome III, page 239.—The best account of Farazdak is that given by M. C. de Perceval in the *Journal asiatique* for June, 1834.

HILAL AS-SABI

The *kâtib* (*scribe*) Abû 'l-Hasan Hilâl Ibn al-Muhassan Ibn Abi Ishâk Ibrâhîm Ibn Hilâl Ibn Ibrâhîm Ibn Zahrûn Ibn Habbûn (1) as-Sâbi al-Harrâni (*the Sabean and native of Harrân*), was the grandson of Abû Ishâk as-Sâbi, the author of the celebrated (*collection of*) epistles (2) and the same of whom we have already spoken (*vol. I. p.* 31). He studied under the grammarian Abû Ali 'l-Fârisi (*vol. I. p.* 379), Ali Ibn Isa ar-Rummâni (*vol. II. p.* 242), Abû Bakr Ahmad Ibn Muhammad Ibn al-Jarrâh al-Kharrâz (3) and other masters. The Khatîb (*vol. I. p.* 75) mentions him in the History of Baghdad and says: "We wrote down (*pieces*) under his dictation; he "was veracious (*as a transmitter of literary information*). Al-Muhassan, Hilâl's father, "was a Sabean in religion, as his own father, Ibrâhîm, was before him; but Hilâl "became a Moslim towards the close of his life (4). Whilst he was an infidel, he "took lessons from learned (*musulmans*), so ardent was he in the pursuit of literary "knowledge (5)." I met with a work of his, consisting of amusing stories and curious anecdotes. It was entitled by him *Kitâb al-Amâthil wa'l-Aiyân, wa musdi'l-Awâtif wa 'l-Ihsân* (*book of eminent and distinguished men, procurer of favours and of kindness*). It forms one volume, and I do not know whether he composed anything else or not.—His son, Ghars an-Nîma Abû 'l-Hasan Muhammad Ibn Hilâl (6), was possessed of every merit and composed some useful works, such as the famous (*compilation entitled the*) great history and a book to which he gave the title of *Al-Hafawât an-nâdira min al-Muakkalîn al-malhouzîn wa's-Sakatât al-bâdira min al-Mughaffilîn al-Mahzûzîn* (*strange blunders committed by persons respectable for their intelligence and mistakes into which people favoured by fortune have been led by their*

carelessness). In this volume he assembled a great quantity of stories relative to the subject of which he treated. Here is one of the anecdotes which I extracted from it: "Abd Allah Ibn Ali Ibn Abd Allah Ibn al-Abbâs, who was uncle to (*the abbâside* "*khalifs*) as-Saffâh and Abû Jaafar al-Mansûr, sent to the former, who had then "commenced his reign, a deputation of *shaikhs* (*chiefs*) belonging to the Arabic "(*tribes*) established in Syria. He thought that their (*singular*) cast of mind and "their declarations of fidelity would afford him some amusement. 'They swear,' "said he, 'that, of all the Prophet's parents they know none, excepting the "'Omaiyides, who had a right to inherit of him, till you obtained the supreme "'authority (7).'" Here is another anecdote which I extracted from the same book; though not very delicate, it is amusing, and in compilations (*such as mine*), a little pungency is necessary, as the gay should always be mixed with the serious. "Abû Saîd Mâhek Ibn Bendâr, a fire-worshipper and a native of Rai, was one of "the most eminent *kâtibs* among the Dailamites, a people of whose (*singular*) re-"serve (*and modesty, strange*) stories got into currency. When he acted as secre-"tary to Ali Ibn Sâmân, one of the Dailamite chiefs, the vizir Abû Muhammad al-"Muhallabi (*vol. I. p.* 410) resolved to send him out on a mission and, seeing him "rise from his place with the intention of withdrawing, he said to him: "Abû "'Saîd! do not leave the palace till I make you acquainted with an affair which I "'wish you to arrange for me.' Mâhek replied: 'I hear and shall obey.' "He then stood up and left the presence chamber. On this, the vizir said: "'The man is surely possessed, or else he has worked so much with me that his "'heart is oppressed and he requires to withdraw. Let them tell the door-keeper "'to prevent him from going out'. Mâhak had been a long time seated and was "wanting to go to the privy, and that was the reason of his retiring. (*On leaving* "*the room*), he found all the privies locked; the vizir having ordered that to be "done 'because,' said he, 'there was always a bad smell in the palace of Abû "'Jaafar as-Saimari, where there was a privy for the use of the public.' Mâhak "discovered at length one closet which was not locked, but which was reserved for "the vizir. He lifted up the curtain which hung at the entrance and was about to "go in, when the *farrâsh* (8) come up and pushed him away. 'Is not this a privy?' "said Mâhek. The other answered that it was. 'Well!' said the *kâtib*, 'I want to "'do something there, and why do you hinder me?' The *farrâsh* replied: 'This is "'a reserved closet into which none enter except the vizir.' 'The others are locked,'

"exclaimed Mâhek, 'how then shall I do? I was going out, but the door-keeper "'prevented me; so I risk doing all in my clothes.' The *farrâsh* said: 'Get an au- "'thorisation to enter into one of them; it shall then be opened to you, and you "'may do your business.' Though the case was pressing, he wrote to the vizir a "petition in which he said: 'Mâhek, the humble servant of our lord the vizir, "'wants to do what all men must, and which is a thing not fit to mention. Now, "'the *farrâsh* says: 'You shall not go in,' and the door-keeper says: 'You shall "'not go out;' and your servant is thus placed in a dilemma; the thing, moreover, "'is becoming very pressing. If our lord the vizir be disposed to oblige his servant, "'he will authorise him to do his need in the reserved closet, provided that such be "'the will of God. Salutation!' A chamberlain, to whom he remitted this paper, "presented it to the vizir who, not knowing what the writer wanted, asked what was "the matter. Being informed of the circumstance, he laughed heartily and wrote "on the back of the petition: 'Let Abû Sàid, whom God exalt! do his need (9) "'where he pleaseth, if such be the will of God.' The chamberlain carried out "the paper to Mâhek who handed it to the *farrâsh*, saying: 'Here is what you "'asked for, a *taukiâ* (*decision*) emanating from our lord the vizir.' The *farrâsh* "replied: 'All *taukiâs* must be perused by Abû 'l-Ala Ibn Abrûnâ, the *kâtib* "'charged with the administration of the palace; as for me, I can neither read nor "'write.' On this Mâhek exclaimed: 'Bring some one of the palace who can "'do so; for the matter is very pressing (10).' Another *farrâsh* who was present "burst into laughter, took him by the hand and led him to a closet, where he might "do what he wanted."—I extracted also the following anecdote from the same work: "(*The poet*) Artâ Ibn Subaiya (11) lived partly in the time of Paganism and "partly in that of Islamism. He entered into the presence of (*the Omaiyide khalif*) "Abd al-Malik Ibn Marwân who, seeing that he was a very old man, asked him to "repeat some of the verses in which he alluded to the length of his life. Artâ re- "cited these lines:

"I saw that time consumed (*the life of*) man, even as the earth consumes bits of iron cast
"away. When death comes to a son of Adam, she requires his soul and nothing more.
"Know that she will attack again, till she fulfils her vow by (*seizing*) Abû 'l-Walîd.

"(*The khalif*) shuddered on hearing these words, thinking that they applied to "himself, for his surname was Abû 'l-Walîd. Artâ perceived the fault into which

' his inadvertence had led him and said: 'Commander of the faithful! I am sur-
" 'named Abû 'l-Walîd.' The persons present declared that he had said the truth,
" and thus relieved, in some degree, the apprehensions of Abd al-Malik."—Here is another anecdote which I derived from the same source: "Abû 'l-Alâ Sâîd Ibn
" Makhlad (*p.* 60 *of this vol.*) who was secretary (*kâtib*) to (*the regent*) al-Muwaffak,
" read to his master a letter, but did not understand it. Al-Muwaffak then read it
" and comprehended its meaning. This induced Isa Ibn al-Kâshi to compose the
" following lines:

> "I see that Fortune refuses her favours to him who courts her and grants them to him who
> " neglects her. How many have sought the means of gaining (*her good will*), but their efforts
> " procured them only useless fatigue. One of her strange freaks is, to shew us an emir who is
> " a better scholar than his secretary."

The Muwaffak just mentioned bore the names of Abû Ahmad Talha; he was the son of (*the khalif*) al-Mutawakkil and the father of the Abbaside khalif, al-Motadid.
—The same work furnished me with the following anecdote: "An Arab of the
" desert was at the station (*of Arafat*) with (*the khalif*) Omar Ibn al-Khattâb (*whilst*
" *the ceremonies of the pilgrimage were going on*). 'A person behind us,' said
" 'he, called out to Omar, in these terms: O successor (*khalif*) of the Apostle of
" 'God! and then: O Commander of the faithful! A voice from behind me then
" 'exclaimed: 'That fellow calls him (*Omar*) by the name of a person who is dead;
" 'by Allah! the commander of the faithful is dead'. I turned round and recognised
" 'the speaker; he was a member of the tribe of Lihb, a people descended from Nadr
" 'Ibn Azd, and who, in taking omens, were the most skilful in the world.' "—
To this al-Kuthaiyir, the lover of al-Azza (*vol. II. p.* 529) alludes in the following verse:

> I asked a man (*of the tribe*) of Lihb to take an augury; for that talent is now entirely devolved to Lihb.

—(*The Arab continued his recital and said*): " 'When we stopped (*at Mina*)
" 'to throw the stones, a pebble struck Omar on the side and made him bleed. On
" 'this, some one said: "By Allah! the Commander of the faithful is marked for
" 'sacrifice (12)! by Allah! he never again will visit this station!' I turned round
" 'and discovered that it was this very Lihbide who had spoken. Omar was mur-
" 'dered before a year passed away.' " This anecdote is given also in the *Kâmil*

(*of al-Mubarrad*). The expression *the person who is dead* referred to (*the khalif*) Abû Bakr as-Siddîk, who was called the successor of the Apostle of God. Omar, having obtained the supreme authority, on the death of Abû Bakr, was at first designated by the title of *the successor of the usccessor of the Apostle of God,* and he therefore said to the companions: " This is a title which will be lengthened (*in-" definitely*), if every one who comes to the supreme power is called the successor of " his predecessor, and so on, up to the Apostle of God. You are the faithful, and " I am your commander." They then called him the Commander of the faithful (*amîr al-Mûminîn*). He was the first who bore this title. The word *successor* (*khalif*) was the title usually given to Abû Bakr, and, for that reason, the man (*at the pilgrimage*) said : " He has called him by the name of a dead man." Omar Ibn Shabba (*vol. II. p.* 375) relates, in his History of Basra, on the authority of as-Shâbi (*vol. II. p.* 4), that the first person who offered up a prayer from the pulpit for Omar Ibn al-Khattâb was Abû Mûsa 'l-Ashari (13), (*who did so*) at Basra. He was also the first who (*in writing to Omar*), inscribed on the letter : *To the servant of God* (Abd Allah), *the commander of the faithful.* This made Omar say : " I am truly a servant of " God and the commander of the faithful." According to Auwâna, the first who designated him by this title was Adi, the son of Hâtim at-Tâi, and the first who saluted him by it was al-Mughîra Ibn Shoba (14). According to another statement, Omar was one day (*holding a public*) sitting when he said : " By Allah ! I do not " know what we must say ! Abû Bakr was the successor of the Apostle of God and I " am the successor of the successor of God's apostle. Is there any title that can answer?" Those who were present said : " Commander (*amîr*) will do."— " Nay," " said he, you are all commanders." On this, al-Mughîra said : "We are the " faithful and you are our commander."—"Then," said Omar, " I am the comman-" der of the faithful."(15). There observations have led us away from our subject. —Hilâl was born in the month of Shauwâl, 359 (Aug.-Sept., A. D. 970), and died on the eve of Thursday, the 17th of Ramadân, 448 (28th November, A. D. 1056).

(1) The orthography of this name is fixed by the author of the *Tarikh al-Aini.* See Chwolsohn's *Ssabier,* vol. I, p. 583.

(2) A single volume of this great collection of epistles and dispatches is preserved in the Leyden library, and the list of its contents has been given by M. Dozy in the catalogue of that establishment, vol. I, p. 144 *et seq.* The documents are on various subjects and were really sent to their address. Some of them were drawn up by Abû Ishâk himself and the rest by other men of rank and talent. They were once highly admired as

specimens of elegant style, but, for an European reader, their principal interest must consist in the historical indications which they sometimes offer.

(3) The orthography of this name varies in the manuscripts.

(4) The unusual expression باخره is replaced, in the edition of Bûlâk, by باخر عمره, which is much clearer.

(5) It is difficult to determine where this extract finishes.

(6) See vol. I, p. 290, and vol. II, p. 8.

(7) Their mentioning the Omaiyides, whose authority as-Saffâh had just overturned and whom he detested, was a sufficient proof of their simplicity.

(8) The duty of the *farrâsh* was to take care of the furniture, and to pitch the vizir's tents when he was on an expedition.

(9) The vizir here employs the plainest and coarsest word; as if he meant to scandalise the modesty of his decorous petitioner.

(10) Here Mâhek forgets himself and speaks in the crudest terms.

(11) This poet belonged to the tribe of Murra. According to the author of the *Masâlik al-Absâr*, ms. of the *Bibl. imp.* n° 1371, fol. 95 verso, he lived to the age of one hundred and thirty years. Suhaiya was the name of his mother. Mr. de Hammer mentions him in the *Literaturgeschichte der Araber*, vol. II, p. 519. Some verses of Artâ's are given in the *Hamâsa*.

(12) The camels intended to be sacrificed were slightly wounded on the back or on the shoulder, so that they might be known.

(13) Abû Mûsa 'l-Acbari died A. H. 50 (A. D. 670-1). For a short notice on this general see my translation of Ibn Khaldûn's *Prolegomena*, vol. I, p. 449.

(14) See vol. II, p. 485, where the name of this chief is incorrectly transcribed: for *Moghaira* read *Mughira.*

(15) Ibn Khaldûn gives another account of this in his *Prolegomena*, vol. I, page 462 of the French translation.

AL-HAITHAM IBN ADI

Abû Abd ar-Rahmân al-Haitham Ibn Adi Ibn Abd ar-Rahmân Ibn Zaid Ibn Usaiyid Ibn Jâbir Ibn Adî Ibn Khâlid Ibn Khuthaim Ibn Abi Hâritha Ibn Judai Ibn Tadûl Ibn Bohtor Ibn Atûd Ibn Onain Ibn Salâmân Ibn Thoal Ibn Amr Ibn al-Ghauth Ibn Julhuma, was surnamed at-Tâi after his ancestor Julhuma, who was denominated at-Taî after his ancestor Julhuma, who bore also the name of Tai. His other surnames were áth-Thoali (*descended from Thoal*), al-Bohtori (*descended from Bohtor*) and al-Kûfi (*native of Kûfa*). He was a relator of

poems (*composed by the Arabs of the desert*) and of historical anecdotes (*concerning them*). The specimens which he banded down of the language spoken by these Arabs, of their scientific knowledge, of their poetry and of their idioms, are very numerous. His father had settled at Wâsit and was a virtuous man. Al-Haitham (*Ibn Adî*), having undertaken to investigate the origin of (*noted*) people, discovered and published many things to their disadvantage which, till then, had been carefully concealed, and, by this, he incurred their reprobation. It is related that he mentioned something (*disgraceful*) of al-Abbâs, the son of Abd al-Muttalib (*and the ancestor of the Abbaside khalifs*); and the consequence was that he was imprisoned for some years. It is stated however, that he had been falsely accused and that words were attributed to him which he never uttered; some time before, he had got married and, as the family of his wife did not like him, they purposely altered what he had said (*of al-Abbâs*) and then declared him to be the author (*of the calumny which they had invented. We may here observe that*) he held the opinions of the Khârijites. A number of works were composed by him (1), such as the *Kitâb al-Mathâlib* (*book of vituperative pieces*), the *Kitâb al-Muammarîn* (*on those who lived to an advanced age*), the *Buyûtât Kuraish* (*on the principal families of the Kuraish tribe*), the *Buyûtât al-Arab* (*on the principal families of the Arabs*), the *Kitâb hubût Adam etc.* (*on the fall of Adam, the dispersion of the Arabs and the places where they settled*), a work on the settlements made by the Arabs in Khorâsân and Sawâd (2), a treatise on the genealogy of the tribe of Tâi, the *Madîh ahl ish-Shâm* (*eulogies composed on the Arabs established in Syria*), a history of the Persians (*ajam*) and the Omaiyides, a work treating of the enfranchised slaves who married into Arabian families, the *Kitâb al-Wufûd* (*on the deputations sent by the Arabic tribes to Muhammad*), the *Kitâb Khitat al-Kûfa* (*description of the territorial allotments* made to the first settlers *in Kûfa*), the *Kitâb Ulât al-Kûfa* (*on the governors of Kûfa*), the greater history of the *Sharîfs*, the lesser history of the *Sharîfs*, a classified list (*tabakât*) of jurisconsults and traditionists, the *Kuna 'l-Ashrâf* (*on the surnames borne by the* Sharîfs, the *Khawâtîm al-Khulafâ* (*on the signet-rings used by the khalifs*), a work on the kâdis of Kûfa and Basra, the *Mawasîm* (*periodical meeting-places*), a work on the khalifs, the *Kitâb an-Nawâdir* (*curious anecdotes*), a book of annals, a history of al-Hasan, the son of Ali, and observations on his death, a history of the Persians (*Fares*), a work treating of the officers who commanded the police guards in the service of the emirs of Irâk. He left also some other treatises. As he had the honour of being admitted into the

society (3) of (*the khalifs*) al-Mansûr, al-Mahdi, al-Hâdi and ar-Rashîd, he transmitted down a number of their sayings: "Al-Mahdi," said he, "addressed me (*one even-*"*ing*) in these terms: 'Attention, Haitham! numerous anecdotes are told of the "'Arabs who dwell in the desert; some speak of their avarice and meanness, others "'of their generosity and beneficence, and these accounts all disagree. What do "'you know on the subject?' I replied: 'You have fallen on the knowing one! "'I once left my family, with the intention of visiting some of my kindred, and "'took with me a female camel on which I rode. And behold! she went off and "'ran away (4). I followed her till the evening set in, and then I caught her. On "'looking round, I saw a bedwin tent and went to it. The mistress of it called to "'me and said: 'Who are you?' I answered: 'A guest.' She replied: 'What has "'a guest to do with us? The desert is surely wide enough (5).' She then stood "'up to take some wheat and, having ground it, she kneaded the flour, made it "'into bread and sat down to eat. Very soon after, her husband arrived with milk "'and saluted (*us*). He then said: 'Who is this man?' She answered: 'A guest;' "'and he said to me: 'God grant you a long life!' Speaking then to her, he "'said: 'Tell me, such a one! did you give your guest anything to eat?' She "'answered: 'Yes.' He entered into the tent, filled a wooden bowl with milk, "'brought it out to me and said: 'Drink.' It was the sweetest draught I ever "'drank. 'I do not see you eating?' said he; 'did she give you anything?' I "'answered: 'No, by Allah!' He went into her, full of anger, and said: 'Woe "'be to you! you eat and left your guest (*without food*)! 'What could I do for him?' "'said she; 'ought I to give him my own supper to eat?' He had then a discus-"'sion with her and ended by giving her a violent stroke on the head, after which, "'he took a leather provision bag, went to my camel and cut its throat. 'God "'forgive you!' I exclaimed: 'What are you doing?' He replied: 'By Allah! my "'guest must not pass the night hungry.' He then gathered some sticks, lighted "'a fire and began to cook bits of meat arranged on skewers. He then eat "'with me, and threw (*some morcels*) (6) over to her saying: 'Eat, and may "'God never give you food!' At day-break, he left me and went away; "'so, I remained sitting and troubled in mind. When the day was advanced, "'he returned with a female camel whose beauty the eye would never tire "'in admiring, and said: "Take this in place of yours.' He then gave me "'provisions out of the flesh which remained and of the store which he had in his

" ' dwelling. I set out, and the night brought me to another tent. I saluted, and
" ' the mistress of the tent answered my salutation and said: ' What man are
" ' you?' I answered: ' A guest.' ' Welcome!' said she, ' God grant you long
" ' life and preserve you!' I dismounted; she took wheat, ground it, kneaded the
" ' flour and made it into a cake on which she poured cream and milk. She then
" ' placed it before me, saying: ' Eat, and excuse (*this modest repast*).' Soon after,
" ' a surly-looking bedwin Arab came in and saluted. She rendered the salutation.
" ' What man are you?' said he. I answered: ' A guest!' He replied: ' What
" ' has a guest to do here?' He then went in to his family and asked for his sup-
" ' per. She answered: ' I gave it to the guest.' ' How dare you give my supper
" ' to a guest?' said he. Many words passed between them, till, at length, he
" ' raised his stick and struck her on the head so as to wound her. I began to
" ' laugh, on which he came out of the tent and asked me why I did so. I replied:
" ' All right! (*do not mind*)!' He insisted on knowing and I related to him what
" ' had passed between the woman and the man with whom I had stopped the night
" ' before. He drew near me and said: ' This woman here is the sister of that
" ' man and the woman who lives with him is my sister!' I passed the night
" ' wondering (*at these things*) and then went away." — Here is an anecdote
somewhat similar: A man, in former times, was eating (*his dinner outside the door of his house*) and had before him a roast fowl. A beggar went up to him, but was sent away disappointed. Now this man was rich. He afterwards divorced his wife, lost his fortune, and the wife got another husband. The second husband was one day at dinner, with a roast fowl before him, when a beggar came up. He said to his wife: "Give him the fowl." She did so and, on looking at the stranger, she recognised in him her former husband. She went to her second husband and told him the circumstance, on which he said: "And I, by Allah! was that very beggar
" whom he sent away disappointed. So his prosperity was turned over to me, by
" reason of his ingratitude towards God."—The following anecdote was related by al-Haitham: Amr az-Zubaidi, the son of Mâdi Karib (7), had a sword called *as-Samsâma*; and it came into the possession of (*the khalif*) Mûsa 'l-Hâdi, the son of al-Mahdi. Amr had given it to Saîd Ibn al-Aâsi the Omaiyide, from whom it passed to his descendants. On the death of al-Mahdi (*who afterwards got it*), it was purchased by al-Hâdi, who paid a large sum for it to the heirs. Al-Hâdi was the most liberal of the Abbaside princes and the most beneficent. He drew the sword from

the scabbard, laid it before him and gave orders to admit the poets. When they entered, he had a measure brought in, containing a *badra* (8), and told them to extemporize verses on that sword. Ben Yamîn (*Benjamin*) al-Basri (9) immediately hastened to recite these lines :

Of all men, Mûsa 'l-Amîn is he who possesses the Samsâma of the Zubaidite, the sword of Amr which, as we have heard, is the best that a scabbard ever sheated. Dark in colour, it encloses within its sides a hemlock (*dhubâh*) chillness, and, with it, death cares not what she does. The thunderbolt lighted a fire over it and the smiths mingled poison with its metal. When bared, is outshines the sun, so that he is scarcely visible. He that draws it for striking need not mind whether his left hand wield it or his right. It dazzles the sight and, like a fire-brand (*whirled round*), the eye cannot fix on it. The lustre and the temper which pervade its sides are of the purest water. It is an excellent glave to strike with (*yusa*) for him who, in the tumult of battle, fights to mantain his honour; it is an excellent companion.

Al-Hâdi exclaimed (*on hearing these verses*): "By Allah! you have hit on my "very thoughts," and, excited by joy, he ordered the sword and the measure of money to be given to the author. Ben Yamîn, on withdrawing, said to the other poets: "Your hopes have been frustrated on my account; so, here! take the measure; "the sword is enough for me." Al-Hâdi then repurchased it for a large sum. Al-Masûdi states, in his *Murûj ad-Dahab*, that he bought it from the poet for fifty thousand (*dirhems*) (10). The same author gives only a part of these verses.—The word *dhubâh* is the name of a poisonous plant which is often mentioned in poems. *Yusa* (*percutitur*) derives from the verb which is prononced *asia* in the preterit and *yasi* in the aorist; it must not be confounded with the verb *asa*, *yasa*, which means *to commit a sin*.—Al-Masûdi has inserted the following relation in that chapter of the *Murûj ad-Dahab* which treats of the reign of Hishâm Ibn Abd al-Malik: "Al-Haitham Ibn Adi states that Omar (11) Ibn Hâni related to him as follows: "I went forth "with Abd Allah Ibn Ali, the uncle of (*the Abbaside khalifs*) as-Saffah and al-Mansûr. "When we came to the tomb of (*the Omaiyide khalif*) Hishâm Ibn Abd al-Malik, we "dug out the body. It was in good preservation and nothing was missing but the "cartilage of the nose. Abd Allah gave it eighty strokes of a whip and then had it "burnt. We then went to the territory of Dâbik (*near Alleppo*) and opened the grave "of Sulaimân Ibn Abd al-Malik. There we found nothing more than the back-bone, "the skull and the ribs. These we burned, and did the same with the other bodies "of the Omaiyides who were interred at Kinnisrîn. We then went to Damascus "and opened the grave of al-Walîd Ibn Abd al-Malik, but found in it no remains,

"either great or small. We dug open the grave of Abd al-Malik and found only
"some bones of the skull. Having then opened the grave of Yazîd Ibn Moawîa, we
"found in it only one bone and remarked, in the place where the body had been
"deposited, a dark line of a matter like ashes which extended from one end of the
"cavity to the other. We then visited successively the other (*Omaiyide*) tombs
"situated in different countries and burned whatever remains we found in them."
The motive which induced Abd Allah to treat thus the bodies of the Omaiyides was this : Zaid, the son of Ali Zain al-Aâbidîn (*vol. II. p.* 209) and the grandson of al-Husain, the son of Ali Ibn Abi Tâlib,—the same Zaid of whom we have spoken in the life of the vizir Ibn Bakiya (*page* 275 *of this vol.*),—took up arms against Hishâm Ibn Abd al-Malik and aspired to the khalifat. A number of *sharîfs* and Koran-readers followed his standard. He was attacked by Yûsuf Ibn Omar ath-Thakafi, a chief whose life we shall give, and his partisans were put to rout. He remained (*on the field of battle*) with a few friends and, whilst fighting with the utmost bravery, he recited the following lines, as applicable to his own case :

'Tis vile to live and hard to die; a bitter draught each of them is for me. But, since I must submit to one or to the other, I shall honorably march towards my death.

The night separated the two armies and Zaid returned (*to his tent*) covered with wounds. An arrow had struck him on the forehead, and a barber-surgeon, who was brought from a (*neighbouring*) town to extract the iron point, drew it out without knowing who the wounded man was ; for this they concealed from him. Zaid expired immediately after and was buried by his partisans in the bed of a running stream. They covered his grave with earth and weeds, and let the water (*resume its course and*) flow over it. The barber was present at the interment and, wishing to gain the favour of Yûsuf, he went, the next morning, and informed him of the place where the grave was. Yûsuf had the body taken out, and sent the head to Hishâm who, in return, wrote to him the order to strip the body naked and fasten it to a cross. This was done. A poet in the service of the Omaiyides composed a verse on this occasion and, in it he said, addressing the descendants of Abû Tâlib :

We have crucified that Zaid of yours on the trunk of a date-tree ; and I never yet saw a man who was well-guided attached to the trunk of a tree.

The lower part of this cross was then encased in masonry (12). At a later period,

Hishâm wrote to Yûsuf, ordering him to burn the body and scatter the ashes to the winds. This took place in the year 121 (A. D. 739) or 122. According to Abû Bakr Ibn Aiyâsh (*vol. I. p.* 553) and a number of the persons who related historical anecdotes, Zaid's naked body remained on the cross for five years, and no one, during that period, ever saw the privy parts of it; God, in his favour to Zaid, having veiled them from sight. It was in the *Kunâsa* (13) of Kûfa that the body was crucified. When Yahya, the son of Zaid, made his appearance in Khorâsân, — this event is well known (14), — al-Walîd Ibn Yazîd, who was then reigning, wrote to the governor of Kûfa the order to burn the body of Zaid with the wood to which it was attached. This he did and then scattered the ashes to the wind, on the bank of the Euphrates. God best knows which is the true account. It was to avenge his cousins that Abd Allah treated the Omaiyides in the same manner as they had treated the descendants of Ali. — The following anecdote was related by al-Haitham: "I was appointed to collect the cattle-tax due by the Banu Fazâra, "and a man of that tribe came to me and said: 'Shall I shew you something extra- "'ordinary?' I answered: 'Yes,' and he lead me to a high mountain in which "there was an opening. He bid me enter, but I replied that the guide should "always go first. He went in, I followed and a number of people came after us. "The (*passage in the*) mountain sometimes got narrow and sometimes widened, "till we at length saw a light. We went up to it, and behold a crevice stretched "across the ground and javelins were sticking in the sides of the cavern (15). We "drew them out and found them to be the arrows made use of by (*an extinct giant* "*race, that of*) Aad. On the rock was engraved an inscription, the letters of which "were of two fingers' length, or perhaps more. The writing was Arabic, and "the inscription ran thus:

« Shall we ever return (16) to the dwellings at the foot of Zû 'l-Liwa, the Liwa of the sands,
« and thus be assured that our hearts spoke us true. That country was ours and we loved it;
« for men are men, and a home is always a home. »

It is related that Abû Nuwâs Ibn Hâni, the poet of whom we have spoken (*vol. I. p.* 391), went to one of the (*literary*) sittings which al-Haitham had began to hold. The latter, not recognizing him, did not invite him to approach nor offer him a nearer place. So, the other rose up in a passion (*and went away*). Al-Haitham asked who he was and, having heard his name, he exclaimed: "God

"preserve me! this is a calamity which I did not mean to draw upon myself. Rise "up and let us go after him, that we may offer him our excuses." On reaching the poet's door, he knocked and mentioned who he was. Being told by the other to enter, he went in and found him sitting (*on the floor*), and straining *nabîd* (17). The house itself was arranged in a manner befitting a (*debauchee*) like him. Al-Haitham then said: "The granting of pardon belongs to God and afterwards to "you. By Allah! I did not recognize you; but the fault was yours, because you "neglected mentioning your name. You thus prevented us from showing you "fitting respect and treating you with due regard." Seeing that Abû Nuwâs appeared to accept his excuses, he added: "I beg of you to spare me (*and suppress*) "whatever verses you may have just composed on me." The poet replied: "There "is no means of recalling the past, but you have the assurance (*that*) for the future "(*I shall not attack you*)!" On this al-Haitham said: "Tell me what is the past, "and my life shall be the ransom of yours!" He answered: "It is a verse "which I uttered during the state (*of irritation*) in which you may perceive me "still to be." Al-Haitham requested him to repeat it and, on his refusal, he insisted so much that he obtained his wish. The poet recited as follows:

> Haithâm, the son of Adî! you are not of the Arabian stock and it is only indirectly (18) that you belong to the tribe of Taï. When you make (*of your father*) Adî a descendant of Thoal, place the *d* of his name before the *a*, in tracing up his genealogy (19).

Al-Haitham rose up and left him, but, some time after, the remaining verses of the piece came to his knowledge. Here they are:

> Haitham, the son of Adî, is so changeable in mind that, every day, he sets his foot in the stirrup. He is always saddling and unsaddling (*his camel*) for a journey to visit a (*rich*) enfranchased slave or an Arab. He has a tongue excited (*to eloquence*) by his natural genius (20); one would think he had always travelled (*like an Arab of the desert*) upon a camel's pillion. I should like to see him set up on the bridge and mounted on a steed (*a cross*) nearly as worthless as himself. O that I saw him covering that steed with a raiment of blood, to replace the filaments and leaves (*which covered it before*). God help thee! (*simpleton!*) you need not be so proud of your parentage; (*to support your pretensions*) you borrowed a genealogy from books.

On this, Al-Haitham returned to Abû Nuwâs and said: "Good God! did you not give "me the assurance and the promise that you would not satirize me?" The other answered (*in these words of the Korân*, sur. xxvi, verse 226): "They (*the poets*) say "that which they do not."—The anecdotes concerning al-Haitham are very

numerous, but we have already given sufficient details. He was born before the year 130 (A. D. 747), and he died on the 1st of Muharram, 206 (6th June, A. D. 821), or 207, according to another statement. Ibn Kutaiba's *Maârif* places his death in the year 209. He left posterity at Baghdad. As-Samâni (*vol. II. p.* 156) says, in his *Ansâb*, under the word *al-Bohtori,* that he died A. H. 209 at Fam as-Silh, aged ninety-three years. Another author adds that he died at the house of al-Hasan Ibn Sahl (*vol. I. p.* 408). We have already mentioned, in the life of Bûrân (*vol. I. p.* 269), that her marriage with al-Mâmûn took place at Fam as-Silh, in that year. From this it appears that al-Haitham was one of the company which he had with him. — We have already spoken of *Taî* (*vol. I. p.* 354), and (*shall speak*) of *Bohtori. Thoali* means *descended from Thoal,* the son of Amr, the son of al-Ghauth, the son of Taî. The rest of the genealogy will be found in our article on al-Bohtori, under the letter *W.* A number of families descended from Taî bore the surname of *Thoali;* such were the Bohtori, the Salâmân and others. To the tribe of Thoal belonged Amr Ibn al-Masîh ath-Thoali, (*the chief*) who accompanied one of the deputations sent by the Arab tribes to the Prophet. He became a Moslim at Medina, being then one hundred and fifty years of age. He was the best archer of all the Arabs. It is to him that the poet Amr al-Kais Hondoj al Kindi, the son of Hojr, alludes in this verse :

Sometimes an archer of the tribe of Thoal, thursting out his hands from his hiding-place (21).

This is one of the arguments adduced by Ibn Kutaiba, in his *Tabakât ash-Shuwarâ,* to prove that Amr al-Kais lived about forty years before the Prophet; for such is the conclusion announced by that author.

(1) In the Arabic text the term employed is *kutub musannafa.* In the introduction to the first volume of this translation, page XXV, and in a note of the second volume, page 489, I offered conjectural explanations of this term. I am now inclined to think that it means works in which the divers matters are classed and arranged under separate heads, each chapter being appropriated to a particular subject. Al-Jauhari says, in his dictionary, that the verb *sannaf* signifies *to dispose a thing in classes.*

(2) The term *sawâd* signifies *darkness, verdure, a crowd,* and was employed to designate the territory in which Basra and Kûfa were situated. It thus included the ancient Chaldæa and Babylonia. See vol. II, p. 417.

(3) Literally: to the sittings.

(4) In this narration al-Haitham imitates the idiom spoken by the nomadic Arabs.

(5) This seems to mean: you may easily find another halting-place.

(6) The civilised Arabs, those who inhabited towns, handed the meat to their guests; those of the desert threw it to them. See a remarkable instance in Amr al-Kais's *Muallaka*, 10th verse.

(7) For the history of this Amr, see the third volume of M. Caussin de Perceval's *Essai sur l'histoire des Arabes*.

(8) A *badra* was ten thousand dirhems; about two hundred pounds sterling. Some say that any sum, from one thousand dirhems to ten thousand formed a *badra*.

(9) I can find no information respecting this poet who, to judge from his names, was a Jew and a native of Basra.

(10) About one thousand pounds sterling.

(11) The edition of Bûlâk reads *Muammar*.

(12) The text has: and he built a column underneath the wood, or beam.

(13) The word *kundsa* signifies a place where the dirt and sweepings of a town are deposited.

(14) See Price's *Retrospect of Mahommedan history*, vol. I, pages 570, 572.

(15) Literally: in the mountain.

(16) Literally: shall there ever be a return.

(17) See vol. 1, p. 316.

(18) The Arabic words are على شغب, which I render by conjecture.

(19) The word *dai* signifies: counterfeit, spurious, bastard.

(20) Here, and in some other passages of the same piece, I translate by conjecture.

(21) See my *Diwân d'Amro'lkais*, page 56.

WASIL IBN ATA

Abû Hudaifa Wâsil Ibn Atâ, the Motazilite, known also by the name of al-Ghazzâl, was a *mawla* to the tribe of Dubba or, by another statement, to the tribe of Makhzûm. He was one of those great masters of the Arabic language (1) who discoursed on scholastic theology (*kalâm*) and other sciences. He lisped in pronouncing the letter *r* (*râ*) and thus made of it a *gh* (*ghain*). Abû 'l-Abbâs al-Mubarrad (*page 31 of this vol.*) mentions him in the *Kâmil* and speaks of him in these terms: "Wâsil Ibn "Atâ was really a wonderful man. He had a horrid lisp in pronouncing the letter "*r* and, for that reason, he never, in speaking, made use of words wherein it oc-"curred. No one perceived the (*difficulty he had to surmount*), such was his

"mastery over the language and the fluency of his pronunciation." Alluding to this, a Motazilite poet named Abû 't-Turûk ad-Dubbi, said, in praise of the talent with which Wâsil made speeches without employing the *r*, a letter which presents itself very frequently in discourse and which was (*for him*) as if it did not exist :

> Skilled (*alîm*) in replacing one letter by another, and surpassing every preacher, whose vain (*doctrines*) were (*thus*) overcome by the truth (2).

And another poet said, on the same subject :

> When speaking of wheat (*burr*) he employs (*the word*) *kamh*, and, in his enmity to the *r*, he manages adroitly to express (*in other letters the word*) *shiar* (*poetry*). He never says *matar* (*rain*), even in the haste of speech, but comes out with (*the word*) *ghaith* ; so greatly he fears the rain (*matar*).

It is related that he said, in speaking of Bashshâr Ibn Burd (*vol. I. p.* 254) : "Is "there no one who will kill that blind fellow surnamed Abû Muâd? By Allah! if "treachery were not a characteristic of the Shîites, I should send a person to cut "open his belly whilst he is on his couch. Then he would (*no longer*) be a Sadûside "or an Okailide." He said *this blind fellow* (*aamâ*) to avoid saying *Bashshâr* and *Darîr;* instead of *Mughairiya* or *Mansûriya* (*the names of Shîite sects*), he employed the word *Ghâliya* (*i.e. extravagants, the names of another Shîite sect*) ; being unwilling to say *arsalt* (*which means* I should send), he chose the word *beatht,* and instead of *marked* (*sleeping-place*) or of *farâsh* (*bed*), he made use of the word *madjâ* (*couch*) ; to avoid saying *yabkar* (*split open*), he employed the term *yabaadj* (*burst*) ; he brought in the Okailides and the Sadûsides because Bashshâr was a *mawla* to the first mentioned of these tribes and had dwelt for some time with the second.—As-Samâni (*vol. II. p.* 156) states, in his *Ansâb,* under the title *Mutazili,* that Wâsil Ibn Atâ used to go and sit with (3) al-Hasan al-Basri (*vol. I. p.* 370), but disputes having arisen (*concerning the dogmas of the faith*), the Khârijites taught that whoever committed a great sin was an infidel (*and deserved to be put to death*) ; whilst the general opinion of the Moslims was that such a man was a true believer, though guilty of a heinous sin. On this Wâsil Ibn Atâ left both parties, declaring that a wicked man of the Moslim community was neither a believer nor an infidel, but held a middle station between the two. This made al-Hasan expel him from his school (4). Wâsil, having seceded (*motazel*) from him, got for a pupil (5) Amr Ibn

Obaid (*vol. II. p.* 393). These two and their followers received the nickname of *Motazilites* (*seceders*). This is the passage to which I referred in my article on Amr Ibn Obaid, in case the reader wished to know the signification and origin of the term *Motazilite*. In my notice on Katâda Ibn Diâma as-Sadûsi (*vol. II. p.* 513) I mentioned that it was he who gave them this name. Wâsil's skill in avoiding the letter *r* became proverbial, and poets have often alluded to it in their verses. It is thus that Abû Muhammad al-Khâzin (6) said, in a high-sounding *kasîda* composed in praise of the Sâhib Ibn Abbâd (*vol. I. p.* 212):

Truly, on the day of gifts (*atá*), he avoids saying the word *no*, and that with as much care as Ibn Atâ avoids the letter *r*.

Another poet said of a person whom he loved and who lisped:

Lisp (*to me*) that *r* again; (*it sounds to sweetly*) that, if Wâsil was present and heard it, he would never again suppress the *r*.

By another:

Do you treat my love as you treat the letter *r*, which you (*avoid and*) never utter; you have rejected me as if you were Wâsil.

How admirably said! how beautiful the expression: *you have rejected me as if you were Wâsil* (7)! Another poet has said:

Treat me not like the *alif of union* (*hamza wâsil*) (8); I should then (*like it*), be rejected! treat me not as Wâsil did the *r*.

The celebrated Spanish poet, Abû Omar Yûsuf Ibn Hârûn al-Kindi ar-Ramâdi (9), who died A. H. 403 (A. D. 1013), is the author of the following lines, in which, however, he makes no allusion to Wâsil:

Neither the *r* nor I can hope to obtain your favour; being rejected (*by you*), the same misfortune unites us both, and (*in that*) we are equal. When I was alone, I wrote it on the palm of my hand, and remained sighing, both I and it (10).

This is a subject so vast that we cannot go on with it any farther; and the examples which we have given are quite sufficient.—A great number of verses have been composed by poets on the defect of pronunciation by which the letter *s* is con-

verted into *th* (or *ts*). Here, for instance, is a piece attributed to Abû Nuwâs (*vol. I. p.* 391); though it is not to be found in his collected poetical works. It may probably have been transmitted down orally by Ali Ibn Hamza al-Ispahâni (11), who knew by heart and taught to others a great number of poems. The verses are remarkable for their elegance and sweetnes :

> I asked that tender fawn (*maiden*) what was her name, and she answered : "Mirdâs." When the night came on, she handed me a cup of wine and said : "(*Fear not!*) the people are "asleep. See how beautiful the garlands which crown us! the jasmine and the myrtle con-" tribute to adorn them." On hearing her lisp, I also became a lisper and said : "Where is the "pitcher and the wine-cup (12)."

If I undertook to give here every piece of this kind, I should be led very far. There are, however, but few which allude to the lisping of the letter *r*, and therefore shall insert the following :

> I swear by the whiteness of my beloved's teeth! by the beauty-spot like the point on the *kha* (خ) which is seen on her cheek when the ringlet is turned aside! that her Mosulian lisp has fascinated me. The love it inspires has cast me into a swollen sea (*of passion*). The cheeks of that fair one who speaks with a foreign accent are shaded by scorpions (*ringlets*) empowered to sting me alone. When she speaks, the deafest of the deaf hearken to the tuneful lisping of her words. She says to me, when I kiss her shining mouth, — for it is she whom I love and who grants me all I wish for, — (*she says*) when the cup of ebriety is emptied and the tint of the wine displays its fairest colours on her cheeks : "Go on gently! for the inebriating liquor which " you sip from the vine of my lips will only add intoxication to intoxication (13)."

This poet has well expressed the thought. In the last verse are a great number of *rs* which have been replaced by *ghs*.—Al-Khubzaruzzi, a poet of whom we have already spoken (*page* 530 *of this vol.*), composed the following piece on a girl who lisped the *r*, but he does not indicate this lisp except in the last word of the last verse :

> At al-Karkh is a fawn who speaks with a lisp; and lisping is a quality which I require (*in a mistress*). How like is her waist to that of the wasp! it is even as thin as the scorpion (*ringlet pendent*) on her cheek. Her lips enclose a theriac which heals the sting, when its violence burns my heart. If I say, when embracing her : "May my life be the ransom of thine! Dic " mihi; ubi est (*mentula*) ?" she replies "I do not know" (14).

One word has brought on another and diverted us from our subject, namely, the history of Wâsil Ibn Atâ. His neck was so long that people reproached him for it as a fault, and Bashshâr Ibn Burd composed on it the following verses :



Why should I be plagued with a *ghazzâl* (*a cotton-spinner*) whose neck is like that of an ostrich in the desert, whether he stays or goes away? That cameleopard's neck of yours, what do you mean with it? I mind it not. You call those men infidels who declared a certain man (*i. e. you*) to be so (15).

Those two persons had a great dislike for each other and proofs of their mutual jealousy are very numerous; we have already mentioned what Wâsil said of Bashshâr. Al-Mubarrad informs us, in his *Kâmil*, that Wâsil was not a spinner (*ghazzâl*), but that he received this surname because he frequented the cotton-spinners for the purpose of discovering poor and virtuous females to whom he might distribute alms. He then adds: "Wâsil had a very long neck, and it is related that Amr Ibn Obaid "said, before making his acquaintance: 'No good can come of that man as long as "'he has such a neck.'" Wâsil composed a number of works, such as a treatise on the different sects of the Morjians (16), another on the repenting of one's sins, another entitled *the Intermediate station*, another containing pious discourses in which the letter *r* was not to be found, another on the *Maâni* or rhetorical figures of the *Korân*, another consisting of discourses on the unity of God and on justice (*free-will*), a recital of what passed between him and Amr Ibn Obaid, a guide to the knowledge of the truth (*as Sabîl ila mârifa tal-hakk*), a treatise on the *Dawa* (or *doctrine* professed by him), a classified list (*tabakât*) of the learned and the ignorant, *etc.* The anecdotes related of him are very numerous. He was born in Medîna, A. H. 80 (A. D. 699-700), and he died in the year 131 (A. D. 748-9) (17).

(1) Literally: He was one of the eloquent *imâms*.

(2) The meaning of the last hemistich may perhaps have escaped the translator.

(3) The expression خلس الى "to go and sit near" a person, signifies, probably, to attend his lessons.

(4) Literally: from the place where he held his sittings (*majlis*).

(5) Literally: a by-sitter.

(6) Abû Muhammad Abd Allah Ibn Ahmad, surnamed al-Khâzin (*the treasurer, or librarian*), was one o the most distinguished poets of Ispahân. The Sâhib Ibn Abbâd treated him with great favour, chose him for his librarian and admitted him into his parties of pleasure. After some time, Abû Muhammad left him in a moment of anger and continued, during a few years, to lead a straggling life in Irâk, in Syria and in Hijâz. He afterwards rejoined the Sâhib at Jurjân. Ath-Thaâlibi, who furnishes these indications, gives, in his *Yatîma*, several pieces of verse composed by al-Khâzin; but does not indicate the year of his death, which probably occurred before the beginning of the fifth century of the hijra (A. D. 1010).

(7) Our author admires this hemistich because it bears another meaning, namely: as if you meant to take me into favour.



(8) The letter called the *alif of union* is elided in the pronunciation.

(9) The next vol. contains an article on the poet ar-Ramâdi. He entered into a conspiracy against the vizir Abû Aâmir al-Mansûr, who was then all-powerful in Cordova. For his adventures, see M. Dozy's *Histoire des Musulmans d'Espagne*, tome III, p. 172 *et seq*.

(10) I do not know what the poet means by this verse, which I may, perhaps, have misunderstood.

(11) Abû 'l-Faraj Ali Ibn Hamza of Ispahân, composed a work on eminent Persians and published editions of the poetical works left by Abû Tammâm, Abû Nuwâs and al-Bohtori. Hajji Khalîfa places his death in the year 356 (A. D. 966-7). This was also the year in which took place the death of Abû 'l-Faraj Ali Ibn *al-Husain* of Ispahân, the author of the *Kitâb al-Aghâni*, vol. II, p. 249. Professor Flügel considers them to be one and the same person.

(12) In the text of this piece, every *s* of the dialogue is replaced by *th*.

(13) The last verse, if correctly written, should run thus:

ترفّق فرشف الخمر من كرم ريقتى   يزيدك عند الشرب سكرا على سكر

(14) She said *ma adghi* instead of *ma adri*.

(15) This is an allusion to the doctrine professed by Wâsil and already indicated by our author.

(16) See Sale's Preliminary discourse to his translation of the Korân, section VIII.

(17) The edition of Bûlâk and one of my manuscripts offer the date 181 as that of Wâsil's death. It does not appear to be acceptable; that given in the other manuscripts and in the *Nujûm* is probably the true one, and, as such, is adopted here.

WATHIMA IBN MUSA

Abû Yazîd Wathîma, the son of Mûsa, the son of al-Furât, bore the surnames of al-Washshâ, al-Fârisi al-Fasawi (*the silk-mercer, native of the town of Fasa in Persia*). Having proceeded from his native place to Basra, he went from that to Egypt, whence he travelled as a merchant to Spain. He dealt in silk brocades. In a work composed by him on the history of the great apostasy (*ridda*), he mentions the (*Arabian*) tribes which apostatized on the death of the Prophet, and gives an account of the expeditions sent against them by (*the khalif*) Abû Bakr as-Siddîk. He relates also the manner in which the war was carried on, and gives an account of what passed between these insurgents and the Musulmans. He mentions in it also the tribes which returned to the true faith, the attacks directed against those who refused to pay the (*zakâ or tythe on cattle*), and relates all that

took place between Khâlid Ibn al-Walîd al-Makhzûmi and Mâlik Ibn Nuwaira al-Yarbûi, on whose death some well-known elegies were composed by his brother Mutammim. In this work he relates the manner in which Mâlik was killed, and gives the text of the poems composed by Mutammim and others on that event. It is a good work and contains much useful information. We have already mentioned, in the life of Abû Abd Allah al-Wâkidi (*page* 61 *of this vol.*), that he also composed a good work on the apostasy. I do not know if Wathîma wrote any other work than the one I have spoken of; but he acquired a great reputation: Abû 'l-Walîd Ibn al-Faradi (*vol. II. p.* 68) speaks of him in his (*biographical*) history of Spain; the *hâfiz* Abû Abd Allah al-Humaidi (*page* 1 *of this vol.*) mentions him in the *Judwa tal-Muktabis*, Abû Saîd Ibn Yûnus (*vol. II. p.* 93) in his History of Egypt, and Abû Saad as-Samâni (*vol. II. p.* 156), in his *Ansâb*, under the word *Washshâ*. He there says: "He dealt in *washi*, which is a stuff made of silk." A number of persons have borne this surname, one of whom was the Wathîma here mentioned. Wathîma returned from Spain to Egypt, and died in Old Cairo on Monday, the 10th of the first Jumâda, 237 (9th November, A. D. 851). Abû Saîd Ibn Yûnus says, in his History, that Wathîma left a son whose names were Abû Rifâa Omâra Ibn Wathîma, and who taught traditions on the authority of Abû Sâlih, al-Laith Ibn Saad's secretary (1), on that of his own father and on that of other Traditionists. A history in the form of annals was composed by him. He was born in Old Cairo, and he died on the eve of Thursday, the 23rd of the latter Jumâda, 289 (4th June, A. D. 902). *Wathîma* means a *heap of herbs or of provisions*; it signifies also *a rock*, and is employed as a proper name for men. It means also the *stone made use of to strike fire*. The Arabs say, in one of their oaths: "By "him who brought forth the *adk* from the *jarîma* and fire from the *wathîma*!" *Adk* عدق means a *date-tree*, and *jarîma* a *date-kernel*. We have spoken of the word *Fasawi* in the life of Abû Ali al-Fârisi (*vol. I. p.* 381), and in that of Arslân al-Basâsîri (*vol. I. p.* 173), so we need not repeat our observations here. Having mentioned the names of Mâlik and of his brother Mutammim, I feel obliged to give here a sketch of their history, which is very interesting. Mâlik Ibn Nuwaira was one of those princely-minded and eminent men who acted as *radîfs* (*lieutenants*) to kings (2). *Radîfs* were of two sorts: one rode behind the prince and on the same camel, when they went out to hunt, or to any place of amusement. The office of the second was much more eminent; when the prince held a court of justice,

and happended to quit his seat, the *radîf* took his place and judged between the contending parties. This Mâlik is the same whose name occurs in the proverbial expression : *A pasture-ground, but not like that of as-Saadân ; a source, but not like that of Suddâ, and a hero, but not like Mâlik.* He was a gallant cavalier, a poet, a chief devotedly obeyed by his tribe; full of audacity and bravery, so remarkable for his thick head of hair that he was designated by the epithet of *Jafûl* (*hairy-head*). When the Arabian tribes sent deputations to the Prophet, he was one of those who went and, having embraced the Moslim religion, he was nominated by the Prophet collector of the alms-tax (*sadaka*) payable by his tribe. When the Arabs apostatized, after the death of the Prophet, by their refusing to pay the tax, Mâlik did as the others. On the appointment of Abû Bakr to the khalifat, Khâlid Ibn al-Walîd marched against the rebels and halted at the place where Mâlik was (3). This chief had already gathered in the tax imposed on his tribe, the Banû Yarbûa, and appropriated it to his own use. Khâlid spoke to him on the subject and received this answer : " I fulfill the duty of prayer but shall not pay the tax."—" Do you " not know," said Khâlid, "that prayer and the payment of this tax go together? " one will not be accepted without the other."—Mâlik answered : "Was it your " master who said that?"— Khâlid replied : " Do you not consider him to be your " master also? by Allah ! I have a great mind to strike off your head." Then, after a long altercation, Khâlid said: "I shall take your life."—" Is that also the order " which your master gave you ?" said Mâlik. — " Do you say that after what you " have already said?" exclaimed Khâlid; "by Allah! I shall take your life!" Abd Allah Ibn Omar (*vol. I. p.* 567), and Abû Katâda the Ansâr (4) were present at this scene and remonstrated with Khâlid, but he would not hearken to them. Mâlik then said : " O Khâlid! send us to Abû Bakr and let him judge between us ; " you have already done so for others who were more culpable than we." Khâlid " answered : "May God never forgive me my sins, if I do not kill you!" He then ordered Dirâr Ibn al-Azwar al-Asadi to strike off his head. On this, Mâlik turned towards his wife, Omm Mutammim, and said to Khâlid : " There is the person who " costs me my life." She was, indeed, extremely beautiful. Khâlid replied : " Not at all ! It is God who slays you for abandoning Islamism." Mâlik declared that he was a Moslim. " Dirâr !" said Khâlid, " strike off his head." This was done, and the head was put in the place of one of the three stones which supported the flesh-pot. Mâlik, as we have said, surpassed most men by the abundance

of his hair, which was so thick, that the meat was cooked in the pot before the fire had reached the skull. Ibn al-Kalbi (*page* 608 *of this vol.*) states, in his ***Jamhara***, that Mâlik was put to death on the day of al-Bitâh (5). His brother Mutammim escaped and composed elegies on his death. Khâlid seized on the wife of Mâlik,—or by another account he purchased her out of the booty,—and married her. It is said that he allowed her to wait till she had thrice her periodical infirmity, and then obtained her consent to marry him. He invited Ibn Omar and Abû Katâda to the wedding, but they refused, and the former said to him: "I shall "write to Abû Bakr and relate to him what has passed." Khâlid was inflexible and married her. This induced Abû Nuhair (6) as-Saadi to compose the following lines:

> Say to the tribe whom the horsemen trampled under foot: How long this night appears after the death of Mâlik! He was treated with iniquity on account of his wife, and Khâlid, who committed the crime, was in love with her long before. He executed his purpose without endeavouring to rein in his passion and control it. He thus became a married man, and Mâlik, who perished as all things must, was reduced to nothing. Who now remains after him to protect the widows and the orphans? Who is there now to aid the poor and the destitute? The Tamîmides (7), from the highest to the lowest (8), have received a fatal stroke in the person of their cavalier, him on whom they fixed their hopes, him with the slender shoulders (9).

When intelligence of this event reached Abû Bakr and Omar, the latter said to the former: "Khâlid has committed adultery; order him to be lapidated." Abû Bakr replied: "I cannot allow him to be lapidated; he only interpreted wrong "(*his orders*)."—"But," said Omar, "he has killed a Moslim."—"I cannot put "him to death for that," said the other; "he only interpreted wrong (*his orders*)." "Then deprive him of his commandment," said Omar.—"No," replied Abû Bakr, "I shall never sheath a sword which God drew against the wicked."—Such is the relation given of this affair in the book composed by Wathîma and in that of al-Wâkidi, and let them be answerable for its truth. — Mutammim Ibn Nuwaira, the brother of Mâlik, bore the surname of Abû Nahshal, and was celebrated as a poet. He seldom stirred out of his house (*or tent*), and troubled himself little about his own affairs, because he relied on his brother. He was deformed in body and had lost an eye. When he was informed of Mâlik's death, he went to the mosque of the Prophet (*at Medîna*) and, having taken his place behind Abû Bakr, he said (*with him*) the morning prayer. When the khalif, who was in the *mihrâb* turned

round (*to the congregation*), Mutammim stood up and, leaning on the extremity of his bow, recited these lines :

> He was truly admirable when the winds howled about the tents, he who was slain by you, Ibn al-Azwar! You invited him in God's name and you betrayed him; had he invited you, under the safeguard of his honour, he would not have betrayed.

(*On pronouncing these last words*,) he pointed to Abû Bakr who exclaimed : "By "Allah! I never invited him nor ever betrayed him." The poet continued thus :

> Admirable he was, either sheathed in mail or unarmed! How excellent a retreat was his dwelling for the benighted traveller who perceived the light of his fire! Under his dress he concealed no turpitude; he was, in disposition, mild, and in conduct, chaste.

He then wept and, ceasing to lean upon his bow, he sat down and lamented so bitterly that tears flowed from his blind eye. Omar Ibn al-Khattâb went up to him and said : "I wish you had composed such an elegy as that on the death of my "brother Zaid." Mutammim answered : "O Abû Hafs! if I thought that my "brother had gone to the place where yours is now, I should not lament his "death." On this, Omar said : "Never, since I lost Zaid, did any man give me "sweeter consolation than Mutammim."—Zaid, the son of al-Khattâb, fell a martyr in the battle of al-Yamâma (10). Omar used to say : "I enjoy the breath of the "zephyr because it blows from the spot where Zaid reposes." It is stated that Omar said to Mutammim : "If I could make verses on the death of my brother, "they should be like what you made on the death of yours." — It is stated that Mutammim had composed an elegy on Zaid, but did not well succeed; so, Omar said to him : "Why was your elegy on the death of Zaid so different from that which you "composed on Mâlik?" The poet answered : "By Allah! I was moved to lament "Mâlik for motives which did not lead me to lament Zaid." Omar said to him "one day : "You are really a man of judgment; how was your brother, compared "with you?" He replied : "My brother would mount a *thafâl* (*slow-paced*) camel, "in a thundering (*âzîz*) and cloudy (*surrâd*) night, leading by the bridle a restive horse "(*jarûr*), and carrying in his hand a heavy spear. On his shoulders was a small "cloak (*falût*) and, on each side of him, a provision bag (*mazâda*); and he would "ride on till morning with a smile on his face." The word *âzîz* (ازيز) signifies *the sound of thunder* ; *sarrâd* (صراد) means *a thin cloud in which there is no water* ; —

thafâl (ثفال) is a *slow-paced camel*, so heavy that it can hardly walk; *jârûr* (جرور) is *a horse which disobeys the rein;* a *falût* (فلوت) cloak is *one which scarcely holds on the person who wears it; mazâda* (مزادة) is the *water-bag*, as is well known.—Another day, Omar said to him: "Tell me something concerning your brother;" and he answered thus: "Commander of the faithful! I was once taken prisoner by a "tribe of Arabs, and my brother, being informed of what had happened, came to "them. When they saw him appear, every one stood up, and every woman of the "tribe peeped out through the openings of the tents. He had not time to get off his "camel when they lead me up to him, cord and all, (literally: *with my* rumma), "and it was he who untied me." — There," said Omar, "was true nobility!" A *rumma* is a *worn out cord;* from it is derived the expression: *to give* a man *a thing with its rumma*. It originated in a man's giving to another a camel with a halter on its neck, and was then employed to denote the gift of a thing with all belonging to it.—Mutammim said, another day, to Omar: "A tribe of Arabs at- "tacked the tribe of my brother whilst he was absent. When the alarm reached him, "he sallied forth and followed their foot-steps. He had with him a camel which he "rode or drove before him alternately, and he overtook them after travelling three "(*nights*). At the moment they thought themselves out of danger, he appeared "unexpectedly. When they saw him, they fled away, abandoning their prisoners "and booty. My brother overtook them, and they all surrendered, so that he had "only to tie their hands behind their backs and lead them to his own country." On this, Omar said: "We heard of his beneficence and his bravery, but we knew "nothing of what you have just related."—One of the elegies composed by him on Mâlik is of singular beauty; it rhymes in *k* and is to be found in that section of the *Hamâsa* (11) which contains the elegiac poems. Here it is:

> My companion blamed me for weeping over every tomb and shedding floods of tears. "Why "weep you over every tomb you see? is it for (*the recollection*) of that tomb which lies between "al-Liwa and ad-Dakâdik?" I answered: "Sighs beget sighs; so, let me weep! for all these "are (*for me*) as the tomb of Mâlik."

In a *kasîda* of considerable length and beauty, the rhyme of which is formed by the letter *aîn*, the same poet says:

> For a long time we were like the two boon companions of Jadîma; so that it was said of us: "They will never be separated!" We led a life of happiness, but, before us, death attained the

families of Chosroes and of Tobbâ. When we separated, the long time which I passed with Mâlik seemed to me as short as a single night.

As the reader of this book may desire some information respecting Jadîma and his two boon companions, I shall speak of them here. *Jadîma*, for so his name must be pronounced, belonged to the family of al-Azd, and bore the surnom of Abû Mâlik. He was the son of Mâlik, the son of Fahm, the son of Daus, the son of al-Azd. Hîra and the neighbouring country acknowledged his authority. People called him *the speckled* (*al-Abrach*) or *the spotted with white* (*al-Waddâh*), because he was a leper. The Arabs abstained from giving him the surname of *the leper*, through fear of offending him, and therefore designated him by one or the other of the former terms. He was one of the provincial kings, and lived about thirty years after Jesus (12). So great was his pride that he would have no other boon companions than the two stars called *al-Farkadân* (13). His sister had a son named Amr, the son of Adi the Lakhmide, who was the son of Nasr, the son of Rabîa, the son of al-Hârith, the son of Mâlik, the son of Adi, surnamed Amam, because he was the first who wore a turban (*imâma*), the son of Numâra, the son of Lakhm. The rest of the genealogy is well known (14). The name of Jadîma's sister was Rikâsh. Her son, for whom Jadîma had a great affection, was spirited away by the genii, and his uncle searched for him a long time without finding him. There were two brothers of the tribe of al-Kain, one of whom was named Mâlik and the other Akîl. Their father's name was Fârih, the son of Mâlik, the son of Kaab, the son of al-Kain, whose true name was an-Nomân, the son of Jasr, the son of Shai Allah. These two found Amr in the desert, with his hair dishevelled, his nails grown to a great length and his appearance miserable. They knew him and brought him to his uncle, after arranging his hair and attiring him decently. Jadîma was so overjoyed at seeing him that he told them to ask whatever reward they pleased, and they said: "Let us be "your boon companions as long as you and we live." He answered: "That I "grant to you."—These were the two boon companions whose reputation became proverbial. It is said that they were Jadîma's constant guests during forty years and that they never, in all that period, repeated to him a story which they had already told him. It is to them that Abû Khirâsh the Hudailite (15) alludes in these verses, taken from an elegy composed by him on his brother Orwa :

(*The calumniator*) says: "I see that he disports himself since the death of Orwa; and that,



"as you must know, is highly detrimental (*to himself*)." (*I answered*:) "Think not that "I have ceased to remember the days I passed with him; know, Umaima! that I support (*my* "*sorrow*) with becoming patience. Hast thou heard that, before our time, two sincere boon "companions were separated, Mâlik and Akîl?"

This summary account of their history is rather long, and yet I aimed at being concise.—Abû Ali al-Kâli (*vol. I. p.* 210) says, in the treatise which he designed as supplement to his *Amâli*, that Mutammim went up to Omar, who admired him greatly, and that Omar said: "Tell me, Mutammim! what hinders you from "marrying? God may perhaps raise children from that alliance, for you belong to a family which is on the point of becoming extinct." The poet, in consequence, married a woman of Medîna, but he was not happy with her, nor she with him, so he divorced her and then said:

I say to Hind, when dispeased with her discernment (16): "Does your conduct proceed from "the coquetry of love, or do you hate me? Do you wish for a separation? and certainly, to "separate from any (*whom I love*) is now, for me, but slightly painful, since Mâlik has departed "(*from the world*)."

Omar said to him: "You will never cease thinking of Mâlik!" and, soon after, he received his mortal wound. Mutammim, who was then in Medîna, composed an elegy on his death. In a word, it has never been handed down that an Arab or any other person ever wept for the loss of a friend as much as Mutammim did for that of his brother.—Al-Wâkidi relates, in his *Kitâb ar-Ridda*, that Omar Ibn al-Khattâb said to Mutammim: "To what degree did you carry your grief for Mâlik?" and that the poet answered: "I wept during a year, without ever enjoying a mo-"ment's sleep, from evening to morning; and I never saw a fire (*of hospitality*) "lighted during the night without thinking to myself that I ought to go out to it, "so that I might recal to my recollection the fires lighted by my brother. Mâlik "ordered a fire to be always kept burning till morning lest travellers might pass the "night in his neighbourhood (*without discovering his tent*), and so that, when they "saw the fire, they might draw near to it. Certainly, in his eagerness to have guests "he felt more joy than other people do when one of their friends returns to them "from a distant land." On hearing this, Omar observed that such conduct was highly honourable. The same author relates that Mutammim, being asked what effect grief and the shedding of tears had produced on him, answered in these terms: "This

" eye," pointing to his blind one, "was already gone, and I wept with the good " one so abundantly that the lost eye came to its assistance and shed tears."— " Such sorrow," said Omar, " is really excessive; no one should grieve like that " for the death of a relative."—The poets make frequent allusions to Mâlik and his brother Mutammim. Ibn Haiyûs, (*page* 138 *of this vol.*) said, in one of his *kasîdas* :

> It was a manifest calamity, like the death of Mâlik; and it would be disgraceful for me not to be a Mutammim.

Abû Bakr Muhammad Ibn Isa ad-Dâni, generally known by the surname of Ibn al-Labbâna (*p.* 192 *of this vol.*), said, in a *kasîda* containing a lament on the fall of al-Motamid Ibn Abbâd, the sovereign of Seville, who was arrested (*and cast into prison*) by Yûsuf Ibn Tâchifîn, as we have related in our article on al-Mutamid (*page* 191 *of this vol.*) :

> On quitting your kingdom, you resembled Mâlik, and I, in my affliction, resembled Mutammim.

Another poet, probably the Ibn Munîr of whom I have spoken under the letter *A* (*vol. I. page* 138), composed a piece containing an allusion of the same kind as that which we are mentioning.—I have since verified the name of the author and found it to be Najm ad-Dîn Abû 'l-Fath Yûsuf Ibn al-Husain Ibn Muhammad, generally known by the surname of Ibn al-Mujâwir of Damascus. Here is the verse :

> O, my dear Mâlik! thou hast left in my heart a *nuwaira* (*a little fire*) and, through love for thee, the pupil of my eye is become a Mutammim.

Abû 'l-Ghanâim Ibn al-Muallim, the poet of whom we have spoken (*page* 168 *of this vol.*) said also, in a piece of verse containing the description of a (*deserted*) dwelling and praying the rains of heaven to water it :

> The rains watered it before my arrival, and I came to complete their work. Had a Mâlik been there, I might have been called a Mutammim (*a completer*).

Al-Kâdi as-Saîd Ibn Sanâ 'l-Mulk (*page* 589 *of this vol.*) made also a similar allusion in the following verse :



I wept with both my eyes, as if I tried to complete the task which Mutammim had left unfinished.

To expose this subject fully would require a long dissertation, and we have already passed all bounds in this digression.—Pronounce *Mutammim.*—The word صدا (*sdá*), in the expression: *a source, but not like Saddá,* is pronounced in three different manners: *Sudda,* with a double *d* and a short final *a*; *Saddá,* with the vowel *a* after the *s* and a long final *a*; so that, being pronounced with an *u*, it takes a short final, and, with an *a*, a long one. The third form is *Saddá,* with a single *d* followed by two *hamzas,* one coming immediately after the other. This is the name of a famous well the water of which is sweet and limpid.

(1) Our author (vol. II, p. 543) declares al-Laith Ibn Saad to have been an exact and trustworthy traditionist; but I must say that many of the historical traditions given on his authority by Ibn Abd al-Hakam, in his history of the conquest of Egypt, are evidently false.

(2) These kings were probably the phylarchs of Irâk and of Syria.

(3) The history of Mâlik is given in a much more satisfactory manner by M. Caussin de Perceval in his *Essai sur l'histoire des Arabes.*

(4) Al-Hârith Ibn Ribâi, surnamed Abû Katâda and one of the bravest horsemen in the service of Muhammad, was a native of Medîna. He died, A. H. 54 (A. D. 673-4). — (*Nujûm.*)

(5) See M. Caussin's *Essai, etc.,* tome III, p. 366.

(6) I follow the reading offered by the manuscript 702 and the autograph of the Annals of Abû 'l-Fedâ.

(7) Mâlik's tribe, the Yarbûa, was a branch of the great tribe of Tamîm.

(8) Literally: their fat and their lean.

(9) The two last words vary in the printed editions and the manuscripts. I read شخت الحوارك.

(10) See Caussin's *Essai,* tome III, p. 371.

(11) See Freytag's *Hamâsa,* page 370.

(12) According to M. Caussin de Perceval, this prince lived in the third century of our era (*Essai,* tome II, p. 16).

(13) The Farkadân are the stars β and γ of Ursa minor. We read in the *Essai* of M. Caussin de Perceval : « Il avait choisi pour ses convives deux étoiles appelées *El-farcadani*; et, chaque fois qu'il prenait la coupe, on en remplissait en même temps deux autres, dont il faisait des libations à ces étoiles. — (*Tome II, p.* 18.)

(14) It is given by M. Caussin in his *Essai.*

(15) The Hudailite poet Khuwailid Ibn Murra, surnamed Abu Khirâsh, died in the khalifat of Omar. Some verses of his are given in the Hamâsa.

(16) Literally: with her intelligence.

AL-BOHTORI *THE POET*

Abû Obâda al-Walîd Ibn Obaid Ibn Yahya Ibn Obaid Ibn Shimlâl Ibn Jâbir Ibn Salama Ibn Mus'hir Ibn al-Hârith Ibn Khuthaim Ibn Abi Hâritha Ibn Judai Ibn Tadûl Ibn Bohtor Ibn Atûd Ibn Onain Ibn Salâmân Ibn Thoal Ibn Amr Ibn al-Ghauth Ibn Julhuma-Tai Ibn Adûd Ibn Zaid Ibn Kahlân Ibn Sabâ Ibn Yashjub Ibn Yarab Ibn Kahtân, was a member of the tribe of Tâi and bore the surname of al-Bohtori. This celebrated poet was born at Manbij, or, by another account, at Zardafna, a village near that place; there he passed his youth and made his studies. He then went to Irâk where he recited poems in praise of several khalifs, beginning by al-Mutawakkil al'Allah; he eulogized also in his verses a number of grandees and *râises* (*persons high placed in the civil administration*). He remained at Baghdad a long time, and then returned to Syria. In many of his poems he speaks of Aleppo and the open country which surrounds it; for he had taken a great fancy to that city. Some of his poems were transmitted down orally by Abû 'l-Abbâs al-Mubarrad (*page* 31 *of this vol.*) Muhammad Ibn Khalaf Ibn al-Marzubân (1), the *kâdi* Abû Abd Allah al-Mahâmili (2), Muhammad Ibn Ahmad al-Hakîmi (3), and Abû Bakr as-Sûli (*p.* 68 *of this vol.*). Sâlih Ibn al-Asbagh at-Tanûkhi, a native of Manbij, related as follows: "I saw al-Bohtori here, at our town, before he went to Irak. "He would enter by that door of the mosque and pass by us (*to the other*),"—here he pointed to the two sides of the edifice,—"and, in going and coming, he would "recite verses in praise of dealers in onions and love-apples; yet he afterwards "became what we see." The Alwa, whose charms al-Bohtori celebrates in a great number of his pieces, was the daughter of a woman called Zarîâ and a native of Aleppo. Abû Bakr as-Sûli says, in his History of Abû Tammâm at-Tâi (*vol. I. p.*348) that al-Bohtori related as follows: "The first time I gained distinction as a poet was "(*on a certain day,*) when I went to see Abû Tammâm, who was then at Hims (*or* "*Homs, Emessa*), and presented to him a poem of my composition. He used to hold "sittings, and not a poet but went to visit him and submit their productions to his "judgment. On hearing mine, he turned towards me, without noticing the other per-

"sons who were present, and, when they retired, he said: 'You are the best poet of all "'who recited verses to me. In what circumstances are you?' I complained of "poverty, on which he wrote to the inhabitants of Maarra tan-Nomân a letter in "which he bore testimony to my talent and recommended me to their generosity. "'Go,' said he, 'and recite verses in their praise.' I went to them, and they, in "consideration of his letter, treated me with great honour and made me a pen- "sion of four thousand dirhems (4). This was the first money I ever earned." Abu Obâda (*al-Bohtori*) related, in the following terms, his first interview with Abû Tammâm: "I went to visit Abû Saîd Muhammad Ibn Yûsuf (5) and spoke his "praises in a *kasîda* which began thus:

> "Was a captivated lover ever delivered from his passion; so that I also may hope for "delivrance? Was it by breaking his engagements (*that he got free*), or by hearkening to the "advice of a compassionate friend?"

"When I finished, he expressed his satisfaction and said to me: 'God bless you, "'my boy!' A man who was in the saloon then said: 'God exalt you (*emir*)! these "'verses are by me, but that young man has got them by heart and recited "'them to you before I had time to do so.' Abû Saîd looked at me with an al- "'tered countenance and said: 'My boy! you have in your family and relatives "'a sufficent title to my favour; so, do not have recourse to such means as these.' "I replied: 'God exalt you! the verses are mine.' On this, the stranger "exclaimed: 'Good God, my boy! do not say such a thing.' He then began to "repeat some verses of my *kasîda*. On this, Abû Saîd turned to me and said: "'We shall furnish you with whatever you desire, but do not again have recourse "'to proceedings such as these.' I was astounded and left the saloon, not "knowingwhat to say and meaning to ask who that man might be. I had not "gone far when Abû Saîd called me back and said: 'We are merely jesting with "'you; so take things patiently. Do you know that man?' I replied that I did "not. 'It is your cousin,' said he; 'it is Habîb Ibn Aûs at-Tâi Abû Tammâm! "'go up to him.' I went over and embraced him. He turned towards me, "praised me highly, and spoke favourably of my verses. 'I was only jesting "'with you,' said he. From that moment I got attached to him and admired "greatly his promptitude in learning passages by heart." As-Sûli relates also in the same work: Abû Tammâm made to the mother of al-Bohtori a proposal of mar-

riage, to which she consented, saying: "Convoke the people to the ceremony." On this, he answered: "The grandeur of God is such that his name ought not to "be mentioned (*in an affair which is to pass*) between us two. Let us give each other "the hand and act with mutual indulgence (6)."—Al-Bohtori, being asked whether he or Abû Tammâm was the better poet, replied: "His best pieces surpass the best "of mine, and my worst are better than the worst of his." It has been said of al-Bohtori's poems that they were chains of gold. He held (*in reality*) the highest rank (*as a poet*). — It is related that Abû 'l-Alâ al-Maarri (*vol. I. page* 94), being asked which was the best poet of these three: Abû Tammâm, al-Bohtori and al-Mutanabbi (*vol. I. page* 102), replied that two of them were moralists and that al Bohtori was the poet. I must declare that Ibn ar-Rûmi (*vol. II. page* 297) was not equitable towards him when he said:

> The boy, al-Bohtori, steals from the son of Aûs (*Abû Tammâm*) the praises of the great and of the fair. In each of his verses, the thought is well expressed, but that thought belongs to Habîb, the son of Aûs.

Al-Bohtori related that he recited a poem of his composition to Abû Tammâm, and that the latter recited to him (*in return*) this verse of Aûs Ibn Hajar (7):

> When our force is diminished by the death of one of our lions, another appears amongst us, ready to show his teeth (8).

"There," exclaimed Abû Tammâm, 'I have announced to myself that my "'death is near!' I replied: 'God forbid!' 'Nay,' said he, 'my life will not "'be long; and another poet like you is now growing up in the tribe of Taî (*who "'will replace you also*). Know you not the anecdote told of Khâlid Ibn Safwân "'al-Minkari (9)? he heard Shabîb Ibn Shabba (*vol. II. p.* 4), who was of the same "'family as he, make a discourse and he said to him: 'My son! the talent dis-"'played by you in speaking announces to me that my death is near; we belong to "'a family in which, when an orator is produced, his predecessor soon dies.'" Al-Bohtori here observed that Abû Tammâm died a year after. He related also the following anecdote: "I recited to Abû Tammâm a poem which I had composed in "honour of one of the Humaid family and by which I gained a large sum of money. "When I finished, he exclaimed: 'Very good! you shall be the prince of poets when "'I am no more.' These words gave me more pleasure than all the wealth which

" I had collected."—Maimûn Ibn Hârûn related as follows : ' I met with the his-
" torian Abû Jaafar Ahmad Ibn Yahya Ibn Jâbir Ibn Dâwûd al-Balâdori (10) and he
" appeared absorbed thought (11). I asked him what had occurred, and he said :
" ' I was one of those persons whom (*the khalif*) al-Mustaîn admitted into his
" ' intimate society. Some poets having come to celebrate his praise, he said :
" ' I will receive eulogiums from no man, unless he produce a verse like
" ' that which al-Bohtori composed on (*the khalif*) al-Mutawakkil and which runs
" ' thus :

> " ' If a passionate lover could be forced to do what is beyond his power, the pulpit would
> " ' certainly hasten forward to salute you. '

" I returned home and, the next time I went to see him, I told him that I had
" composed some verses which were better than those of al-Bohtori. ' Let us hear
" them,' said he ; and I recited as follows :

> " If the mantle of the Chosen one (*Muhammad*) possessed the faculty of thought, it would
> " think that you were its former master; and, when you received it and put it on, it would
> " have said : ' These are his shoulders and his arms ! '

" He told me to return to my dwelling and execute the order which I should re-
" ceive from him. He then sent me seven thousand dinars (12), with this message :
" ' Treasure them up for what may befal you after my death, for, as long as I live,
" ' you shall receive from me a pension sufficient for your support.' " Al-Mutanabbi
expressed, in the following terms, the thought announced by al-Bohtori :

> If the tree towards which you look had the use of reason, it would stretch its branches
> towards you, in salutation.

Abû Tammâm expressed the same idea before them both, when he said :

> If a piece of ground could avance forward to receive the bones of Noma, the soil which is parched
> up would have moved towards her (13).

Al-Bohtori's verse is taken from a long *kasîda* (14) in which the author has attained
the height of excellence. He praises in it (*the khalif*) Abu 'l-Fadl Jaafar al-Muta-
wakkil al'-Allah and describes his going forth to preside at the public prayer on the
day of the Breaking of the fast. It begins thus :

I conceal within my bosom the love I bear you, and I (*sometimes*) disclose it; grieving under your cruelty, I am blamed and then excused.

The verses with which the one above mentioned is connected are the following :

You fasted in righteousness; you are the most meritorious of fasters; and you now break the fast in conformity to the prescriptions of God. Let your eyes be rejoiced by the day of the Fast-breaking; it is the most brilliant in the year, the most renowned. On it, you showed off the grandeur of the empire in (*sending forth*) the loud-sounding phalanx which guards the faith and which mantains it. On hearing it approach, we thought that the mountains were in march; it advanced, that morning, in such numbers as surpassed the most numerous army. The horses neighed, the riders shouted, the swords glanced and the spears glittered. The earth, submissive, trembled under their weight; the sky was obscured and the horizon shrouded in dust. The sun, in rising, lighted up the day, but his brightness was soon extinguished in a turbid cloud of dust. (*So it remained*) till your face, appearing in all its splendor, dispelled the darkness and cleared away the dust. The spectators are fascinated by your presence; towards you are directed every finger and every eye. They feel that your aspect, which they now enjoy, is one of God's blessings for which none should be ungrateful. By your looks you remind them of the Prophet and, when you appear exalted above your escort, they cry out: "God is the only god! God is almighty!" (*This continued*) till you reached the *mosalla* (15), arrayed (*as you were*) in the robe of true direction, visible to every eye. You advanced as one who is humble and submissive to the will of God, without ostentation and without pride. If a passionate lover could be forced to do what is beyond his power, the pulpit would certainly hasten forward to salute you. Eloquence came to assist you with such wisdom as announced and displayed the evidence of truth. Clothed in the Prophet's mantle, you gave warnings and good tidings (*to the congregation*).

This extract is sufficent for our purpose. The poem itself is really a piece of lawful magic and is composed with a facility not to be imitated. What an admirable flow (*of language*)! how light the bridle (*with which he directs his steed*)! how beautifully he has moulded his ideas! how elegant his thoughts! in the poem there is nothing superfluous; every part of it is exquisite! — The collection of his poetical works exists (16) and his verses are currently known; it is therefore needless to insert here many specimens of his poetry. I shall, however, relate some anecdotes concerning him which may be considered as interesting. He had a young slave-girl (17) called Nasîm (*zephyr*) and sold her to the *kâtib* Abû 'l-Fadl al-Hasan Ibn Wahb, the brother of the Sulaimân Ibn Wahb whom I have already given an account of (*vol. I. p* 596). He then regretted deeply what he had done, longed to get her back and composed verses in her praise, declaring that he had been deceived and that the sale was effected against his will. Here is one of these pieces :

O Nasîm! are the promises of Fortune ever true when she encourages the hopes of a passio-



nate lover? Why do I miss thee in my dreams? Why hast thou ceased to console the lover who is scorned by his mistress? You abstain from coming to visit me through fear of those (*who are about you*); but what can hinder your image from visiting my nocturnal slumbers? To day, love has passed all bounds in (*the treatment of*) its victims, and I, as you well know, am a lover. Let al-Hasan Ibn Wahb enjoy (*his triumph*); he meets with his beloved and I am separated from mine.

He composed many pieces on the same person. — There was at Aleppo a man called Tâhir Ibn Muhammad al-Hâshimi, who, on the death of his father, inherited a fortune of about one hundred thousand dinars (18). This sum he spent in deeds of charity, bestowing gifts on poets and (*needy*) visitors. Al-Bohtori went from Irâk to see him and, on arriving at Aleppo, he heard that the man was overwhelmed with debts and obliged to stay in his house. This intelligence grieved him excessively, and he sent to Tâhir, by one of his *mawlas*, a poem which he had composed in his praise. When Tâhir received and read the piece, he shed tears, called in his servant and said: "Sell this house of mine." The other exclaimed: "If you sell "your house, you will be reduced to beggary (19)." — "Sell it you must!" replied the other. The sale produced three hundred dinars, one hundred of which Tâhir tied up in the corner of a handkerchief and sent to al-Bohtori with a letter containing these lines:

If there was a gift adequate to the esteem in which I hold your merit, I would heap upon you silver, pearls and rubies, rare though they were. But the elegant scholar, the man of intelligence, will condescend to pardon a friend who, possessing but little, offers an insufficient gift.

When al-Bohtori received this letter, he sent back the money and wrote to the donor the following verses:

Blessings on you! you are worthy of being beneficent! In the race of generosity, you precede and your rival can only follow (20). A small gift may appear great and a great one small; that depends on the feelings of him who counts on your generosity. But I return this mark of your bounty, because, if taken from you, it would be money ill acquired, and as such, is unlawful. If you repay verses with verses, the obligation is fulfilled and the dinars are superfluous.

When the sum was brought back, Tâhir opened the knot of the handkerchief and put in fifty dinars more, declaring, at the same, by a solemn oath, that he would not allow al-Bohtori to return them. When the latter received this gift, he recited these lines:



I give you thanks; your humble servant feels a real pleasure in being grateful. God increases the store of him who is thankful. In every age there is but one model of perfection, and, in this age, you are certainly the one.

Al-Bohtori often recited with admiration the following lines, composed by a poet whose name I have forgotten :

Turtle-dove of (*the groves of*) al-Arâk! for whom do you wail? for whom do you lament? By your complaints, you have excited (*to sorrow*) those hearts of ours and, by your weeping, drawn tears from those eyes. Come! let us, in our affliction, get up a scene of sorrow, and sigh for the absence of our brethren who have journeyed to a distant land. We shall assist you, and you shall aid us; those that are in sorrow can console the sorrowful.

I have since discovered that the author of these verses was an Arab called Nabhân al-Fakâsi. — Al-Bohtori was passing through Mosul, or, according to another statement, through Râs-Aîn, when he was taken seriously ill. The physician who attended and treated him, prescribed, one day, a *muzauwara* (21). The poet having no one with him except a servant boy, told him to prepare it. One of the chief men (*râis*) of the town used to visit him during his illness, and, being then present, said : "That boy cannot prepare such a thing well ; but I have a cook;"—here he enumerated all the good qualities of this cook and extolled his talents to the highest. Al-Bohtori's boy abstained from preparing the *muzauwara*, fully relying on the promise of the *râis*. The poet remained sitting, in expectation of receiving it, but the *râis* had so many affairs to occupy his mind, that he quite forgot to have it made. Al-Bohtori, seeing that it was not forthcoming and that the time had passed in which he should have received it, wrote these lines to the *râis* :

I find that your promise respecting the *muzauwara* is a deception (*zaur*), though you positively declared that you would direct a person to prepare it. May God not cure him who hopes to be cured by it! and may his fortune (22) not be exalted who puts to it his hand! Forbid your messenger to bring it to me; as I have forbidden mine to receive it.

The anecdotes and honorable acts related of him are very numerous ; so we need not expatiate on them further.—His poems were not arranged in order till Abû Bakr as-Sûli collected them and classed them alphabetically (*by their rhymes*) ; Ali Ibn Hamza (23) collected them also and arranged them according to their subjects, as he did for the poems of Abû Tammâm. — Al-Bohtori drew up a *Hamâsa* in imitation of that which was compiled by Abû Tammâm. There exists also a work of his on the ideas which usually occur in poetry (*Maâni 'sh-Shiar*). He was born in

the year 206 (A. D. 821-2),—other accounts say, in 205, 202, 201 and 200;—he died in the year 284 (A. D. 897-8); others say, in 285 or 283, but the first date is the true one. Ibn al-Jauzi (*vol. II. p.* 96) says, in his *Aâmâr al-Aîyân* (*lives of eminent men*), that al-Bohtori died at the age of eighty years. His death took place at Manbij;— some say, but inexactly, at Aleppo. The Khatîb (*vol. I. p.* 75) mentions, in his History of Baghdad, that al-Bohtori received the surnames of Abû 'l-Hasan and Abû Obâda, but, being advised, in the reign of al-Mutawakkil, to adopt the latter exclusively, as being the more remarkable, he did so. Literary scholars often ask to whom Abû 'l-Alâ al-Maarri (*vol. I. p.* 94) alludes in this verse:

> Al-Walîd said that the *nabâ*-tree (24) produces no fruit; and the flock of gazelles missed obtaining fruit from the *nabâ*-tree.

These persons say: Who is this Walîd and in what (*piece of verse*) did he say that the *nabâ*-tree produces no fruit? This question has been addressed to me by many. The al-Walîd mentioned in the verse was the al-Bohtori of whom we are now speaking; he said, in a long *kasîda* of his composition:

> She reproached me with my struggles against poverty; but that was foolish in her: the *nabâ*-tree is bare and has no fruit upon its branches.

This is the verse to which Abû 'l-Alâ made allusion. I mention this as a piece of information which may be useful.—Obaid Allah and Abû Obâda, the sons of Yahya the son of al-Walîd al-Bohtori, were persons in whose praise al-Mutanabbi composed a number of *kasîdas*. They were al-Bohtori's grandsons and eminent *râises* at that time. —*Bohtori* means *descended from Bohtor*, who, as may be seen in the genealogical list given at the head of this article, was one of our poet's ancestors.— *Zardafna* is a village in the dependencies of Manbij. — *Manbij* is a town of Syria, situated between Aleppo and the Euphrates. It was built (*anew*) by Chosroes when he effected the conquest of Syria (25). He called it *Manbeh*, which name the Arabs changed into *Manbij*. As it was the birth-place of al-Bohtori, it is frequently mentioned in his poems. We find it, for instance, in the following passage, terminating a long *kasîda* and in which he addresses Abû Jaafar Muhammad Ibn Hamîd Ibn Abd al-Hamîd at-Tûsi, the person in whose honour he composed it:

> I shall never forget the tranquil moments I passed with you; enjoying, at your house, the temperate shade of a happy life. I dwelt there in confort and, reposing under the shelter of its trees (*afyâihi*), I thought myself at Manbij.



Al-Bohtori's usual residence was in Irâk, as he was employed in the service of al-Mutawakkil and of al-Fath Ibn Khâkân (26). There he lived highly respected. When these two lost their lives in the manner which all know (27) he returned to Manbij. Being obliged, in the interest of his estates, to have frequent interviews with the governor of the place, he used to address him by the title of *emir*, because he stood in need of his good-will. As he did this against his inclination, he inserted the following lines in one of his poems:

Jaafar (*al-Mutawakkil*) and al-Fath are gone, partly soiled with dust (*murammal*) and partly stained with gore (*mudarraj*). Can I ever hope again for aids (*ansâran*) against Fortune, now that they, my Aûs and Khazraj (28), have their dwelling (*thawa*) in the grave? They were my masters by whose kindness I drained off (*halabtu*), to the last drops, the favours poured upon me by their copiously-flowing (*mutajjij*) rains (*their beneficence*) (29). They were taken off designedly and for an evil purpose; and I am left here, obliged to give the title of *emir* to the governor of Manbij!

Al-Masûdi says, in his *Murûj ad-Dahab*: "Hârûn ar-Rashîd passed near Manbij "with Abd al-Mâlik Ibn Sâlih, who was the most elegant speaker of all the sur-"viving descendants of al-Abbâs. Seeing a well-built castle (*country-seat*) and a gar-"den full of trees covered with fruit, he asked to whom that property belonged. "Abd al-Malik replied: 'To you, Commander of the faithful! and then to me.' "—'On what scale,' said ar-Rashîd, 'is that castle built?' The other made answer: "'It is inferior to that of the dwellings (*in which members*) of our family (*reside*), "'and it surpasses that of dwellings inhabited by other men.'—'Describe to me your "'town,' said ar-Rashîd.—'Its water is sweet,' replied Abd al-Malik, 'its air cool, "'its plains are solid (*under foot*), its maladies rare.'—'How are its nights?' said ar-"'Rashîd.—'The whole night,' answered Abd al-Malik, 'is as (*pleasant as*) the morn-"'ing's dawn.'" End of al-Masûdi's relation. This Abd al-Malik bore the surname of Abû Abd ar-Rahmân; he was the son of Sâlih, the son of Ali, the son of Abd Allah, the son of al-Abbâs, the son of Abd al-Muttalib. The town of Manbij, which he held as appanage was his place of residence. He died at ar-Rakka in the year 199 (30). He expressed his thoughts with great precision and elegance; but I must abstain from entering into this subject, lest I should be led too far. — Yâkût al-Hamawi (31) says, in his *Mushtarik*, under the word AS-SUKYA (*the irrigated grounds*), that five places bear this name. He concludes the article with these words: "The fifth is a village with gardens, near the gates of Manbij; it is set-

" tled in perpetuity (*wakf*) (32) on the descendants of al-Bohtori the poet."—Abû
" Firâs (33) al-Hamdâni mentions it in his poems.

(1) This is the Muhammad Ibn Khalaf (not *Khalf*) of whom our author has already spoken, vol. I, p. 397. He was a native of al-Muhauwal, a village situated to the west of Baghdad. As a transmitter of oral traditions, he was looked upon as a good authority. According to the author of the *Nujûm*, he was distinguished for his learning and composed some fine works one of which was entitled *Tafdîl al-Kilâb etc.* (*the pre-eminence of dogs over many of those who wear clothes, fully established*). He died A. H. 309 (A. D. 921-2). The manuscripts of Ibn Khallikân's work read سبع (*seven*) in place of تسع (*neuf*); a very common mistake. The true date is given in the *Nujûm*.

(2) Abû Abd Allah al-Husain Ibn Ismail al-Mahâmili acted as kâdi at Kûfa during two years, and held the highest rank at Baghdad as a traditionist and a professor. He died A. H. 303 (A. D. 915-6), at the age of sixty-eight years. — (Dahabi's *Tabakât al-Huffâz*.)

(3) Abû Abd Allah Muhammad Ibn Ahmad al-Hakîmi died A. H. 336 (A. D. 947-8). — (*Nujûm*).

(4) About ninety pounds sterling.

(5) The emir Abû Saîd Muhammad Ibn Yûsuf was the first of the Moslim generals who gained a victory over the troops of the famous Bâbek al-Khurrami. Being sent to Ardebîl, in the year 220 (A. D. 835), by the khalif al-Motasim, with orders to repair all the forts which Bâbek had destroyed and to establish fortified posts along the road by which provisions were to be conveyed to the Moslim army, he accomplished his task and routed the insurgents in a sanguinary battle. — (Ibn al-Athîr's *Kâmil*; *Nujûm*.)

(6) This appears to mean that Abû Tammâm desired the alliance without going through the legal forms.

(7) See vol. I, page 600.

(8) This is merely an attempt to express the idea enounced in the Arabic verse, which, if literally translated, would run thus: when we lose the sharpness (*of our teeth*) in (*losing*) one of our chieftains, the tooth of another chief flourishes up among us.

(9) Khâlid, the son of Safwân, and chief of the tribe of Tamîm, spoke his language with great elegance. His father was also remarkable for his talent as a fine speaker. An amusing anecdote is related by Ibn Badrûn (*Dozy's edition*, p. 216) of what passed between him and Abû 'l-Abbâs as-Saffâh, the first Abbaside khalif. Ibn Kutaiba mentions him in the *Kitâb al-Maârif*.

(10) See vol. I, page 438, note (11). The arabic text of al-Balâdori's celebrated work on the conquests effected by the first Musulmans has been published at Leyden by M. Goeje.

(11) The meaning of the words وحالة متماسكة is doubtful.

(12) Somewhat more than three thousand five hundred pounds sterling.

(13) The word لأعظام (*li-adzâm*) here rendered by: "To receive the bones," signifies "to exalt," if pronounced *li-iëzâm*. I know not which is the right reading.

(14) This *kasîda* is not very long; it contains only thirty seven verses.

(15) See vol. I, p. 605.

(16) The copy of al-Bohtori's *Diwân* belonging to the *Bibliothèque impériale*, ancien fonds, n° 1392, was written A. H. 610 (A. D. 1213) and is in excellent preservation. It contains 432 leaves, or 864 pages. The poems are arranged in alphabetical order, according to the letters which form the rhymes. Most of these pieces are eulogiums addressed to khalifs, vizirs, emirs and other great men; the rest consists in satires,



addresses to friends and *ghazáls* or amatory pieces. The text of this manuscript has not been collated and offers, in consequence, some false readings.

(17) The arabic word is *ghulám* غلام.

(18) About fifty thousand pounds sterling.

(19) Literally: you will remain (*standing*) over the heads of the people. That is: you will go up to those who are sitting at their meals and stand before them in expectation of receiving from them a morcel of bread.

(20) Literally: the concurrent later, and you before.

(21) The word *muzauwar* or *muzauwara* occurs in the *Canon* of Avicena. From the comparison of three passages in which it is found, I am led think that it means *sorrel-soup*. It was certainly a culinary preparation in which bread was sopped and which, it appears, had an acid taste. In north Africa this word designates *semoule*, on granulated flour, of the finest sort.

(22) Literally: the hand.

(23) See page 647 of this volume.

(24) The *nabá* was of no good but for making bows and arrows.

(25) Chosroes II conquered Syria A. D. 611. It was in this expedition that he took Hieropolis (*Manbij*).

(26) It is hardly necessary to warn the reader that this Fath Ibn Khákán, one of al-Mutawakil's vizirs, must not be confounded with Fath Ibn Khákán of Seville, the author of the *Kaláid al-Ikiyán* and other well known works. The first was murdered in the palace of al-Jaafari, near Sarra-man-raa, A. H. 247, and the other at Morocco, A. H. 529.

(27) They were murdered by some of the Turkish guards at the instigation of Muhammad al-Muntasir, the son of al-Mutawakkil.

(28) The tribes of al-Aûs and Khazraj took Muhammad under their protection at Medîna and were therefore called his *Ansárs* (*helpers*).

(29) The text of this piece is inexactly given in the manuscripts and the printed editions. The corrections, furnished by al-Bohtori's *Diwán*, are indicated in the translation.

(30) In the note (12) of the page 316 of the first volume, it is stated, on other authorities, that Abd al-Malik Ibn Sálih died A. H. 193. The date given here by Ibn Khallikân is certainly wrong, for the *Nujûm* informs us (vol. I, p. 558) that, previously to the month of Rajab, A. H. 196, he was already dead.

(31) The life of this Yâkût will be found in the fourth volume.

(32) A property settled on a religious establishment is called a *wakf*. It may be stipulated by the donor that his descendants are to receive the whole or part of the revenues which it produces. On the death of the last descendant, the property is fully acquired to that establishment and must remain with it in perpetuity.

(33) This name is incorrectly transcribed *Farás*, in vol. I, p. 366, where the life of the poet is given.

AL-WALID IBN TARIF

Al-Walîd Ibn Tarîf Ibn as-Salt Ibn Târik Ibn Sîhân Ibn Amr Ibn Mâlik as-Shaibâni as-Shâri; such is the genealogy given by Abû Saad as-Samâni (*vol. II. p.* 156) in two passages of his *Ansâb:* one under the title of AL-ARKAM and the other under that of AS-SÎHANI, a name in which the *s* is followed by an *i*.—Al-Walîd was one of those men who acquired a great reputation for courage, audacity and bravery. He was chief of the Khârijites (1), and usually stationed in Nasîbîn, al-Khâbûr and that neighbourhood. He revolted under the khalifate of Hârûn ar-Rashîd, committed acts of violence and gathered about him a great multitude (*of rebels*) (2). Abû Khâlid Yazîd Ibn Mazyad Ibn Zâida as-Shaibâni, a chief whose life we shall give, was sent against him by ar-Rashîd, at the head of a numerous army, and tried, at first, to circumvent and wheedle his adversary. The Barmekides, not liking Yazîd, incensed ar-Rashîd against him: "He spares the rebel," said they, "in consideration of the relationship which exists between them (3). Though Al-"Walîd has very few troops, Yazîd does nothing but amuse him with fair promises "till he sees how things may turn out." This induced ar-Rashîd to write an angry letter to Yazîd, in which he said: "Had I dispatched on this business one of my "slaves, he would have done things better than you. You are trying to deceive "(*me*) and spare your own relatives, but the Commander of the faithful swears that, "if you defer giving battle to al-Walîd, he will send a person with orders to bring "to him your head." In consequence of this letter, Yazîd attacked al-Walîd, defeated and slew him. This took place on the eve of a thursday in the month of Ramadân, 179 (Nov.—Dec. A.D. 795). The battle was so remarkable that it is mentioned in the books of annals. Al-Walîd had a sister named al-Fârêa, or, as some say, Fâtima. She possessed a talent for poetry and, as al-Khansâ made elegies on the death of her brother Sakhr (4), she followed the same path and composed, on the death of hers, an excellent *kasîda*. It is very scarce and not to be found complete in any of the literary anthologies (5); Abû Ali 'l-Kâli (*vol. I. p.* 210) himself gives only four verses of it in his *Amâli*. I happened to discover a complete copy of the poem and, as it is not only rare but good, I shall insert it here:

At Tell Nohâka are the remains of a tomb (*which appears*) like a hill overtopping all other hills. In it are enclosed hereditary glory, chieftainship, courage and sound judgment. Trees of al-Khâbûr! why are you covered with leaves? you appear not to grieve for the death of the son of Tarîf; of that hero who cared for no other provision but that of piety; who acquired no wealth but by means of lances and of swords. The only treasures he valued were (*steeds*) sleek and vigorous, accustomed to charge upon the ranks (*of the foe*). You (*who regret him not*) you cannot have witnessed that (*battle*), nor stood firm before the enemy when he attacked, and that not feebly. You must never have put on a coat of mail, with the intention of entering into an abyss of terror, into the crowd of warriors with brilliant arms. You must never have charged in a day of battle, when war, pregnant (*with dangers*), was goaded on by the points of the yellow-shafted spears (6). He and generosity were inseparable companions; whilst he lived, generosity was pleased with him; now, that he is dead, she finds no companion that can please her. (*Walîd!*) you are lost for us (*irreparably*), as the days of our youth are lost; o! that we could redeem you (*from death*) by the sacrifice of thousands of our youths! till Walîd's life was extinguished, he never ceased to be a curb for his foes and a refuge for the feeble. Alert, my people! death and ruin are at hand, and the earth is inclined to tremble for his loss. Alert, my people! calamity and destruction are near; here comes adversity, the obstinate foe of the generous. Behold! the moon is ready to fall from its place among the stars, and the sun has resolved to eclipse his light. Behold the lion who was in all things lion; they now bear him to a cavity hollowed in the earth and covered over. May God punish that spot of ground which hides from our sight a hero who was never sated in doing acts of kindness. He perished by the hands of Yazîd Ibn Mazyad; but what of that! how often did he engage his bands against hostile troops! May the benediction of God rest upon him for ever! I see that death lets fall her strokes on all that is noble.

She composed a great number of other elegies on his death, and, in one of them, she says:

I think of al-Walîd and his glorious deeds, now that I see the land deprived of his presence. I am gone to look for him in heaven, in that place to which aspired his noble pride, now levelled to the dust (7). His people lost him by their fault; let them now search for as good a protector as him whom they lost! O! if the swords which struck him with their edge, had known what they did, they would have recoiled off him, when wielded to strike, through respect and through dread of his bravery.

Al-Walîd used to recite the following lines every time he was engaged in battle:

I am Walîd Ibn Tarîf as-Shâri! the lion-chief whose ardour none can withstand! It was your tyranny which drew me forth from my abode.

It is related that, when the army of al-Walîd was routed, Yazîd himself pursued his adversary to a great distance and succeeded in killing him and cutting off his head. When al-Walîd's sister was informed of his death, she put on the armour in which she used to fight, and charged upon the troops of Yazîd. When he saw her, he



cried out : "Let her alone!" and then, sallying forth, he struck her horse with his lance and said to her : "Go away, and God's curse (8) be upon you! you will bring "disgrace upon the tribe (9)." On hearing these words, she felt ashamed and went away.—*Tarîf* is to be pronounced as here written (*not Turaif*).—*Tell Nohâka,* the place where this celebrated battle was fought, is, I believe, in the territory of Nasîbîn.—*Al-Khâbûr* is the well-known river which has its source at Râs-Aîn and falls into the Euphrates, near Karkîsiya. On its banks are a great number of villages which resemble large towns, the country around them being perfectly cultivated and the markets abundantly stocked with the produce of the soil. The name is so well-known that I need not indicate its orthography.—*Shâri* (*a seller*) has for its plural *Shurât* and serves to designate the Khârijites. This name was applied to them because they had the custom of saying : "We have *sold* our souls through obe-"dience to God ;" that is to say : "We have given them to purchase paradise, in "abandoning the cause of the imâms (*khalifs*) who transgress the law."—The true name of *al-Khansâ* was *Tumâdir*. Her father, Amr Ibn as-Sharîd, belonged to the tribe of Sulaim. The word *khans* signifies *to have a flat nose and prominent nostrils* : she received this nickname because that was her case. The history of her brother Sakhr and the elegies which she composed on his death are well known. We have said a word of him in the life of Abû Ahmad al-Askari (*vol. I. p.* 383). Opinions are at variance respecting the place where his tomb is situated. Some say that he was buried near *Asîb,* a well-known mountain in the country of the Greeks (10), and that the tomb which is to be seen there and is considered as the tomb of Amr al-Kais Ibn Hujr al-Kindi, the celebrated poet, is in reality that of Sakhr. According to another statement, both were buried there. The *hâfiz* Abû Bakr al-Hâzimi (*see page* 11 *of this volume*) says, in his Dictionary of homonyms, that Asîb is a mountain in the land of Hijâz, and that Sakhr, the brother of al-Khansâ, was buried near it. From these indications it would appear that there are two mountains which bear this name; one of them, which is the best known, lies in the country of the Greeks and the other in Hijâz. Yâkût al-Hamawi (11) should have noticed Asîb in his geographical Dictionary, but I do not find it mentioned in that work.

(1) The term *Khâriji* designated those who revolted against the established authority for religious motives.

(2) Abû 'l-Feda does not speak of Khâlid in his Annals, but Ibn al-Athîr gives us an account of him in the *Kâmil,* under the year 178 of the hejira. This chief revolted at Nasîbîn, penetrated into Armenia, besieged

the city of Khalât till he obtained from the inhabitants a gift of thirty thousand pieces of gold. He then invaded Adarbaijân, Hulwân, the Sawâd of Irâk, the countries on the west bank of the Tigris and Mesopotamia; devastating these provinces and ransoming the cities. The khalif Hârûn ar-Rashîd sent against him Yazîd Ibn Mazyad, and that chief vainquished and slew the rebel in the following year.

(3) Al-Wâlid and Khâlid were relatives; they belonged to the tribe of Shaibân and drew their descent from the same ancestor, Wâil.

(4) See vol. I, page 383 and M. Caussin de Perceval's *Essai sur l'histoire des Arabes*.

(5) In Ibn al-Athîr's *Kâmil* it is given with some omissions, transpositions and new readings.

(6) I read ينكزنها with the Bûlâk edition.

(7) Literally: " As was desired by his nose now cut off. " The word *nose* signifies figuratively *honourable pride*.

(8) Literally: " And the vehemence of God be upon you! "

(9) She, who was a relation of Yazîd's, might have been taken prisoner and ill treated.

(10) The mountain named *Asîb* is situated in the neighbourhood of Angora. See my *Diwân d'Amrolkais*, page 28.

(11) The life of this geographer will be found in the next volume.

WAHB IBN MUNABBIH

Abû Abd Allah, Wahb Ibn Munabbih Ibn Kâmil Ibn Saij (1,) Ibn Zi-Kibâr al-Yamâni (*a native of Yemen*) was the great transmitter of narrations and legends. He possessed information concerning the origin of things, the formation of the world, the history of the prophets and of (*ancient*) kings (2). According to Ibn Kutaiba (*vol. II. p.* 22), he declared that, of all God's books, he had read seventy-two. The same author says : " I saw a treatise of his entitled : *An account of the " crowned kings belonging to the race of Himyar, with their history, the anecdotes " related of them, the indication of their tombs and specimens of their poetry.* It " forms one volume and is an instructive work. He had several brothers; one of " them, who was older than himself and named Hammâm Ibn Munabbih, related some " traditions which he had learned from Abû Huraira (*vol. I. p.* 570)." Wahb was counted as one of the *Abnâ*. We shall here explain what is meant by this denomination : Abû Murra Saif Ibn Zi-Yazan the Himyarite, held the sovereignty of Yemen. When the Abyssinians took possession of his empire, he went to implore the assis-

tance of Chosroes Anûshrewân, against the invaders. The history of his proceedings on this occasion are well known and a full account of them would lead us too far (3). The result was that Chosroes sent off with him seven thousand five hundred Persian horsemen under the command of Wahraz. So says Ibn Kutaiba, but, according to Muhammad Ibn Ishâk (*vol. II. p.* 677), the king sent with him only eight hundred horsemen, of whom two hundred were drowned in the sea, and six hundred escaped. Abû al-Kâsim as-Suhaili (*vol. II. p.* 99) declares that the first statement is more likely to be true, because it is difficult to suppose that six hundred horsemen could have resisted all the Abyssinians. When these troops arrived in Yemen, they fought a battle with the Abyssinians, gained a victory over them and expelled them from the country. Saif Ibn Zi-Yazan and Wahraz took upon themselves the supreme command and held it for four years. Saif, having admitted some of the Abyssinians into his service, went out to one of his hunting-grounds and took those people with him. When they found him alone, they threw their javelins at him and killed him, after which, they fled to the tops of the mountains; but the companions of Saif pursued them there and slew them all. From that moment, the monarchy of Yemen was dissolved; the people of that country not placing themselves under the command of another sovereign, but the inhabitants of each district choosing a member of the tribe of Himyar for their king. The government of these provincial kings subsisted till God gave the Moslim religion to the world. According to another recital, the country remained in the hands of the Persians and was governed by the lieutenants of Chosroes till the mission of God's prophet. At that time, there were in Yemen two young men who acted as generals for Barwîz (*Perviz*); one of them was a Dailamite and bore the name of Fîrûz; the other was called Dâduwaih. They became Moslims and were the same persons who penetrated with Kais Ibn al-Makshûh (4), into the house of al-Aswad al-Ansi, who had set up for a prophet in Yemen, and slew him. The history of this event is so well known that we need not relate it (5). Our object in mentioning all this is to indicate the origin of the word *Abnâ* (*sons*). This title was given to the sons and grandsons of such Persian soldiers as settled in Yemen, got married and had children. Tâwûs, the learned doctor of whom we have already spoken (*vol. I. p.* 642), was one of the *Abnâ*. I indicated that fact in his biographical notice, but did not explain the word as I have done here.—The history of Wahb is sufficiently known; so, we need not mention any thing more concerning him (6). He died at Sanâa in Yemen, in the

month of Muharram, 110 (April-May, A. D. 728); or, by other accounts, in 114 or 116. He had then attained the age of ninety years.—We have spoken of Sanâa in the life of Abd ar-Razzâk as-Sanâni (*vol. II. p.* 163).—Some foreign names are mentioned above, but, as they are well known, we abstain from indicating their orthography and thus avoid lenghtening the present article.

(1) See Wüstenfeld's edition of Nawawi's biographical dictionary, page ٦٠٩.

(2) A great part of the information which the Musulman historians give us respecting the anteislamic history of Persia, Greece, Yemen, Egypt and other countries, comes from Wahb Ibn Munabbih. He was an audacious liar, as Moslim critics of a later period at length discovered.

(3) See M. Caussin de Perceval's *Essai sur l'histoire des Arabes*, vol. I, p. 146 *et seq.*

(4) Some copies read *Maksûh*. Tabari and other historians replace this name by Abd Yaghût.

(5) The full history of al-Ansi will be found in Kosegarten's edition of the *Annals of Tabari* and in M. Caussin's *Essai*.

(6) Ouahb, a jew converted to Islamism, was highly esteemed in his day as a transmitter of historical information and even as a relator of traditions. Part of the latter information he delivered on the authority of some of the *Tâbis*, or disciples of Muhammad's companions; and in that, he is considered as trustworthy.

THE KADI ABU L'-BAKHTARI

Abû 'l-Bakhtari Wahb Ibn Wahb Ibn Wahb Ibn Kathîr Ibn Abd Allah Ibn Zamâa Ibn al-Aswad Ibn al-Muttalib Ibn Asad Ibn Abd al-Ozza Ibn Kusaî Ibn Kilâb, a member of the tribe of Kuraish, a descendant of Asad and a native of Medîna, taught traditions on the authority of Obaid Allah Ibn Omar al-Omari, Hishâm Ibn Orwa (*page* 606 *of this vol.*), Jaafar as-Sâdik Ibn Muhammad (*vol. I v.* 300) and others; traditions were delivered on his authority by Rajâ Ibn Sahl as-Saghâni, Abû 'l-Kâsim Ibn Saîd Ibn al-Musaiyab and others. He was considered as one whose traditions ought to be rejected and was notorious as a fabricator of such pieces. Having removed from Medîna to Baghdad, under the khalifate of Hârûn

ar-Rashîd, he was appointed by that sovereign to the kâdiship of Askar al-Mahdi, (*a place situated*) to the east of Baghdad. We have already spoken of this town in our article on al-Wâkidi (*page 64 of this vol.*). Some time after, the khalif removed him from that post and nominated him to the kâdiship of Medîna, in the place of Bakkâr Ibn Abd Allah az-Zubairi (*vol. I. p.* 531). He gave him, at the same time, the direction of military affairs in that (*province*). Al-Bakhtari, being afterwards deprived of these offices by the khalif, proceeded to Baghdad and there he continued to reside till his death. The Khâtib (*vol. I. p.* 75) says, in that article of the history of Baghdad which contains the life of the Hanifite *kâdi* Abû Yûsuf Yakûb Ibn Ibrâhîm (1): "This doctor was chief *kâdi* at Baghdad. On his death, ar-Rashîd gave his place "to Abû 'l-Bakhtari Wahb Ibn Wahb the Kuraishide, who was a jurisconsult, a "historian and a genealogist; generous, noble-minded and bountiful; fond of "praise and rewardingampl y those who eulogized him. Whether he gave little or "much, he always requested the receiver to forgive his parcimony. He rejoiced so "loudly when an applicant came to solicit his benevolence, that any person who did "not know who he was would say: There is a man who has obtained a great favour "which he asked for." Jaafar as-Sâdik married Ibn al-Bakhtari's mother at Medîna, and some of his traditions with their *isnâds* (2), were handed down by his stepson. Her name was Obda; her father Ali, descended from Abd Manâf by the following line: Yazîd, Rakâna, Abd Yazîd, Hâshim, al-Muttalib, Abd Menâf. Her mother was the daughter of Akîl, the son of Abû Tâlib. The Khâtib, in his History of Baghdad, praises Abû'l-Bakhtari in the highest terms and relates that a poet went to him one day and recited these lines:

When Wahb opens his lips to smile, you would take (*the brightness of his teeth*) for the lightnings of a cloud which rejoices in pouring out its waters over many lands. Words of blame uttered by those who are hostile to great men cannot injure Wahb; the star is not hurted when barked at by a dog. Many men inherit treasures from their fathers, and the treasure of the Sons of Fihr (*the Kuraishides*) consists in that concretion of beneficence (*whose name is*) Wahb.

"Abû 'l-Bakhtari," says the historian "gave way to an excess of joy and laughed "outright. He then called forward one of his *aûns* (3) and whispered something in "his ear. The man brought to him a purse containing five hundred dinars (4), and "he (*Abû 'l-Bakhtari*) gave it to the poet." Abû 'l-Faraj al-Ispahâni (*vol. II. p.* 249) relates as follows, in the article of the *Kitâb al-Aghâni* which contains the life of Abû Dulaf al-Ijli (*vol. II. p.* 502): "Ahmad Ibn Obaid Allah Ibn Ammâr spoke to

" me and said : ' We were one day at the house of Abû 'l-Abbâs al-Mubarrad (*page*
" ' 31 *of this vol.*) and found with him a young boy who was the grandson of the
" ' *kâdi* Abû 'l-Bakhtari Wahb Ibn Wahb. His face was smooth and handsome.
" ' With him was another boy who resembled him in beauty and who was the
" ' grandson of Abû Dulaf al-Ijli. Al-Mubarrad said to the grandson of Abû 'l-Bakh-
" ' tari : ' I know a charming anecdote of your grandfather ; how he performed an
" ' act of generosity, the like of which no man ever did before.' He (*the boy*) asked
" ' to hear it and Al-Mubarrad spoke as follows: A literary man received an invita-
" ' tion to some place (*or other*), and there they gave him to drink a different sort
" ' of *nabîd* (5) from that which was served to the rest of the company. This made
" ' him compose the following verses :

" ' Two sorts of *nabîd* were in the same room ; one for the rich men, and one for their guest !
" ' Had you done the same with your eatables, you would have followed the rule you
" ' observed with respect to your intoxicating liquor. But, if you wished to reach the goal
" ' towards which all generous men aspire, you would have imitated the conduct of Abû 'l-
" ' Bakhtari : He sought for his brethren throughout the land and enabled the poor man
" ' to do without the help of the rich. ,

" ' When these verses came to the knowledge of Abû 'l-Bakhtari, he sent to the
" ' author three hundred dinars. I told him, said Ibn Ammâr, that (*Abû Dulaf,*)
" ' the grandfather of the other boy, did something of the same kind and even finer.
" ' (*Al-Muburrad*) asked to hear what it was, and I related as follows: He was in-
" ' formed that a man, formerly rich, had fallen into poverty and that his wife told
" ' him to go and enlist in the army (*jund*); on which he said :

Let me alone; you require of me a thing exorbitant : to bear arms and to hear people in armour cry : Halt ! Do you take me for one of those men of death who, night and day, seek their own destruction? When death approaches others, it appals me; how then could I rush towards it, head foremost (6)? Do you think that to go forward and fight with an adversary in single combat is in my nature, or that my bosom contains the heart of Abu Dulaf?

" ' Abû Dulaf (*having heard of this,*) sent for the man and said : ' How much
" ' pay (*rizk*) did your wife count on your receiving?' He answered : ' One hundred
" ' dinars (7).'—' And how long,' said Abû Dulaf, ' do you expect to live?' The man
" ' answered : ' Twenty years.'—' Then' said Abû Dulaf, ' I owe you the amount
" ' of what you (*both*) hoped for, and shall pay it out of my pocket, not out of the
" ' sultan's treasury.' He then gave orders that the sum should be paid imme-



" 'diately.' I saw, said the narrator, that the face of Abû Dulaf's grandson " 'brightened up and remarked that Abû 'l-Bakhtari's grandson was put quite out " 'of countenance.' " End of the recital furnished by the author of the *Kitâb al-Aghâni.*—We have given these verses in the life of Abû Dulaf (*vol. II. p.* 503) and mentioned the name of him who made them, with the manner in which they were brought about. They differ, in some degree, from those which are inserted here. The first piece of verse (*cited in the foregoing extract and*) referring to Abû 'l-Bakhtari, was composed by Abû Abd ar-Rahmân Muhammad Ibn Abd ar-Rahmân Ibn Atiya al-Atawi, a celebrated poet (*see vol. I, p.* 186, *note*). He drew his surname of al-Atawi from the name of his grandfather, who was a native of Basra and a *mawla* of the family of Laith Ibn Bakr Ibn Abd Manât Ibn Kinâna. He (*al-Atawi*) was a Motazelite and left a *diwân* of poetry. The Khatîb, in his History of Baghdad, attributes to Abû 'l-Bakhtari the following saying: "I prefer being with people "better informed than myself to being with people who are not so well informed as "I am. For, if I know more than they do, I can learn nothing from them; where "as, with the others, I can gain information." The Khatîb relates also in the same work, that Hârûn ar-Rashîd, on arriving at Medîna, declared that it would be a profanation if he were to go up into the Prophet's pulpit whilst he had still on him his travelling-jacket (*kabâ*) and sword-belt. Abû 'l-Bakhtari, on hearing these words, said to him: "Jaafar, the son of Muhammad"—meaning Jaafar as-Sâdik,—"related to me that he heard his father speak in these terms: 'Gabriel, on whom be "the blessing of God! descended (*from heaven*) to the Prophet, and he had upon him "a *kabâ* and a belt furnished with its sword.'" This induced al-Moâfa at-Tamîmi to compose the following lines:

Evil and woe betide Abû'l-Bakhtari when all men shall appear together at the resurrection! for he has said and published a falsehood respecting Jaafar. By Allah! he never had one hour's conversation with Jaafar, either in town or in country; never whilst he lived, was he seen to pass between the (*prophet's*) tomb and the pulpit (8). May God chastise the son of Wahb for publishing a scandalous falsehood: he pretends that, when the Mustafa Ahmad (*the chosen one, Muhammad*) received the visits of Gabriel, that angel, holy and pure, appeared to him in boots, and in a black *kabâ*, with a sword girt around his loins!

Jaafar at-Taiyâlisi relates that Yahya Ibn Maîn (9) stopped one day behind the cercle of students who were taking lessons from Abû 'l-Bakhtari. The professor was then repeating to them the tradition which came from Jaafar as-Sâdik.

On hearing it, Ibn Maîn exclaimed : " Enemy of God ! you there tell a lie of the " Prophet !"—" On that," said Ibn Maîn, " the police-guards arrested me (10), but " I said to them ; 'This man pretends that the messenger of the Lord of all creatures " came down to the Prophet with a *kabâ* on his shoulders.' They replied to me: " 'By Allah ! that man is a lying story-teller,' and they let me go."—Ibn Kutaiba says, in his *Kitâb al-Maârif*, that Abû 'l-Bakhtari's authority as a traditionist was feeble. The Khatîb says, in his History, that Ibrâhîm al-Harbi (*vol. I. p.* 46, *note*) related what here follows: " Ahmad Ibn Hanbal (*vol. I. p.* 44) was asked if he knew " by whom was published the tradition which runs thus : *No speed* (*can be made*) " *except with cloven hoofs, or with solid hoofs or with wings?* and he replied : 'No " one can have related such a thing except that liar ;' meaning Abû 'l-Bakhtari.— This *kâdi* composed a number of works, such as the *Kitâb ar-Râyât* (*on standards*), the history of Tasm and Jadîs, the *Kitâb sifa tan-Nabi* (*a description of the Prophet's person and character*), the *Fadâil al-Ansâr* (*the meritorious qualities and doings of the Ansârs*), the *Kitâb al-Fadâil al-Kabîr* (*the larger work on meritorious qualities*), and a genealogy of the descendants of Ismaïl, containing also a quantity of traditions and narratives. The anecdotes told of him and of his merits are very numerous. He died at Baghdad, A.H. 200 (A.D. 815-6), under the khalifate of al-Mâmûn. Ibn Kutaiba mentions him twice in the *Kitâb al-Maârif;* the first time, in a special article wherein is given an account of what he was ; the second time, in the paragraph headed : *The names which occur thrice successively*, where he gives as exemples : " Abû 'l-Bakhtari Wahb, the son of Wahb, the son of Wahb, and, " among the Persian kings : Bahrâm, the son of Bahrâm, the son of Bahrâm, " and, among the descendants of Abû Tâlib, Hasan, the son of Hasan, the son of " Hasan, and, among the Ghassânides, al-Harith the younger, son of al-Harith the " lame, son of al-Harith the elder." These are all the cases which Ibn Kutaiba mentions, the others appeared in later times ; thus, Abû Hâmid al-Ghazzâli (*vol. II. p.* 621) was named Muhammad Ibn Muhammad Ibn Muhammad (11).— *Bakhtari* is derived from the verb *bakhtara*, which signifies *to strut proudly*. This surname is often confounded with that of *Bohtori*.—*Zamâa*, in its primitive signification, means the excrescence which grows behind the cloven feet of animals. It was afterwards employed as a proper name.—We have already spoken of *al-Asadi*. —This article was finished when I met with an anecdote which I must add to it : Abû 'l-Bakhtari related as follows : " I used to go into the presence of Hârûn ar-

"Rashîd, and I found him, one day, with his son al-Kâsim, surnamed al-Mutamin, "standing before him. I kept my eyes fixed on the boy, from the time I went in till "I was going out. One of the khalif's boon companions then said: 'Abû 'l-Bakhtari "'must, I think, like lambs' heads.' The khalif understood his meaning and, "when I went again to see him, he addressed me thus: 'I see that you cannot "'take your eyes off my son al-Kâsim; do you wish that he should be given up to "'you completely?'—I replied: 'God protect the Commander of the faithful! why "'cast up to me a thing (*a vice*) which is not in me? I looked on him fixedly "'because Jaafar as-Sâdik, on whom be God's blessing! related, on the authority "'of his forefathers, up to the Prophet of God, that the Prophet said: 'Three "'things fortify the sight: looking at verdure, at running water and at a handsome "'face." I copied this from the handwriting of the *kâdi* Kamâl ad-Dîn Ibn al-Adîm (*vol. I. p.* 246); it was his rough draught of the History (*of Aleppo*).

(1) The life of Abû Yûsuf the hanefite will be found in the next volume.

(2) See Introduction to vol. I, p. XXII.

(3) The *aûn* (*aid, helper*) is a sort of a constable and messenger attached to the tribunal of a *kâdi*.

(4) Somewhat more than two hundred and fifty pounds sterling.

(5) See vol. I, p. 316.

(6) Literally: in thursting forward the shoulder.

(7) About fifty pounds sterling.

(8) This was perhaps the passage leading to that part of the mosque where Jaafar as-Sâdik usually stationed.

(9) The article on Ibn Main is given in the next volume.

(10) The true reading is فاخذنى الشرط.

(11) Examples of this last case became very numerous.

ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS

Page 3, *line* 21. For : firs, read : first.

P. 11, *line* 26. For : *Shurât*, read : *Shurût*.

P. 15, *line* 5. *Defects* is here the true meaning of the Arabic word.

Ibid., *line* 19. *Nakkâsh* signifies also *sculptor*.

P. 21, *line* 13. For : designated, read : designed.

P. 26, *note* (4), *line* 3. For : scolastic, read : scholastic.

P. 27, *line* 20. Read : if those art a genealogist.

P. 29. The note (9) should be suppressed.

P. 35, *line* 2. For : Muaddal, read : Muaddil.

P. 48, *note* (14). Add : In the verses quoted by Mr. Caussin de Perceval, page 106 of the same volume, the poet's name occurs and must be pronounced *Abîd*, as Ibn Khallikân says. Suyûti, in his *Sharh Shawâhid il-Mughni*, makes the same statement.

P. 55, *line* 3. For : the final *h*, read : the *h* and its different kinds.

P. 59, *line* 19. For : Abd Allah, read : Abd al-Malik.

P. 79, *line* 16. For : Goutiya, read : Gûtiya.

P. 83, *line* 4. This *Târîkhi* is the same historian who is generally known by the surname of *ar-Râzi*; professor Dozy has given a very satisfactory account of him in the Introduction to the *al Bayân al-Mogrib*, p. 22 *et seq*.

P. 93, *line* 17. For : Jew, read : Jewess.

P. 95, *line* 12. After the words *Great vision* insert (*al-Manâm al-Kabîr*).

P. 117, *line* 19. For : has perished, read : shall perish.

P. 122, *line* 1. For : *khutt*, read : *khatt*.

P. 132, *line* 14. The two inverted commas ought to have been placed at the beginning of the line.

Ibid., *note* (6), *lines* 4 and 5. Read : the emir of that place.

P. 133, *note* (11). Add : Mr. Munk has published a good article on Ibn Bâjja in his : *Mélanges de philosophie arabe et juive*, p. 385 *et seq*.

P. 139, *line ult*. For : merchandize, read : merchandise.

P. 142, *line* 32. For : Azâkir, read : Asâkir.

P. 151, *line* 1. For : Abi, read : Abû.

P. 159, *lines* 4 and 5. For : *Kisâni* and *Kisân*, read : *Kizâni* and *Kizân*.

P. 162, *line* 16. For : *Diwân at*, read : *Diwân al*.

PAGE 172, *note* (8). Add : The Arabic expression is as follows : فما عدا مما بدا.

P. 186, *line* 8. For : witht he, read : with the.

P. 188, *line* 21. For : Yâzid, read : Yazîd.

P. 192, *line* 16. For the (*great*) men, read : the men (*who are really so*).

P. 198, *line* 4. For : Mubashshar, read : Mubashshir.

P. 207, *line* 6. For : the latter's, read : Tamîm's.

P. 229, *note* (3). Add : Ibn al-Athîr also has left us a history of the Seljûkides.

P. 232, *line* 5 *ab imo*. For : *Kubbâ*, read : *Kubba*.

P. 238, *line* 6 *ab imo*. A note should have been added here to indicate that this invasion of the Franks is what is generally denominated the sixth Crusade.

P. 244, *line* 6 *ab imo*. For : Djanâh, read : Janâh.

P. 247, *line* 8. For : *gratification of wishes*, read : *rose of the gardens*.

P. 261, *line* 15. For : Fald, read : Fadl.

P. 265, *note* (8). For : 252, read : 248.

P. 266, *line* 5. For : *Yamani*, read : *Yamîni*.

P. 269, *line* 16. Here, and in vol. I, p. 431, read : Bejkem in place of Begkem.

P. 271, *note* (1), *line* 1. After : *chambers*, insert : or *cells*.

P. 272, *line* 11. For : (*the khalif*), read : (*the prince*).

P. 275, *line* 8. For : hew ho, read : he who.

P. 296, *line* 8. This name should probably be pronounced *Zenghi*, not *Zinki*.

P. 301, *line* 10. For : *al-ark Bas*, read : *al-Bark as*.

P. 303, *line* 19. For : *bik*, read : bik.

P. 316, *lines* 11 and 20. For : Zodiac, read : sphere, and suppress the notes (4) and (5) of the following page.

P. 308, *line* 5. For : Saîd, read : Sâêd.

IBID., *line* 17. For : *hiyâs*, read : *kiyâs*.

P. 320, *line* 18. For : Buzjâni, read Bûzjâni.

P. 322, *line* 15. For : *on the merits*, read : *on the merits of*.

P. 323, *line* 6. For : Zamaskhshari, read : Zamakhshari.

P. 325, *line* 6 *ab imo*. For : meanning, read : meaning.

P. 326, *line* 9. For : *kâsida*, read : *kasîda*.

P. 327, *note* (5). For : Christîana, read : Christiania.

P. 336, *note* (2). For : ofal, read : of al.

P. 339, *line* 9. For : Muîn, read : Moîn.

P. 341, *note* (1). Add : See page 229 of this volume.

P. 374, *note* (9). For : this volume, read : the fourth volume.

P. 360, *line* 20. In that manuscript copy of Abû 'l-Fedâ's Annals which bears the corrections of the author, we find the name *Albi* (البى) pointed so as to be read : *Alba*.

P. 369, *line* 12. For : statement, read : statements.

P. 373. The notes (7) and (8) should change numbers and places.

P. 374, *note* (13). If the word قدح be pronounced *kadah*, it means a *cup*; if it be pronounced *kidh*, it means an *arrow*. In the Arabic verse here translated, the rules of prosody oblige us to read *kidh*. Here is the first bemistich : خرجت خروج القدح قدح ابن مقبل. The measure is *tawîl*.

P. 380, *line* 1. After : Guiza, insert : (*or Jiza*).

P. 394, *antepenult*. Amr Ibn al-Itnâba was the principal chief of Yathrib (or Medina), towards the end of the sixth century of our era. See Mr. Caussin de Perceval's *Essai*, t. II, pages 491, 492, 675.

P. 396, *line* 14. For : Nushjâni, read : Nûshjâni.

P. 411, *note* (3). For : Djaad, read : Jaad.

P. 417, *ult*. For : Kirwâch, read : Kirwâsh.

P. 418, *line* 24. For : Kirwâch, read : Kirwâsh.

P. 421, *line* 7. Insert the article *al* before Mukallad.

P. 424, *note* (18). For : 309, read : 306.

P. 428, *addition to note* (7). This expression signifies *at full speed*; see Mr Dozy's Ibn Badrûn, page 115.

P. 429, *line* 17. For : Coran, read : Koran, which is the form adopted in this translation; but the true pronounciation would be much better represented by *Curr-awn*.

P. 432, *line* 6. For : preposition, read : letter.

P. 434, *note* (14). Place a comma after *Warshân*. Two lines farther on, replace : Warsch, by : Warsh, and, *line* 5, for : fath'a, read fat'ha.

P. 454, *note* (10). For : Samanide mats, read : mats made of the sort of grass called *sâmân*. See Jaubert's translation of Idrîsi's Geography, vol. I, p. 339. Ibn al-Baithâr mentions this plant in his Dictionary of simples, under the word اذخر and states it to be the same as the *dîs* (*arundo festucoides* or *arundo tenax*), a species of reed very common in Algeria.

P. 456, *line* 8 *ab imo*. For : Tumart, read : Tûmart.

P. 463, *note* (6). For : the fourth volume, read : this volume.

P. 471, *line* 23. This Taâsif was one of Saladin's military engineers. Abû 'l-Fedâ mentions him in his Annals, year 642, and al-Makrîzi, in his History of the Mamlûk Sultans, year 649.

P. 476, *line* 30. For : Djebel, read : Jabal.

P. 480, *line* 16. For : bya, read : by a.

P. 484, *line* 6 *ab imo*. For : Nâch, read : Nâsh.

P. 492, *line* 9. For : ez-Zuwaitîna, read : Zuwaitîna.

Ibid., *note* (4), *line* 2. Read : Abû 'l-Fidâ.

P. 505, *line* 3 *ab imo*. For : Raschîda, read : Rashîda.

P. 508, *line* 9. For : Dabâ, read : Daba.

P. 517, *line* 7 *ab imo*. The name (برهان) should perhaps be pronounced *Barhân*.

P. 521, *line* 19. For : feats, read : feasts.

P. 525, *note* (2). For : Yâkubs, read : Yakûbs.

Ibid., *note* (4). For : Zarka, read : Zarkâ.

P. 530, *note* (3). Add : A fuller account of this kâdi will be found in this volume, p. 565 *et seq*.

P. 537, *note* (3). Add : See also page 397 of this volume, note (16).

P. 541, *line* 8 *ab imo*. For : work sof, read : works of.

Ibid., *antepenult*. Decomposing of poetry into prose in expressed in Arabic by the words حل المنظوم.

P. 546, *line* 5 *ab imo*. The note of interrogation after the word *Crusaders* should be suppressed.

P. 550, *line* 20. For : conversation parties, read : evening parties.

P. 553, *line* 15. After the words : is followed, insert, as an observation made by the translator : (*either immediately or otherwise*).



P. 556, *line* 9. For : Sâidi, read : Sâêdi.

Ibid., *line* 12. For : but, for doctors, read : but, according to doctors.

P. 559. The verse given in this page belongs to a piece which has been already inserted, p. 552 of this volume.

P. 564, *note* (3). For : Sâidi, read : Sâêdi, and see note (1), p. 607 of this volume.

P. 568, *line* 7 *ab imo*. For : Zûlâc, read : Zûlâk.

P. 584, *line* 9. For : see page 579, read : pages 153, 154, 579.

P. 585, *note* (7). The three first lines of this note must be suppressed, the author having given the life of Kamâl ad-Dîn Ibn Manâ in this volume, p. 466.

P. 589, *note* (10). It must be observed that *Sinjar* (سنجر) is the name of a Seljukide prince and ought not to be confounded with *Sinjâr* (سنجار), the name of a town.

P. 590, *line penult*. For : her eyelids, read : the scabbard (*i. e. her eyelids*).

P. 591, *line* 22. For : A sa, read : As a.

P. 593, *note* (2). For : mietress, read : mistress.

P. 599, *line* 11. For : good sense, read : common sense.

P. 604, *line* 6. For : Muwallid, read : Muwallad.

P. 605, *line* 8. For : abore, read : above.

P. 606, *line* 12. Read : Sakhtiâni, and make the same correction in the *note* (2), page 608.

P. 619, *line* 14. For : me, read : we.

P. 620, *line* 4 *ab imo*. After : 209, insert : the son of al-Husain.

P. 624, *line* 2. For : in illa, read : inter illa.

P. 626, *note* (18). For : Wâhim, read : Wâkim.

Ibid., *note* (21). For : مروان read : مرو ان in two words.

P. 628, *line* 3 *ab imo*. For : *malhouzîn*, read : *malhûzîn*.

P. 629, *line* 4 *ab imo*. For : come, read : came.

P. 642, *line* 23. For : Dubba, read : Dabba.

P. 643, *line* 2. For : Dubbi, read : Dabbi.

P. 665, *line* 6 *ab imo*. For : as appanage, read : as an appanage.

INDEX TO THE THIRD VOLUME

PART I. — PROPER NAMES

N. B. The names preceded by an asterisk are those of persons or places particularly noticed in this volume. In consulting this list, search for the name or surname by which the person was *usually* known, and neglect all prefixes, such as *Abû*, *Ibn*, etc.

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PART II. — NOTES

END OF VOL. III.

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